A NEW AND IMPROVED

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE END OF

The THIRTY-SECOND YEAR of the Reign of his MAJESTY *KING GEORGE THE THIRD*;

Comprehending, amongſt other recent Matters, various intereſting Particulars, relative to the late

DEPARTURE OF EARL GOWER FROM PARIS,

With an authentic ACCOUNT of the NATURE and OBJECTS of the preſent SPLENDID

EMBASSY TO CHINA,

To the Day of its leaving SPITHEAD, the 26th of SEPTEMBER, 1792.

CONCLUDING

With a comparative STATEMENT of the commercial SITUATION of GREAT-BRITAIN at this important Criſis, and its ſuperior RANK amongſt ſurrounding STATES and EMPIRES.

The PLAN of this Work is entirely original; it diſplays the PRINCIPLES of our excellent CONSTITUTION; and elucidates the moſt intereſting SUBJECTS of BRITISH HISTORY.

Deſigned for the Uſe of Schools.

BY CHARLES ALLEN, A. M.

EDITOR of the POLITE, POETICAL, and HISTORICAL PRECEPTORS, and other valuable WORKS for YOUNG PERSONS.

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BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT

FROM THE

PROPRIETOR.

THIS WORK is the Production of the very ingenious Mr. CHARLES ALLEN, whose Health would not permit him to finish it beyond the Conclusion of the Year 1790. From that Period it has been continued to the present Time, by a Clergyman, who has long been an Admirer of Mr. ALLEN's Genius, Stile, and Sentiments; and therefore has gladly embraced an Opportunity of paying his Tribute of Veneration and Respect for departed Worth, with a peculiar Affection for the rising Generation, on whose Account he has closed a Book so ably begun and continued for their Instruction.

PREFACE.

THERE are two very ſtriking Circumſtances which render the Production of the following Work, at this important Period, peculiarly pertinent and intereſting. Conſiſtent with the primary Deſign of the Author, the PLAN is entirely different from that of every preceding Hiſtory of this Country. Peculiarly adapted to impreſs the Minds of Youth with a Knowledge of the conſtitutional Principles of the Government of this Kingdom, it demands the utmoſt Degree of Attention.

THE SEASON, alſo, is no leſs remarkable than the Plan or Manner. At a Time when the Diſpoſitions and Sentiments of Perſons, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for Knowledge and Ability, and the moſt ſhining Ornaments of a populous Nation, have ſo very widely differed from each other in Sentiments, upon Subjects of the firſt Importance to Society; it muſt be highly intereſting to the riſing Generation, as well as to many of riper Years, to perceive, as in a Mirror, the leading Characteriſtics of the preſent and preceding Ages, with their Conſequences and Effects. Such a Work, at ſo peculiar a Period of Time, muſt come forward with particular Advantages; and its very ſingular Utility in Schools muſt be ſtrikingly obvious, from its Tendency to inſpire young Minds with a Veneration and Reſpect for that happy State of Things, under which they enjoy in Security, the invaluable Bleſſing of Liberty, regulated by Law, and happily united with the perfect Protection of their Lives and Property. The Propriety of announcing a Work of this Deſcription, at this critical Juncture, muſt, for theſe Reaſons, be fully manifeſt.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS.

THE origin of all nations, except thoſe that owe their riſe to colonies planted by a civilized people, is involved in fable and obſcurity. The Greeks and Romans carried up their pedigree to gods, heroes, and demigods; the other nations of the ancient world were guilty of the ſame piece of vanity: nor have the moderns been behind-hand with them in this particular; even the Saxons, who did not arrive in this iſland till towards the middle of the fifth century, pretended, that they, or at leaſt their leaders, were ſprung from Woden, their god of war; and our own fabulous hiſtorians have endeavoured to prove, that the ancient Britons were deſcended from one Brutus, a great grandſon of Æneas.

'TIS certain, however, that we have no accounts of Britain, upon which we can depend, till the time of Julius Cæſar, who, after having conquered Gaul, invaded this iſland about fifty-five years before the birth of Chriſt. According to him, the inhabitants (who were, no doubt, a colony of Celtes or Gauls, that had come over from the neighbouring continent) were then in a very low and rude ſtate of ſociety. Thoſe, that lived upon the ſea-coaſt, underſtood the art of agriculture; but ſuch as inhabited the interior parts of the country, ſupported themſelves entirely by paſturage; they fed upon the milk and fleſh of their cattle; they were clothed with the ſkins of beaſts; they dwelt in huts, which they occaſionally reared in the woods and foreſts, as they happened to ſhift

their habitations; the hair of their heads was long, and flowed down upon their backs and ſhoulders; but they kept their beards cloſe ſhaved, except upon the upper lip, where it was ſuffered to grow by way of muſtachio; they painted their bodies blue, for the purpoſe, no doubt, of rendering them more terrible to their enemies in battle; and hence ſeems to have come the name of Picts, which was afterwards given to the original inhabitants of Scotland. As to their government, they were divided into a number of petty, independent ſtates, each ruled by its reſpective prince; but, upon any great or important occaſion, they all united for the common defence under one leader.

THEIR religion was one of the moſt ſingular, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world, and one that had the moſt powerful influence over every paſſion and affection of the human mind. The Druids, who were the guardians of it, poſſeſſed the greateſt authority among them. Beſides miniſtering at the altar, they were inveſted with the whole civil and criminal juriſdiction; and whoever refuſed to ſubmit to their decrees, was ſubject to the ſentence of excommunication; the penalties attending which were ſo great, that the unhappy delinquents were ſometimes tempted to free themſelves from them by a voluntary death. From this, however, they were in general withheld by the fears they entertained as to a future ſtate; for the Druids, by inculcating the eternal tranſmigration of ſouls, were able to add the terrors of another world to the ſevere puniſhments they inflicted in this. In order to throw a greater air of myſtery over their religion, they performed their rites in dark groves and other ſecret receſſes; they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated; and theſe were ſtrictly forbid to commit them to writing, leſt at any time they ſhould be revealed to the vulgar. They ſacrificed human victims; and though, like the inhabitants of ſome of the new-diſcovered iſlands in the South ſea, they confined themſelves chiefly to criminals, yet they ſometimes, for want of theſe, had recourſe to the innocent. Theſe victims they burned in wicker idols, which were made ſo capacious as to contain a multitude of perſons at once, who were thus conſumed together.

IGNORANT as the Britons were of moſt of the arts of civil life, they ſeem to have been better acquainted with the art of war than could have been expected. Their chief force conſiſted of foot; yet they could, when neceſſity required, bring a conſiderable body of horſe into the field. They likewiſe uſed chariots in battle, which, with ſhort ſcythes faſtened to the ends of the axle trees, they drove into the heart of the enemy's

enemy's ranks, and committed terrible havock among them. Nor while the chariots were thus deſtroying, were the warriors who conducted them unemployed: theſe darted their javelins at the foe, ran along the pole, leapt on the ground, fought on foot, reſumed their ſeat, and checked, or turned their horſes at full ſpeed, even when deſcending the greateſt declivity.

SUCH was the character and condition of the Britons, when Cæſar, having finiſhed the conqueſt of Gaul, reſolved to carry his arms into this iſland. The natives were ſenſible of their utter inability to oppoſe ſuch a mighty conqueror, and they therefore endeavoured to divert him from his deſign by promiſing ſubmiſſion. This application, however, had not the deſired effect. He arrived upon the coaſt, and landing at Deal, or, as ſome think, at Dover, he defeated the enemy in ſeveral petty ſkirmiſhes. In a word, he compelled them to promiſe him hoſtages for their future obedience; and he then returned with his army into Gaul. The Britons, freed from the terror of his arms, neglected to perform the conditions of the treaty; upon which Cæſar invaded the iſland a ſecond time; and though he now met with a more regular reſiſtance from natives who had united under Caſſivelaunus, one of their princes, he yet diſcomfited them in ſeveral engagements. He advanced into the country; paſſed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Caſſivelaunus; and having obliged the inhabitants to ſubmit to the ſame conditions, which he had formerly impoſed upon them, he once more returned to the continent. He cannot, however, be ſaid to have made a complete conqueſt of Britain. So far from it, that Lucan aſſerts he took to his heels, and ran away from the Britons he had ſo eagerly gone in queſt of; and making every proper allowance for the licence of a poet, yet ſo grave an hiſtorian as Tacitus aſſures us, that Cæſar may rather be ſaid to have pointed out Britain to his ſucceſſors, than to have delivered it down to them as a conquered province.

No farther attempt was made upon this iſland by the Romans till the reign of Claudius, when it was *A. D.* 43. invaded a third time by that ambitious people, firſt under the conduct of Plautius, and afterwards under that of Oſtorius Scapula, who carried the terror of the Roman name to a greater extent than it had reached before. The Britons, however, under the command of Caractacus, prince of the Silures, a people inhabiting the banks of the Severne, continued, for the ſpace of nine years, to make a vigorous ſtruggle in de-

fence of their liberties; but being at laſt overcome in a great battle, Caractacus was taken priſoner, and, together with his wife, his daughter, and brother, was ſent to Rome in triumph. While he was leading through the ſtreets of that metropolis, he ſeemed no way dejected with his preſent reverſe of fortune, nor in the leaſt abaſhed by the great crowds of people that flocked together from all parts to behold him; but caſting his eyes on the ſplendid ſcenes around him, "Alas, cried he, how is it poſſible, that a people poſſeſſed of ſuch magnificent palaces at home ſhould envy me an humble cottage in Britain!" The Emperor was ſo affected with the Britiſh hero's misfortunes, and ſo charmed with his magnanimity, that he ordered him immediately to be unchained, and ſet at liberty with the other priſoners.

THE captivity of Caractacus did not put an end to the reſiſtance of the Britons. They ſtill continued to harraſs the Roman armies, and the Roman ſettlements; for the Romans had now begun to form ſettlements in Britain. They were not only prompted to oppoſe theſe invaders by that love of liberty, which is natural to all men; but they were at this time particularly exaſperated againſt them on account of their cruel treatment of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni. That princeſs had not only been ſcourged like a ſlave, but the chaſtity of her two daughters had likewiſe been violated. Incenſed, as might naturally be expected, at this ſhocking outrage, the Iceni firſt, and in a little time after the neighbouring ſtates, took up arms, and falling together upon London, which was already a flouriſhing Roman colony, they reduced it to aſhes, after having maſſacred about ſeventy thouſand Romans, and other ſtrangers, that were found in it. This act of cruelty, however, did not long go unpuniſhed. Suetonius, the Roman general, who was then abſent in Angleſey, was no ſooner informed of it, than he returned with his army, and though only at the head of ten thouſand men, he ventured to engage the Britons, who, under the conduct of Boadicea, amounted to two hundred and thirty thouſand, and after killing about eighty thouſand of them, he entirely diſcomfited the reſt. Boadicea herſelf, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her own life by poiſon.

SUETONIUS was ſucceeded in the command of the army in Britain by Cerealis, and he in his turn by Julius Frontinus, both of whom continued to enlarge the limits of the Roman conqueſts; but the general, who finally eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Romans in this iſland, was Julius Agricola, who governed it in the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally by his courage and his conduct. This great commander had no ſooner arrived in

in Britain, than he advanced into the very heart of the country; he defeated the natives in every engagement; he penetrated into the hitherto inacceſſible foreſts and mountains of Caledonia; and having obtained a complete and deciſive victory over the inhabitants, who had aſſembled to the number of thirty thouſand under their leader Galgacus, at the foot of the Grampian Hills, he drew a chain of forts from the Frith of Forth to the Clyde, and thereby reduced all the ſouthern part of the iſland into the form of a Roman province. Upon the ſpot where Agricola had fixed his garriſons, Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, erected a wall, which is therefore ſometimes called Antoninus's wall, and ſometimes the wall of Agricola; and in order the better to ſecure the province, Adrian built a rampart between the river Tyne and the Frith of Solway: this was afterwards repaired by the Emperor Severus, and for that reaſon is indifferently called the wall of Adrian, or the wall of Severus. *A.D.* 78.

FROM the time of Agricola till the middle of the fifth century, that is, for the ſpace of almoſt four hundred years, Britain continued to enjoy ſuch a profound tranquillity, that little mention is made of its affairs by any hiſtorian. The period, however, at length arrived, when that enormous fabric of the Roman empire, which had diffuſed ſlavery and oppreſſion, together with peace and civility, over ſo great a part of the habitable world, was approaching towards its final diſſolution. The people of Italy and the other interior parts of the empire, having been ſo long removed from all concern in the war, had entirely forgot the uſe of arms. The conſequence was, that the emperors were obliged to recruit their legions from the frontier provinces: this, by degrees, introduced the neighbouring barbarians into the ſervice of the Romans; and thoſe fierce nations, having now added diſcipline to their native bravery, could no longer think of protecting that as the property of others, which they could eaſily make their own. In the reign, therefore, of Arcadius and Honorius, the Huns, Goths, Vandals, and other northern tribes, attacked, as it were by common conſent, the frontiers of the empire; and advancing rapidly towards the ſouth, reduced the emperors to the diſagreable neceſſity of recalling the legions from the more diſtant provinces, in order to defend the ſeat of their government. This was particularly the caſe with reſpect to Britain, which was now freed from the dominion of thoſe, whom, on their firſt arrival, the natives had conſidered as enemies and oppreſſors, but whom they had long regarded as their beſt friends and only protectors. And, indeed, they had good reaſon for doing ſo; for they themſelves

ſelves had, from long peace, become ſo effeminate, that they were altogether unable to make head againſt their more hardy and warlike neighbours, the Picts and Scots, who inhabited the northern parts of the iſland; who, as they had never ſubmitted to the Roman yoke, ſtill preſerved their military ſpirit; and who were no ſooner informed of the retreat of theſe conquerors, than they made furious incurſions into the ſouthern parts of the country.

THE Britons were now reduced to the laſt extremity. We may eaſily judge of the diſtreſs they ſuffered from the letter they wrote to the Roman emperor, imploring his aſſiſtance. It was inſcribed thus: "The groans of the Britons." The tenor of it was exactly ſuitable to the ſuperſcription. "The barbarians, ſay they, on the one hand, drive us into the ſea; the ſea, on the other, throws us back on the barbarians; and we have no other alternative left us, than that of periſhing either by the ſword or the waves." The Romans, who, whatever were their defects, were not deficient in generoſity, ſent them aſſiſtance two different times, and effectually checked the incurſions of the enemy. They even helped them to erect a-new the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of ſtone, and which the Britons themſelves had not at that time artificers ſkilful enough to repair. Conſcious, however, of their utter inability to afford any further ſuccour to a people ſo remote, they exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and defend, by their valour, that independence, which they had received from their anceſtors. And having thus done them theſe friendly offices, and given them this good advice, they finally took their leave of them about the year of Chriſt 448.

CHAP. II.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS TO THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.

THE Britons were ſo far from conſidering the recovery of their ancient liberty as an advantage, that they looked upon it as one of the greateſt misfortunes that could poſſibly have befallen them. Not that they thought liberty itſelf a curſe; far from it: on the contrary, they knew it was a real bleſſing; but they knew at the ſame time, that it was a bleſſing only to thoſe who have power to protect it; and as they were fully ſenſible of their own inability to protect either this or any of their other poſſeſſions, againſt their northern neighbours,

bours, the Picts and Scots, they were thus prompted by their own fears, and by the advice of their leader, Vortigern, to ſend an invitation to the Saxons in Germany to come over to their aſſiſtance. The Saxons were one of the moſt powerful and warlike people, that ever appeared at that, or at any other period. Having made themſelves maſters of all the ſea-coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland, they were thence accuſtomed to infeſt by their piracies the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of Britain, and the northern parts of Gaul; ſo that the Romans were obliged to appoint an officer, whom they called *Count of the Saxon Shore*, to repel their invaſions. Like all other barbarous nations, they were divided into a number of petty, independent ſtates, with each a king, or rather a general at its head; but he was not ſuffered to take any ſtep of importance, without the conſent of his people, or at leaſt of his great men.

THEIR religion was a ſpecies of heatheniſm, and one too of the moſt barbarous ſort; but of the particulars of it we know little more than that they worſhipped certain ſtrange deities, from whoſe names the appellations which we now give to the days of the week are evidently borrowed. The two firſt days of the week were dedicated to the ſun and moon; the third to Tuiſco; the fourth to Woden, the god of war; the fifth to Thor, the god of thunder; the ſixth to Friga, or Fræa, the goddeſs of pleaſure; and the ſeventh to Crodo, or Seater. As courage was the quality which they chiefly eſteemed, (and indeed, as it is a moſt uſeful quality, ſo it is always the moſt highly valued among barbarous nations) their ideas of a future ſtate were particularly calculated to inſpire them with that virtue. They believed that the ſouls of thoſe, who died in battle, would be admitted into the hall of Woden, and repoſing on couches, would ſatiate themſelves with ale from the ſkulls of their enemies; whereas the ſouls of thoſe, who died a natural death, would be conveyed into the infernal regions, and would there be tormented with hunger, thirſt, and every other kind of evil.

BARBAROUS, however, as their manners were, they appear only, on that account, to have been proportionably the more warlike; and conſequently were the better qualified to cope with the Picts and Scots, who, in all probability, had not attained to a much higher degree of civilization. The firſt body of them, that came over, were conducted by two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, and amounted only to ſixteen hundred men; and yet theſe were fully ſufficient to repel the incurſions of the enemy. It was not long, however, before they began to think of ſeizing upon that as their own pro-

perty, which they had been called over to defend for others. To this they were tempted by ſeveral circumſtances. The climate of England was much more mild than that of Germany; the ſoil, at the ſame time, was more fertile; and the ſoft and effeminate character of the natives promiſed them an eaſy conqueſt. To render their ſucceſs ſtill more certain, they invited over another body of their countrymen, to the number of five thouſand, and entering into an alliance with the Picts and Scots, they turned their arms againſt the very perſons whom they had come to defend.

THE Britons were inflamed with the higheſt indignation at this conſummate piece of treachery; and rouſing up all their native courage, they continued, for the ſpace of ſeveral years, to make a more vigorous ſtand in defence of their liberties, than their enemies imagined they were capable of doing. They depoſed Vortigern on account of his vices, and raiſed his ſon Vortimer in his ſtead; and under the conduct of this laſt they fought a great battle with the enemy at Eglesford, now Ailsford, where Horſa, the Saxon general, was ſlain. But Hengiſt, who had now the ſole command of his countrymen, being continually re-inforced with freſh ſupplies from Germany, was able at laſt to overcome all reſiſtance, and firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in what was called the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, together with Middleſex, Eſſex, and part of Surrey. He fixed his royal ſeat at Canterbury, where he reigned about forty years, and died in or near the year 488.

THE Britiſh writers alledge, that the ſucceſs of the Saxons was not ſo much owing to their own native bravery, as to the imprudent conduct of Vortigern, who had conceived a paſſion for Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, and thereby grew more remiſs in oppoſing the enemy. They add, that, after the death of Vortimer, Vortigern was reſtored to the throne, and imprudently accepting of a banquet from Hengiſt at Stonehenge, three hundred of his principal nobility were there treacherouſly ſlaughtered, and himſelf detained a captive. But theſe ſtories ſeem to have been invented by the Welſh authors, in order to palliate the weak reſiſtance made at firſt by their countrymen, and account for the rapid progreſs of the Saxon arms.

THE ſecond Saxon ſtate, which was eſtabliſhed in Britain, was that of South-Saxony. It was founded by Ælla in 477. This chief brought over a large body of troops from Germany; and landing on the ſouthern coaſt, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the county of Suſſex, and of a conſiderable part of Surrey, which he erected into a kingdom. He was ſtopped in his progreſs to the eaſt by the kingdom of Kent; and

and in that to the weſt by another tribe of Saxons, who had taken poſſeſſion of that part of the iſland. Theſe laſt Saxons, from the ſituation of the country, in which they ſettled, were called Weſt-Saxons, and landed in the year 495, under the command of Cerdic, and of his ſon Kenric. They met with a more vigorous oppoſition than any of the other tribes of their countrymen. They were attacked, on the very day of their landing, by the natives, who, though they were at laſt overcome, yet continued, for a number of years, to haraſs and diſtreſs the enemy.

It was in oppoſing theſe Saxons, that Arthur, prince of the Silures, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo many and ſuch gallant atchievements. This is that Arthur ſo celebrated in the ſongs of Thalieſſin, and the other Britiſh bards, and whoſe military exploits have been blended with ſo much fable, as to give occaſion to many people to doubt whether ſuch a hero ever really exiſted. But poets, though they always diſfigure hiſtory by their fictions, yet have commonly ſome ground for their wildeſt exaggerations. Certain it is, that the ſiege of Baneſdowne, near Bath, which Cerdic had inveſted, was raiſed by the Britons, (who are ſaid to have been under the conduct of Arthur) in 520; and the Saxons were there diſcomfited in a great battle. This misfortune gave a check to the progreſs of Cerdic, but was not able to wreſt from him the conqueſts he had already made. He and his ſon, Kenric, who ſucceeded him, eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, or of Weſſex, over the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the Iſle of Wight, and left their new-acquired dominions to their poſterity. Cerdic died in 534, Kenric in 560.

While the Saxons were making this progreſs in the ſouth, their countrymen were not leſs active, or leſs ſucceſsful, in other quarters. In the year 527, a great tribe of adventurers, under ſeveral leaders, landed on the eaſt-coaſt of Britain; and after fighting many battles, and gaining many victories, they eſtabliſhed three new kingdoms in this iſland. Uffa aſſumed the title of king of the Eaſt-Angles in 575; Crida that of Mercia in 585; and Erkenwin that of Eaſt-Saxony or Eſſex nearly about the ſame time. This latter kingdom was deſmembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire. That of the Eaſt-Angles contained the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and Mercia was extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of theſe two kingdoms.

Northumberland, though the laſt formed, was one of the moſt powerful and extenſive of all the kingdoms of the

Saxon Heptarchy, It was properly compoſed of two diſtinct kingdoms; the one called Bernicia, comprehending the county of Northumberland, and the biſhopric of Durham; the other named the kingdom of the Deiri, containing Lancaſhire, the greater part of Yorkſhire, and a very conſiderable proportion of the low lands of Scotland. And thus was eſtabliſhed, after a violent conteſt of near a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or ſeven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; and the whole ſouthern part of the iſland, with a very ſmall exception, had totally changed its inhabitants, language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions. The few Britons, that remained, were reduced to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery: but the far greater part of them had either periſhed by the ſword of the conquerors, or had taken refuge in the barren mountains of Cornwall and Wales, or had fled for ſafety into foreign countries, where ſome of them ſettling in the province of Armorica, gave to that diſtrict the name of Brittany, which it ſtill retains.

A NUMBER of petty, warlike, independent ſtates, bordering upon each other, cannot long be ſuppoſed to live in mutual harmony and concord. This was remarkably the caſe with the princes of the Saxon Heptarchy, who were no ſooner freed from all apprehenſions of danger from the Britons, than they began to quarrel among themſelves; each of them endeavouring to acquire a ſuperiority over the reſt, and to attain to the ſovereignty of the whole. Of their various ſtruggles for this purpoſe, and of ſuch other public occurrences as might ſeem any ways worthy of notice, we ſhould now proceed to give the reader an idea, were it not, that the tranſactions of that period have been handed down to us in ſo confuſed and perplexed a manner, and ſo totally ſtripped of all their cauſes and concurrent circumſtances, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for any writer to ſet them in ſuch a light as to render them either agreeable or inſtructive. Even the great learning and vigorous imagination of Milton ſunk under the weight; and that author ſcruples not to declare, that the ſkirmiſhes of kites or crows as much merited a particular narrative, as the confuſed tranſactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy. Suffice it therefore to ſay, that, after a long ſeries of battles, ſtratagems, treaſons, murders, aſſaſſinations, and all the horrors with which war is uſually attended among a barbarous people, the ſeveral kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united, in 827, into one great monarchy under Egbert, ſovereign of the Weſt-Saxons, who thus became properly the firſt king of England. For it is to be obſerved, that the German adventurers, who conquered Britain, were compoſed chiefly of three

tribes, the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles; and as the latter were probably the moſt numerous of theſe, they gave their name at laſt to the whole kingdom.

THE only event of any conſequence that happened during the Heptarchy, was the introduction of the Chriſtian religion among the Saxons, who had hitherto continued pagans. Chriſtianity had, in all probability, been eſtabliſhed in Britain long before this period. Indeed, in the opinion of many people, it was preached here as early as the time of the apoſtles; but the Britiſh race being now almoſt entirely extirpated, the Chriſtian religion had ſhared the ſame fate. The firſt deſign of introducing it among the Saxons, is ſaid to have taken its riſe from the following circumſtance. St. Gregory, before his elevation to the papal throne, happening one day to paſs through the market-place of Rome, obſerved ſome Saxon youth of great beauty, who were there expoſed to ſale. Upon inquiring into the name of their country, he was told that they were *Angles*: "They ought rather, ſaid he, to be called *Angels*;" and from that moment he was ſeized with an ardent deſire of converting them to the Chriſtian faith. He did not, however, undertake the miſſion himſelf; but upon his taking poſſeſſion of the papal chair, he ſent one Auguſtine, a Roman monk, with a good number of aſſociates, to preach the goſpel in this iſland. Their firſt attempts were made in Kent, the ſovereign of which, Ethelbert, had married Bertha, only daughter to Caribert, king of Paris; and as ſhe was a Chriſtian, this circumſtance contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of their labours. Ethelbert ſoon embraced the Chriſtian faith; his example was followed by his ſubjects; the other kingdoms imitated the example of Kent; and thus in a little time Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed through the whole extent of the Saxon Heptarchy.

CHAP. III.

FROM THE UNION OF THE HEPTARCHY UNDER EGBERT TO THE ACCESSION OF CANUTE THE GREAT.

EGBERT met with the leſs reſiſtance in reducing the ſeveral ſtates of the Heptarchy under his dominion, as the royal families in all the kingdoms, except Weſſex, had now become extinct, and he was conſidered as the ſole deſcendant of thoſe Saxon warriors, who firſt *A. D.* 827.

ſubdued Britain. He was, beſides, the better qualified for wielding the reins of government over a great people, as he had paſſed the earlier part of his life in the court of Charlemagne, king of France, and afterwards emperor of Germany. To that court he had been obliged to retire, in order to quiet the ſuſpicions of Brithric, who, though but remotely allied to the royal family, then wore the crown of Weſſex; but who being ſuddenly cut off by drinking a cup of poiſon, which his abandoned queen, Eadburga, had prepared for another perſon, thus made way for the elevation of Egbert to the throne of his anceſtors. And upon that throne, which he ſoon converted into the throne of England, he might have continued to ſit with eaſe and ſecurity, for any diſturbance he met with from his own ſubjects; but his tranquillity was diſturbed by the invaſions of the Danes, who now infeſted the ſea-coaſts both of France and of England.

THESE ſeem to have been a mixture of different nations, though agreeing in language, religion, and cuſtoms, inhabiting the countries of Jutland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; and into thoſe northern parts they are thought to have retired, to avoid the perſecutions, which the emperor Charlemagne was then carrying on againſt the pagans of the ſouth; for the Danes were ſtill pagans. They had appeared in England two different times before this peried, firſt in 787, and afterwards in 794; but theſe were inconſiderable attempts in compariſon of the invaſions they now made, and ſtill more of thoſe which they made in the ſequel. In the reign of Egbert they made three deſcents upon England; one in 832, another the year following, and a third five years after that. In the firſt of theſe, they plundered the iſle of Shepey, and retired with impunity; in the ſecond they fought a bloody battle at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire, and ſtill kept their ground; and in the third, they were attacked by Egbert at Hengeſdown, and repulſed to their ſhips with great ſlaughter.

IN the midſt of theſe alarms, which were now almoſt become perpetual, Egbert died, and left his dominions to his ſon Ethelwolf, who was not equal to his father either in vigour or capacity. The firſt act of his reign was to divide his kingdom into two parts, committing the charge of the one to his ſon Athelſtan, and retaining the other to himſelf. This ſtep, which, in peaceable times, would probably have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, was not then productive of any bad effect: the continual dread of the Daniſh invaſions prevented all domeſtic diſſenſion.

A. D. 838.

THESE freebooters ſtill continued their incurſions, and committed

mitted every where the moſt cruel depredations. In one of their deſcents, in particular, they laid waſte the greateſt part of Mercia, and burned the cities of London and Canterbury. Not but that they generally met with oppoſition, and even ſometimes ſuſtained the moſt terrible overthrows. In the courſe of this reign they were repeatedly routed with great ſlaughter, ſometimes by the governors of the different counties, twice by the king himſelf in perſon, and once by his ſon Athelſtan at ſea. But notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, they commonly obtained the end they aimed at, which appears at firſt to have been no more than to plunder the country, and carry off the ſpoil. At length, however, they took up their quarters in the iſle of Thanet, and afterwards in that of Shepey; from whence they continued to infeſt the kingdom at all ſeaſons of the year.

THE only other tranſaction of Ethelwolf's reign, that is worthy of notice, was his making a journey to Rome, where he beſtowed ſeveral rich donations, and particularly the duty of Peter's-pence, upon the holy ſee, for which he is highly extolled by the monks; but he is much more commendable for granting the tythes to his own clergy. He died in 857, and was ſucceeded by his two eldeſt ſurviving ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; for Athelſtan died before him. Ethelbald was a profligate prince; and by marrying Judith, his mother-in-law (whom, however, he ſoon after divorced), he encreaſed ſtill farther the popular hatred againſt him. Upon his death, which happened about two years after, the government of the whole kingdom devolved upon Ethelbert, who had only an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by a victory he gained over the Danes, who had invaded the country, and burned Wincheſter. Ethered, the next king, and third ſon of Ethelwolf, exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in oppoſing the Danes, who ſtill continued their incurſions; and being aſſiſted by his younger brother Alfred, he gained ſeveral advantages over them. He was not able however, by his utmoſt efforts, to drive them entirely out of the kingdom; for they had now fixed themſelves not only in Northumberland, but even in Eaſt-Anglia and Mercia, a conſiderable part of which indeed they had actually ſubdued.

SUCH was the miſerable ſtate of the country upon the acceſſion of Alfred, who is commonly and juſtly denominated the Great. This prince had given early proofs of thoſe great talents, which he afterwards diſplayed ſo ſignally in the defence of his country. He had been carried to Rome by his father, when he was only ſix years of age. He had afterwards been ſent thither with a numerous *A. D.* 871.

merous retinue; and upon a report being ſpread of the king's death, Pope Leo III. had given him the royal unction, either prognoſticating his future greatneſs from the pregnancy of his parts, or pretending, even then, to the right of beſtowing kingdoms.

ALFRED's education, however, ſeems at firſt to have been neglected. He was twelve years of age before he had learned to read. But his genius being rouzed by hearing the recital of ſome Saxons poems, he began to apply to his ſtudies with great ardour; and encouraged by his mother, who was a women of ſome taſte, and aſſiſted by his own natural parts, which were excellent, he continued thenceforward to make ſuch rapid advances, that he became at length one of the moſt learned men, not only of his own kingdom, but even perhaps of the age in which he lived.

HIS literary purſuits, however, to which he had chiefly addicted himſelf during the reign of his brother, were now interrupted by cares of a leſs pleaſing, but certainly of a more important nature. He had no ſooner aſſumed the reins of government, than he found it neceſſary to take up arms in order to oppoſe the incurſions of the Danes, who now poured into the kingdom in greater numbers than ever; and though he was obliged to attack them with inferior forces, he yet committed ſuch havock among them, that they were glad to engage, by a ſolemn treaty, immediately to evacuate the country. But the Danes were as remarkable for their treachery as their cruelty. Inſtead of keeping their word, they only turned aſide into another quarter, which they proceeded to lay waſte with fire and ſword; and being ſoon after reinforced with new ſwarms of their countrymen, who came over under three of their princes, Guthrum, Oſcitel, and Amund, they threatened the kingdom with a total ſubjection.

ALFRED was alarmed, but not diſpirited with this freſh inundation of the enemy; he ſtill continued to make head againſt them, and this he did with ſo much vigour, that he fought no leſs than eight conſiderable battles with them in the ſpace of one year. But the Danes being ſtill farther reinforced, and having reduced Chippenham, one of the chief towns of the Weſt-Saxons, the Engliſh were ſeized with ſuch a general deſpondency, that they deſerted their ſovereign almoſt to a man.

IN this deſperate extremity, Alfred embraced the only expedient, that now appeared practicable. He laid aſide all the enſigns of royalty, and concealing himſelf in the houſe of a neat-herd, he patiently waited the return of better fortune. While he was here, an incident happened to him, that may be worth

worth the mentioning. One day, while he was amuſing himſelf by the fire-ſide in trimming his bow and arrows, the neat-herd's wife, who was ignorant of his quality, deſired him to take care of ſome cakes that were toaſting, while ſhe was employed elſewhere in other domeſtic concerns. But Alfred, whoſe thoughts were otherwiſe engaged, neglected this injunction; and the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated him very ſeverely, and ſaid, that he ſeemed always very ready to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toaſting them. Some time after, he took up his reſidence in the iſle of Athelney, at the confluence of the Thone and Parret, in Somerſetſhire; and having there collected a ſmall body of troops, he occaſionally attacked the Danes in the neighbourhood.

FROM this retreat, however, he was at laſt encouraged to come forth by a very fortunate circumſtance. Oddune, earl of Devonſhire, having been beſieged by the enemy in his caſtle of Kinwith, had ſallied out upon them, killed Hubba, their general, put the greateſt part of them to the ſword, and got poſſeſſion of their famous *Reafen*, or enchanted ſtandard. This ſtandard contained the figure of a raven, which had been woven into it by the three ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, and which, by its different movements, prognoſticated, as the Danes believed, the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of any undertaking.

WHEN Alfred ſaw his ſubjects, after their late ſtate of deſpondency, thus beginning to recover their wonted ſpirit, he reſolved once more to put himſelf at their head; but before he would run the riſk of a general engagement, he determined, with his own eyes, to examine the camp of the enemy, and with that view having entered it in the diſguiſe of a harper, he carefully noticed where its weakeſt part lay. He then ſecretly aſſembled his forces on the borders of Selwood foreſt, and attacking the Danes ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Eddington, he committed ſuch terrible ſlaughter among them, that the ſurvivors were glad to make a ſolemn promiſe either to evacuate the kingdom, or to embrace Chriſtianity. Guthrum and his followers took the latter part of the alternative. They were immediately baptiſed, and ſettled in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia. Alfred himſelf anſwered for Guthrum at the fount, and gave him the name of Athelſtan. The more turbulent and unquiet part of the Danes choſe rather to abandon the kingdom than to profeſs themſelves Chriſtians; and accordingly, under the conduct of their famous general, Haſtings, they ſet out on an expedition into France.

ALFRED having thus freed himſelf from theſe formidable enemies, immediately ſet about the taking ſuch meaſures for the ſecurity of the kingdom, as effectually protected it from all further inroads during the remaining part of his reign. Not but that the coaſts were occaſionally infeſted by ſmall bodies of piratical Danes, who ſeem to have had no other means of procuring ſubſiſtence, than by committing depredations upon the more ſouthern and fertile provinces of Europe; but they were always ſure, in their hoſtile attempts upon this iſland, to meet with ſuch a warm reception, that they were never able to penetrate into the interior parts of the country except once; and then they received ſuch a complete and terrible overthrow as effectually cooled their ardour, at leaſt for ſome time, of engaging afreſh in the like hazardous enterprizes.

ALFRED'S military talents, however great, were but the ſmalleſt part of his merit. He ſhone much more as a legiſlator than a warrior; if indeed theſe two characters be ſo very diſtinct as is commonly imagined, and it be not the chief duty of a legiſlator, not merely to render a kingdom rich and populous, but ſo to diſpoſe the different ranks of the people, as to enable them, by their united and well-connected force, to repel the aſſaults of their more needy, and conſequently more rapacious neighbours. This, therefore, was the firſt object of Alfred's care. By rebuilding London, and the other towns that had been demoliſhed during the late commotions, and by erecting a number of new fortreſſes, he rendered the whole country, as it were, one continued garriſon, ſo that it was impoſſible to make an impreſſion upon any one part of it without communicating the alarm to the reſt.

HAVING thus provided for the external ſecurity of the kingdom, he next proceeded to make regulations for preſerving its internal peace and tranquillity, and enforcing the due execution of the laws. For this purpoſe he drew up an excellent body of inſtitutes, which, though now loſt, ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is called the COMMON LAW. At the ſame time he divided the whole kingdom into counties; theſe counties he ſubdivided into hundreds; and the hundreds into tythings. Each of theſe had a court peculiar to itſelf, with a preſiding officer at its head. Appeals lay from the inferior courts to thoſe of a ſuperior order; and in the proceedings of the hundred court in particular, a practice took place, exactly of the ſame nature with that of our modern ju ies, and from which this admirable inſtitution is plainly derived. In the laſt reſort, appeals were to be made to the king in council; and to this branch of his royal duty Alfred

applied

applied himſelf with ſuch indefatigable zeal and attention, that he introduced into England a ſtrictneſs of police, that perhaps had never been ſeen in it before, and certainly has never prevailed in it ſince. To ſhew the awe in which he kept all evil-doers, he is ſaid to have hung up, by way of bravado, bracelets of gold near the highways; and that no man dared to touch them. Yet, in the midſt of theſe rigours of juſtice, he ſtill preſerved the moſt ſacred regard for the liberty of his ſubjects; and it is a memorable ſaying of his, preſerved in his will, that the Engliſh ought for ever to remain as free as their own thoughts.

But Alfred was not ſatisfied with habituating his ſubjects to the reſtraints of law and juſtice. He likewiſe endeavoured to improve their morals, and to poliſh their manners, by beſtowing upon them the light of ſcience and letters. And this, indeed, was the more neceſſary, as the whole nation, at that time, was ſunk into a ſtate of the groſſeſt ignorance and barbariſm. Alfred himſelf complains, that on his acceſſion to the throne, he knew not ſo much as a ſingle perſon, to the ſouth of the Thames, that could explain the Latin ſervice; and very few in the northern parts, that were a whit more learned. To remedy, therefore, this general defect, he invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe; he founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities; he enacted a law, commanding all freeholders, poſſeſſed of two hydes (about two hundred acres) of land or more, to ſend their children to ſchool for their inſtruction; and he gave the ſtrongeſt incitement to the purſuits of literature by his own excellent example. He uſually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in ſleep, and the recruiting of his body by diet and exerciſe; another in the diſpatch of buſineſs; and a third in ſtudy and devotion. And in order to enable him to meaſure the hours more exactly, he made uſe of burning tapers of equal length; for the art of conſtructing dials, clocks and watches was not then known in England.

By this regular diſtribution of his time, and this conſtant application to his ſtudies, Alfred acquired a greater degree of knowledge than was poſſeſſed by any other man in that rude age, or perhaps by any in ſeveral of thoſe that followed. He underſtood grammar, rhetoric, philoſophy, architecture, and geometry, was a good hiſtorian, excelled in muſic, and was acknowledged to be the beſt poet that had hitherto appeared among the Saxons. He compoſed ſeveral original works, ſome of which remain to this day; and he tranſlated Æſop's fables, Bede's hiſtory, and Boethius concerning the conſolation of philoſophy.

Nor

Nor was he leſs anxious to introduce, among his ſubjects, the vulgar and mechanical arts than the knowledge of letters. He invited induſtrious foreigners from all quarters to ſettle in his dominions; he encouraged the eſtabliſhment of every kind of manufacture; he excited the more active and enterpriſing part of his ſubjects to embark in ſchemes of commerce and navigation; and in this laſt particular he was ſo very ſucceſsful, that he had even the luxuries and elegancies of life brought to him from the Mediterranean and the Indies. In a word, he ſeems to have produced a greater change for the better in the ſituation of his ſubjects, than perhaps any other ſovereign that ever exiſted; not even excepting Peter the Great of Ruſſia, to whom he appears to have been infinitely ſuperior in every quality that conſtitutes the character of a hero, a legiſlator, and a politician. Nature alſo, as if deſirous that ſo bright a production of her ſkill ſhould be ſet in the faireſt light, had beſtowed upon him every bodily accompliſhment, vigour of limbs, dignity of ſhape and air, with a pleaſing, engaging, and open countenance; ſo that he was as well qualified to gain the affection of the inferior order of his people by his perſonal addreſs, as to command the eſteem of the higher ranks by his mental endowments. He died in 901, and was ſucceeded by his ſecond ſon, Edward, commonly called Edward the elder; his eldeſt ſon, Edmund, having died before him, and his youngeſt ſon, Ethelward, devoting himſelf entirely to the purſuits of literature.

Edward's whole reign, which laſted twenty-four years, was one continued ſtruggle with the Danes of Northumberland, whom, however, he continued to keep in ſubjection; and in ſo doing he was nobly aſſiſted by his gallant ſiſter, Ethelfleda, of whom it is reported, that having undergone a very difficult and dangerous labour, ſhe refuſed all commerce with her huſband; and renouncing the uſual occupations of her ſex, applied herſelf wholly to the exerciſe of arms. Edward, though greatly inferior to his father in literary attainments, was yet a munificent encourager of learning, and he is ſaid to have founded the univerſity of Cambridge in 915. He was ſucceeded by his natural ſon Athelſtan, his legitimate ſons, of whom he had four, being all of them deemed too young to be capable of managing the weighty affairs of ſtate.

Athelstan proved one of the ableſt and moſt active princes that had yet ſat upon the Engliſh throne. He ſuppreſſed an inſurrection that had broke out in Northumberland; he marched into Scotland, and compelled Conſtantine, the king of that country, to ſue to him for peace; and when the

ſame

ſame Conſtantine afterwards made an inroad into England, Athelſtan gave him a complete overthrow in the neighbourhood of Brunſbury; a victory, for which he was chiefly indebted to the bravery of Turketul, his chancellor: for in thoſe turbulent times no civil employment exempted a man from attendance in the field.

THE moſt important law paſſed during Athelſtan's reign was that, by which a merchant, who had made three long voyages on his own account, was admitted to the rank of a Thane or Gentleman. He died in 941, and was ſucceeded by his legitimate brother, Edmund, who, after a ſhort reign of five years, was aſſaſſinated by a notorious robber of the name of Leolf. This ruffian, who had been baniſhed the kingdom for his crimes, had yet the audacity to return; and entering the hall, where Edmund was dining, he had even the impudence to ſit down at table with his attendants. Enraged at this inſolence, the king commanded him to leave the room, and, on his refuſing to obey, he leaped upon him, and ſeized him by the hair; but the wretch, puſhed to extremity, ſuddenly drew a dagger, and gave Edmund a wound, of which he inſtantly expired.

THE reign of his brother and ſucceſſor, Edred, was hardly diſtinguiſhed by any other circumſtance than the introduction of celibacy among the clergy; a practice which, however advantageous to the church, is extremely pernicious to civil ſociety.

To Edred ſucceeded his nephew, Edwy, eldeſt ſon of the late king Edmund. This young prince, who was equally remarkable for the beauty of his perſon and the virtues of his mind, would probably have been a favourite with the people, had he not been involved in a quarrel with the monks, which unhappily embittered all his future life, and no doubt contributed to haſten his end. Having fallen in love with a beautiful princeſs of the blood royal, named Elgiva, he ventured to marry her, contrary to the advice of his ſageſt counſellors; but though ſhe was only his ſecond or third couſin, yet as ſhe was within the degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the canon law, the monks exclaimed againſt this match as a ſpecies of inceſt, and even compelled the king to agree to a divorce. Not ſatisfied with this, they even ſeized the queen's perſon, they burned her face with a red-hot iron, and baniſhed her into Ireland; and upon her venturing to return to England, they again apprehended her, and put her to death in the moſt cruel manner. She is ſaid to have been hamſtrung, and to have expired ſoon after at Glouceſter in the moſt exquiſite torments.

To complete their outrages upon the royal authority, they even excited an inſurrection againſt the king. The Mercians broke

broke out into open rebellion, and placing Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, a boy only of about thirteen years of age, at their head, they made themſelves maſters of all the northern parts of the kingdom. Edwy did not long ſurvive this complication of misfortunes. He was ſeized with ſuch a deep melancholy, as ſoon brought him to the grave. He died in 959, being only the fifth year of his reign, and thus freed his enemies from all further inquietude. The author of all this miſchief was one Dunſtan, commonly called St. Dunſtan, though, like many other ſaints in the Romiſh calendar, very unworthy of that title. He was an artful and ambitious eccleſiaſtic, who, by means of a falſe but well-counterfeited ſanctity, had acquired ſuch an influence over the minds of the people, that he really governed the kingdom during this and the preceding reign, and may even be ſaid to have ruled it during the two reigns that ſucceeded.

EDGAR, the brother and ſucceſſor of Edwy, though only ſixteen years of age at the time of his acceſſion, ſoon ſhewed himſelf to be poſſeſſed of abilities, that qualified him extremely well for his high ſtation. He took the moſt effectual ſteps for ſecuring his dominions, not only againſt foreign invaſions, but likewiſe againſt domeſtic inſurrections. With this view he maintained a large body of regular forces in the northern counties, in order to overawe the mutinous Danes, and ſupported ſuch a powerful and well-appointed fleet as protected his coaſts from all kind of danger. Nor was he leſs attentive to the due and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice than the preſervation of the public tranquillity. He inflicted the moſt ſevere puniſhments upon ſuch magiſtrates as were guilty of corruption; and in order the better to keep them to their duty, he himſelf made an annual circuit through the different parts of his dominions.

As England had been hitherto infeſted with wolves, he fell upon the following method of deſtroying them. He changed the tribute of the Welſh into three hundred wolves heads, and pardoned all crimes committed before a certain period, on condition that the criminals ſhould produce a certain number of theſe animals tongues; an expedient that was attended with ſuch diligence in hunting them, that the creature has been no more ſeen in this iſland. As Edgar had been originally, and in ſome meaſure prematurely, raiſed to the throne (for he was poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of the kingdom before his brother's death) by the intereſt of Dunſtan, he now gratified the wiſhes of that aſpiring prelate, who had been advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, in ejecting the ſecular clergy from their benefices, and beſtowing them upon the monks.

EDGAR's private life was as reprehenſible, as his public conduct

duct was praiſe-worthy. He broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her perſon. But his marriage with Elfrida was attended with circumſtances of a ſtill more criminal and extraordinary nature. This young lady, the daughter of Olgar, earl of Devonſhire, was univerſally reputed to be the greateſt beauty in the kingdom. Edgar, who was naturally of an amorous diſpoſition, was indifferent to no reports of this kind; and he therefore reſolved, if her charms ſhould prove anſwerable to their fame, to raiſe her to his bed and throne. But before he would take any formal ſteps for this purpoſe, he determined to inform himſelf of the real truth; and with this view he ordered earl Athelwold, his favourite, to make a viſit to the parents on ſome other pretence, and to bring him a faithful account of the young lady's accompliſhments. Theſe turned out to be much greater than even fame had reported them; and they made ſuch an impreſſion upon the heart of Athelwold, that, inſtead of executing the king's commiſſion, he reſolved to procure Elfrida for himſelf. He accordingly returned to Edgar, and by a falſe deſcription of the young lady's charms, he effectually diverted him from the deſign he had formed. Some time after, he took an opportunity of obſerving, that though the homelineſs of Elfrida's perſon rendered her unworthy to be conſort to a ſovereign, yet her high birth and great riches muſt make her an eligible match to a ſubject; and therefore, if the king had no objection, he was determined to aſk her in marriage for himſelf. Edgar, pleaſed with ſo good an expedient for eſtabliſhing his favourite's fortune, readily gave his conſent; and Athelwold was ſoon after married to Elfrida. Conſcious, however, of the artifice he had employed, and fearing, as he had reaſon, leſt it ſhould be diſcovered, he confined Elfrida in his caſtle in the country, and never would allow her to appear at court.

THIS very circumſtance, it is natural to think, contributed to raiſe the ſuſpicion of Edgar, who ſoon found out how groſsly he had been impoſed on. But before he would take vengeance upon Athelwold's treachery, he reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf with his own eyes of the certainty and full extent of his guilt. He therefore told him, that he propoſed paying him a viſit in the country, and to be introduced to the acquaintance of his new-married wife. Athelwold was thunderſtruck at this intimation; but as he could not decline the intended honour, he only begged he might be permitted to go before, in order to prepare for the king's reception. He then diſcloſed the whole matter to Elfrida; and entreated her, by the regard ſhe had for her own honour and for his life, to conceal

ceal from Edgar, as much as poſſible, that fatal beauty which had led him to violate his fidelity to his prince, and had betrayed him into ſuch a train of duplicity and falſehood. Elfrida promiſed to comply with his requeſt; but nothing, at the ſame time, was farther from her intention. She thought herſelf but little indebted to him for a paſſion, which had deprived her of a crown; and ſhe did not yet deſpair of attaining to that dignity. She therefore employed her utmoſt art in adorning her perſon, and ſetting off her charms; and in this ſhe was ſo ſucceſsful, that ſhe at once inſpired the king with the ſtrongeſt love towards herſelf, and the moſt furious deſire of revenge againſt her huſband. Edgar, however, knew to diſſemble theſe paſſions for the preſent; and ſeducing Athelwold into a wood, on pretence of hunting, he there ſtabbed him with his own hand, and ſoon after publickly married Elfrida.

THIS woman, whoſe beauty of perſon ſeems only to have been exceeded by the deformity of her mind, raiſed a ſtrong oppoſition to the elevation of Edward, commonly called the Martyr, he eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Edgar, whom he had by his firſt wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer; but Edward's title being ſupported by the principal nobility, and particularly by Dunſtan, whoſe influence was ſtill very great, he was able to bid defiance not only to the ſecret arts, but even to the open attacks of his ambitious ſtep-mother. In return for the favours he had received from Dunſtan, Edward was the more willing to confirm the monks in the poſſeſſion of the monaſteries, which indeed they had obtained during the former reign; and though the leading men in the nation were averſe to this meaſure, Dunſtan found means to overcome their oppoſition by the help of ſome pious frauds, which he was pleaſed to call miracles. As a ſpecimen of theſe, let the reader take the following. In one ſynod (for there were ſeveral ſynods ſummoned on the occaſion) Dunſtan finding the majority of votes againſt him, roſe up, and informed the audience, that he had that inſtant received an immediate revelation in favour of the monks: in another aſſembly, a voice iſſued from the crucifix, declaring that the eſtabliſhment of the monks was founded on the will of heaven, and could not be oppoſed without impiety: and on a third occaſion Dunſtan managed matters ſo, that the floor of the hall, in which the aſſembly met, ſunk all of a ſudden, and a great number of the members were either bruiſed or killed by the fall. The more intelligent part of the nation (for even in thoſe ignorant times there were ſome men that thought for themſelves) conſidered theſe as ſo many impoſtures; but the

great

great body of the people believed them to be miracles; and by that means Dunſtan was enabled to carry his point.

THOUGH Elfrida had not been able to prevent Edward from mounting the throne, ſhe yet contrived to make his reign ſhort, and his end tragical. For one day as he was hunting in Dorſetſhire, he happened to paſs by Corfe-Caſtle, where Elfrida reſided; and as he had always ſhewn her the greateſt reſpect, he now thought it his duty to pay her a viſit. He accordingly rode up to the gate of the caſtle without any attendants; and while he was drinking a cup of wine, that was brought him, a ruffian, whom Elfrida had prepared for the purpoſe, ſtabbed him in the back. The king finding himſelf wounded, rode off at full ſpeed; but ſoon fainting through loſs of blood, he fell from his ſaddle, and his foot hanging in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along by his horſe till he died. His body, being tracked by the blood, was found; and was interred, firſt at Wareham, and afterwards at Shafteſbury, where it is ſaid to have performed a great many miracles; and Edward was canonized as a ſaint and a martyr. Elfrida endeavoured to expiate the guilt, or at leaſt to mitigate the odium of this murder, by building monaſteries, and ſubmitting to a number of penances: but all her attempts for this purpoſe proved totally ineffectual; ſhe continued, to the day of her death, to be held in deteſtation by every humane perſon.

ELFRIDA, however, gained the principal point ſhe aimed at by this aſſaſſination; and that was the elevation of her own ſon, Ethelred, to the throne. But this prince, who was as remarkable for the weakneſs of his head, as his mother was for the beauty of her perſon, and the blackneſs of her heart, ſoon ſhewed himſelf to be altogether unqualified for the high ſtation in which he was placed. And his incapacity was both the more eaſily and the more ſpeedily diſcovered, and proved, at the ſame time, the more ruinous to the kingdom, as there never had been a period ſince the foundation of the monarchy, when the affairs of the public were in a more critical and alarming ſituation. For now the Danes renewed their invaſions in greater numbers, and with much greater fury, than ever; and Ethelred was at once ſo mean-ſpirited and imprudent as to purchaſe a peace of them, five ſeveral times, with money, which only invited future attacks, inſtead of repelling them by his arms, which would, in ſome meaſure, have prevented them. The money raiſed for this purpoſe was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Danegelt.

THE Danes finding the Engliſh had ſo much money to ſpare, and that they parted with it in ſuch an eaſy manner, con-

continued to riſe gradually in their demands; and raiſing their exactions from ten thouſand pounds, which was the firſt gratuity they received, up to the enormous ſum of forty-eight thouſand, they became at length ſo intolerably oppreſſive, that the people, by orders of Ethelred, took up arms, and falling upon them while they were unprepared, they maſſacred, in one day, all the Danes in England, not even excepting Gunilda, the king of Denmark's ſiſter, who had married earl Paling, an Engliſh nobleman.

THIS barbarous action, however, did not long go unpuniſhed. Sweyn, king of Denmark, invaded England with a numerous army, and amply revenged the cruelties that had been inflicted upon his countrymen; he even made an entire conqueſt of the kingdom, and compelled Ethelred to fly for refuge to the court of Richard, duke of Normandy, whoſe ſiſter, Emma, he had married. Here he continued about ſix weeks; at the end of which, hearing that Sweyn was dead, and being invited by his ſubjects to return into his own dominions, he came over to England, hoping, no doubt, for the future to enjoy his crown in tranquillity. But this he was not able to do. He found in Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, an enemy no leſs formidable than his father, and one that was even more cruel. At one time in particular, Canute cut off the hands and noſes of all the Engliſh hoſtages, and in that ſhocking condition ſet them aſhore at Sandwich.

BUT though Ethelred, who, from his want of ſpirit and activity, was uſually denominated the *unready*, was not able to make head againſt Canute, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, Edmund, commonly called, from his great ſtrength of body, Edmund Ironſide, would probably have done ſo, had he not been alternately thwarted and betrayed by his own brother-in-law, the perfidious Edric, governor of Mercia. Yet, notwithſtanding this impediment, he obtained three great victories over Canute; and though he was worſted on a fourth occaſion, yet was he ſoon after in a condition to offer the enemy battle a fifth time, when the leading men of both armies, wearied out with the calamities of war, obliged the two kings to come to a compromiſe, and to divide the kingdom between them. Canute had for his ſhare the northern parts; the ſouthern parts were left to Edmund.

BUT this prince did not long ſurvive this partition of his dominions. He was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by order of Edric, who ſuborned two domeſtics for that purpoſe; and not ſatisfied with ſuch a barbarous and unnatural deed as the murder of his own brother-in-law, he even carried the news of it to Canute, and ſeemed to make a merit of what he had done.

Canute

Canute, though perhaps pleaſed with the treachery, could not help deteſting the traitor; and he ſoon after took an opportunity to inflict upon him the puniſhment he deſerved. For Edrie having had the preſumption to upbraid Canute with ingratitude in not ſufficiently rewarding his ſervices, that prince cauſed the ruffian to be executed, and his body to be thrown into the Thames. The death of Edmund, however, made way for the ſucceſſion of Canute to the government of the whole kingdom.

CHAP IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CANUTE THE GREAT TO THE CONQUEST.

CANUTE having obtained the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of it. With this view he ſent the ſons of Edmund Ironſide, the true heirs of the crown, to his ally, the king of Sweden, deſiring him, immediately on their arrival at his court, to put them to death; but that prince was too generous to perform ſuch a barbarous action: fearing, however, to draw upon himſelf the reſentment of Canute by affording them protection, he ordered them to be conducted to the court of Solomon, king of Hungary. There they met with a very favourable reception; for, after receiving an education ſuited to their rank, the elder brother, Edwin, was married to Solomon's ſiſter; but he dying without iſſue, Solomon gave his ſiſter-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent. Of Edgar Atheling we ſhall hear farther in the reign of the Conqueror, and in that of Henry I. and a grandſon of Margaret's afterwards mounted the throne of England in the perſon of Henry II. *A. D.* 1017.

Canute having eſtabliſhed the internal tranquillity of his kingdom, began to think of providing for its external ſafety. For this purpoſe he went over to Denmark, in order to oppoſe the inroads of the king of Sweden, who had invaded his dominions; and he defeated that monarch in a great battle. He likewiſe attacked Olaus, king of Norway, whom he not only overcame, but even ſtript of his dominions;

and he compelled Malcolm, king of Scotland, to do him homage for the lands which that prince held in England.

BEING now freed from all apprehenſions either of domeſtic inſurrections or of foreign invaſions, he employed himſelf chiefly in regulating the civil adminiſtration of his kingdom. He repaired the cities, abbeys, and churches, that had been damaged, or demoliſhed, during the late wars; and he erected a ſplendid church over the tomb of Edmund, king of East-Anglia, who had been killed by the Danes, and, in memory of that prince, he gave to the town the name of St. Edmundſbury, which it ſtill retains. According to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the age, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he reſided ſome time, and obtained ſeveral privileges in favour of the Engliſh ſchool eſtabliſhed in that city.

HIS piety, however, though tinctured with ſuperſtition in this inſtance, ſeems to have been founded upon the moſt rational principles; and of this he gave a ſtriking proof upon the following occaſion. One day, as he was walking by the ſea-ſide, ſome of his courtiers, in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed, that all things were poſſible for him. Upon this, he ordered a chair to be brought, and ſitting down on the ſhore while the tide was making, he commanded the waves to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was Lord of the Ocean. He pretended to ſit for ſome time in expectation of their ſubmiſſion; but when the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and began to waſh him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and obſerved, that every creature in the univerſe was feeble and impotent, and that power belonged to that Being alone, in whoſe hands were all the elements of nature, and who could ſay to the Ocean, "Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no farther; and here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtayed."

THOUGH Canute had waded to the throne through oceans of blood, he had no ſooner attained that high dignity, than he ſeemed all at once to change his nature, and from one of the fierceſt and moſt cruel, he ſuddenly became one of the mildeſt and moſt merciful Sovereigns that had ever ſwayed the ſceptre over the Engliſh nation. He died in 1035, leaving behind him three ſons; Sweyn and Harold, whom he had by his firſt wife, Alfwen, daughter of the earl of Hampſhire; and Hardicanute, who was borne to him by his ſecond wife Emma of Normandy, widow of the late king Ethelred. To Sweyn he bequeathed Norway; to Hardicanute, Denmark; and Harold ſucceeded him on the throne of England.

OF this prince, who, on account of his great agility in running and walking, is uſually diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Harefoot, little elſe is recorded, than that when Alfred, the ſon of

of Ethelred and Emma, came to pay him a viſit, he was treacherouſly ſeized by Harold's order, his eyes were put out, and he was thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died. In a word, by this, and ſeveral other acts of cruelty, he rendered himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects, that he was juſt upon the point of being dethroned, when death put a period to his exiſtence, and made way for the ſucceſſion of Hardicanute, who, though he ſeems to have been both a dutiful ſon, and an affectionate brother, (having invited to his court his mother Emma, and his ſtep-brother Edward, Emma's ſecond ſon by her firſt huſband Ethelred) yet was, in other reſpects, of as ſavage and cruel a diſpoſition as Harold. For, in order to wreak his vengeance upon the dead body of that prince, who had treated his brother Alfred in ſuch a barbarous manner, he cauſed it to be dug out of the grave, to be publickly beheaded, and to be thrown into the Thames, where it was found by ſome fiſhermen, and brought to the Danes, who privately interred it in the church of St. Clement, which ſtill goes by the name of St. Clement's-Danes.

Nor was this the only inſtance he gave of his cruelty; the following one perhaps is no leſs remarkable. Two of his taxgatherers having been murdered by the inhabitants of Worceſter, he commanded Godwin, duke of Weſſex, and ſome other noblemen, to march againſt that city, to raze it to the ground, and put the inhabitants to the ſword. With the former part of the order they were obliged to comply; but they were too generous to execute the laſt. Happily for the Engliſh, this prince's reign was as ſhort as it was violent. He was ſuddenly cut off in conſequence of a ſurfeit he got at the wedding-feaſt of a Daniſh nobleman; and the people were ſo little affected with his death, that they made it a ſubject of mirth, and, for a long time, diſtinguiſhed the anniverſary of it by the name of *Hock-holiday*.

Leaving no iſſue behind him, the Engliſh embraced this favourable opportunity of reſtoring the line of their Saxon kings, and they beſtowed the crown upon Edward, the youngeſt ſon of Ethelred by his queen Emma. Not that he was the true lineal heir, had hereditary right been then eſtabliſhed; for, in that caſe, the ſons of Edmund Ironſide would have had a preferable title. But neither was hereditary right as yet recogniſed; nor even if it had, would it probably, in this inſtance, have been at all regarded, as the ſons of Edmund Ironſide were then abſent from the kingdom, and the preſent conjuncture would admit of no delay.

All circumſtances, therefore, concurring in favour of Edward, he was advanced to the throne, though chiefly through

the influence of Godwin, duke of Weſſex, who, however, did not beſtow this mighty boon upon him without exacting ſome favour in return, and that was that he ſhould eſpouſe the duke's daughter Editha; a condition, to which Edward was obliged to agree, in ſpite of his reluctance to marry the daughter of a man, whom he conſidered as the murderer of his brother Alfred. But though he married her, he could never be perſuaded to cohabit with her, reſtrained either by this rooted averſion, or influenced, as ſome think, by a miſtaken principle of religion; and to this cauſe it was chiefly owing, that he was honoured with the title of Saint and Confeſſor.

SUCH a treatment of his daughter could not be ſuppoſed to be very agreeable to Godwin, who, actuated partly by reſentment on this account, and partly by motives of ambition, took up arms, in order, as he pretended, to free the kingdom from foreigners; for Edward having been educated in Normandy, and having contracted an affection for the manners and cuſtoms of that country, had brought over a great number of the natives with him to England, and promoted them to all the beſt livings in the church. This naturally excited the jealouſy of the Engliſh, and furniſhed Godwin with a plauſible pretext for his hoſtile proceedings. The king, however, though by no means of a warlike diſpoſition, was able to aſſemble an army ſufficiently ſtrong to ſet Godwin at defiance, and even to drive him into baniſhment; but from this he ſoon returned, and dying in a little time after, was ſucceeded in his power and authority by his ſon Harold, who afterwards mounted the throne of England.

THE only military tranſactions of any conſequence, that happened during this reign, were performed by Harold, and by Siward, earl of Northumberland. The former of theſe noblemen repulſed the Welſh, who had invaded the weſtern borders, and purſuing them into their own country, reduced them at laſt to ſuch extremity, that they were glad to purchaſe a peace of him, by preſenting him with the head of Griffith, their prince. And the latter gained great glory by an expedition he made into Scotland, the occaſion of which was as follows: Macbeth, a Scottiſh nobleman, having murdered Duncan, his lawful ſovereign, and baniſhed his ſon, Malcolm Kenmore, uſurped the throne of that kingdom; upon which Siward, whoſe daughter Duncan had married, marched with an army againſt the bloody tyrant, defeated and killed him in a great battle, and eſtabliſhed Malcolm on the throne of his anceſtors.

THERE are two circumſtances related of Siward, that ſhew his high ſenſe of honour, and his martial diſpoſition. When he

he heard of the death of his ſon Oſberne, who fell in the battle againſt Macbeth, he was at firſt inconſolable; but finding at length that the wound was received in the breaſt, and that he died like a brave man, he put an end to his lamentations. When he found his own end approaching, he ordered his ſervants to clothe him in a complete ſuit of armour, and ſitting erect on the couch, with a ſpear in his hand, declared, that, in that poſture, the only one worthy of a warrior, he would patiently await the fatal moment.

THE moſt commendable circumſtance of Edward's government was his attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and his compiling for that purpoſe a body of laws, which he collected from the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now loſt, (for the laws that paſs under Edward's name were, as Sir Henry Spelman informs us, compoſed afterwards) was long regarded by the people of England as a moſt precious treaſure. It was probably the foundation of the Charters granted by Henry I. and Henry III. and, above all, of the Great Charter, or *Magna Charta*, granted by King John, which is juſtly thought to contain the great outlines of the Engliſh Conſtitution.

ANOTHER particular recorded of this prince muſt not be omitted. He was the firſt, who, in imitation of the French monarchs, pretended to cure, by his touch, the diſeaſe called the King's evil; a practice continued by all his ſucceſſors till the year 1714, when it was wiſely laid aſide by the preſent royal family, who obſerved, that as it had always been the object of ridicule to men of ſenſe, ſo it could no longer raiſe the admiration even of the vulgar. As Edward was a religious prince, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that he would not be inattentive to the erecting places of worſhip. He accordingly converted a little monaſtery into a moſt beautiful cathedral, named Weſtminſter-Abbey, which he endowed with rich revenues, and dedicated to St. Peter; and he there built his own ſepulchre, which has ſince been employed as the common burying place of all the Engliſh monarchs. He likewiſe built another church, which was conſecrated to St. Margaret, a little without the abbey.

As Edward had no children of his own, and was now far advanced in years, he began to think ſeriouſly of appointing a ſucceſſor to the throne. With this view, he ſent a deputation to Hungary, to invite over his nephew, Edward, ſon of his elder brother, and the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince, accordingly, came to England, accompanied by his three children, Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Chriſtina; but his death, which happened a few days after

his arrival, threw the king into freſh difficulties. He plainly ſaw, that the youth and inexperience of Edgar rendered him utterly incapable of ruling over ſo fierce and turbulent a people as the Engliſh were at that time; and he therefore turned his eyes towards William duke of Normandy, as the only perſon, related to him, that was qualified for ſo difficult and dangerous a taſk.

THIS famous prince was the ſon of Robert, duke of Normandy, by one of his miſtreſſes named Harlette, a ſkinner's daughter of Falaiſe; whence he was at firſt ſtigmatized with the ſurname of Baſtard; but this he afterwards, upon his ſubduing England, changed into that of Conqueror. The connection between his father and mother is ſaid to have taken its riſe in the following manner. As Robert was one day taking the air on horſeback, he happened to paſs by a company of country girls, who were dancing; and was ſo charmed with the handſome perſon, and graceful carriage of one of them, viz. the above-mentioned Harlette, that he prevailed upon her to cohabit with him; and ten months after, in the year 1026, ſhe was delivered of this William, of whom we are now ſpeaking.

As Robert had no legitimate children, and was, beſides, extremely fond of his natural ſon, he, upon ſetting out on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, appointed William heir to his dominions, in caſe he ſhould die on his journey; and that event actually happening, William ſucceeded to the dukedom in 1035, being then only nine years of age. So long a minority could not fail to be attended with many inconveniences. It expoſed the country to the inroads of its ambitious neighbours, and to the tumults and inſurrections of its factious nobles; but William having obtained to the years of maturity, repulſed the one, and repreſſed the other, and effectually reſtored the tranquillity of his dukedom.

WHAT led Edward to give the preference to William in the choice of a ſucceſſor, was not ſo much his attachment to that prince, for whom, however, he had a very great regard, and to whom he lay under conſiderable obligations; as his averſion to Harold, whom he had long looked upon with an eye of jealouſy, and who, he plainly perceived, was uſing every art, that power or popularity could enable him to employ, in order to pave the way for his own advancement to the throne. Nor were his ſuſpicions with regard to him by any means groundleſs; for Edward had no ſooner breathed his laſt, which he did in his ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, than Harold took poſſeſſion of the government, if not with the unanimous conſent, at leaſt without

without the expreſs diſapprobation of the people. The citizens of London were his faſt friends; the biſhops and other clergy were all on his ſide; and moſt of the nobility, connected with him by friendſhip or alliance, were extremely ready to ſecond his pretenſions.

THESE circumſtances, however, did not deter the duke of Normandy from aſſerting his claim to the crown, to which, he alledged, he had a juſt right by the will of the late king, though it does not appear, that any ſuch will ever exiſted. But in order to cover his proceedings with the appearance of juſtice, he ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, ſummoning him to reſign his crown; and, in caſe of refuſal, declaring war againſt him. While he was preparing for his intended expedition, he prevailed upon Toſti, king Harold's own brother, (who, having been ſtripped of his employments for his numerous crimes, had, in a fit of rage, abandoned the kingdom) to make a deſcent upon England. Toſti was repulſed in his firſt attempt: but retiring afterwards to the court of Norway, he perſuaded Harold Halfager, the king of that country, to undertake the conqueſt of England, promiſing to aſſiſt him with all his power and influence. Halfager, accordingly, embarked an army on board a fleet of three hundred ſhips, and being joined by Toſti with about ſixty veſſels more, he entered the Humber, over-ran Yorkſhire, took the capital of that county, and was proceeding in his ravages, when being encountered by the king of England, at the head of a numerous army, his troops were defeated, and himſelf and Toſti ſlain in the action.

THE unfortunate iſſue of this firſt experiment would have intimidated a man of leſs courage than William; but nothing could daunt the heroic ſoul of that aſpiring prince. Having collected an army of ſixty thouſand veteran troops, the beſt perhaps at that time in Europe, he put them on board a fleet of three thouſand ſhips, great and ſmall, (for ſome of his ſhips ſeem to have been of a very ſmall ſize) and ſetting ſail for England, he landed them without oppoſition, on the 29th of September, at Pevenſy in Suſſex. *A. D.* 1066. The Duke himſelf, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to ſtumble and fall; but had the preſence of mind, it is ſaid, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud, that he had taken poſſeſſion of the country. And a ſoldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked ſome thatch, which, as if giving him ſeizine of the kingdom, he preſented to his general.

HAROLD was no ſooner informed of the landing of the Normans, than he immediately advanced againſt them, and reſolved to

give them battle; and this he did in oppoſition to the advice of his brother Gurth, a brave and experienced officer, who repreſented to him the great danger of ſuch an attempt, and the ſuperior advantages that accrue from haraſſing the enemy with a deſultory war, and thereby obliging them, almoſt without bloodſhed, to evacuate the kingdom. But Harold would not liſten to what he deemed ſuch timid councils. Elated with his late victory over the Norvegians, as well as ſtimulated by his native courage, he determined immediately to come up with the enemy, and with this view advanced toward Haſtings, where they had now fixed their quarters. Here he ſent a meſſage to the duke, promiſing him a large ſum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effuſion of blood. The offer, however, was not only rejected; but the Duke ſent him a meſſage in his turn, requiring him either to reſign the crown, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to ſubmit their cauſe to the arbitration of the Pope, or to fight him in ſingle combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would ſoon decide the controverſy between them. Both ſides now prepared for action; but the night preceding the engagement was paſſed in the two camps in a very different manner. The Engliſh ſpent the time in riot, and jollity, and diſorder; the Normans in ſilence, and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion. This famous battle was fought on the 14th of October, and began very early in the morn-

A. D. 1066. ing. Harold had taken poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, where he wiſely reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive. The Kentiſhmen were placed in the front; the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king himſelf, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, diſmounting, placed himſelf at the head of his infantry, being determined, as he ſaid, either to conquer or periſh in the action. The Normans, therefore, began the attack, and their firſt aſſault was extremely deſperate; but they met with ſuch a ſtout and vigorous reſiſtance, that, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, they were beginning to fall into diſorder, when William coming up, reſtored the battle, and renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Finding, however, that, after all his efforts, the main body of the Engliſh ſtill continued impenetrable, he ordered his men to make a ſeeming retreat; and when the Engliſh, believing them routed, purſued them into the plain, the Normans turned ſuddenly upon theſe laſt, and drove them back to the hill with great ſlaughter. The ſame ſtratagem was tried a ſecond time, and with the ſame ſucceſs; but, notwithſtanding the loſs of the Engliſh in theſe two encounters, a good body of them ſtill kept

kept together, and ſeemed even determined to diſpute the victory with the enemy, till at laſt Harold, after performing the part both of a ſkilful commander and of a gallant ſoldier, was unfortunately killed with an arrow, and his two valiant brothers ſhared the ſame fate. The Engliſh, diſpirited by the fall of theſe princes, immediately took to flight, and were hotly purſued by the victorious Normans, who committed great ſlaughter among them, till at length darkneſs put an end to the carnage. The loſs of the Normans in this battle amounted to about fifteen thouſand men; that of the Engliſh was much more conſiderable. The body of Harold was brought to William, who generouſly reſtored it without ranſom to his mother, and it was interred in Waltham-Abbey, which Harold himſelf had founded.

To this brief but impartial account of the public tranſactions in England, during the reigns of the Anglo-Saxon princes, we ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort view of ſuch curious, detached particulars, as could not ſo properly enter into the general thread of the hiſtory. England ſeems to have been but very thinly peopled in thoſe early times, and the cities appear, by Domeſday-book, to have been little better than villages. York itſelf, though it was always the ſecond, at leaſt the third city in the kingdom, contained then but 1418 families, which, allowing five perſons to each family, makes about 7000 ſouls. Norwich contained 738 houſes; Exeter, 315; Ipſwich, 538; Northampton, 60; Hertford, 146; Canterbury, 262; Bath, 64; Southampton, 84; and Warwick, 225. One of the beſt hiſtorians of that period tells us, that the great diſtinction between the Anglo-Saxon nobility and the French or Norman, was, that the latter built magnificent and ſtately caſtles; whereas the former conſumed their immenſe fortunes in riot and hoſpitality, and in mean houſes: a plain proof, that the arts were much more advanced in France than in England.

The price of commodities, in thoſe times, was apparently very low, though by no means ſo in reality. The Saxon pound, as likewiſe that, which was coined for ſome centuries after the conqueſt, was near three times the weight of our preſent money. There were forty-eight ſhillings in the pound, and five pence in a ſhilling: conſequently a Saxon ſhilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. A ſheep, by the laws of Athelſtan, was eſtimated at a ſhilling; that is, fifteen pence of our money. An ox was computed at ſix times the value of a ſheep; a cow at four. A horſe was valued at about thirty-ſix ſhillings of our money, or thirty Saxon ſhillings; a mare a third leſs.

A man at three pounds. The board wages of a child the firſt year was eight ſhillings, together with a cow's paſture in ſummer, and an ox's in winter. Between the years 900 and 1000, Ednoth bought a hide of land for about 118 ſhillings of our preſent money. This was little more than a ſhilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the uſual price. A palfrey was ſold for twelve ſhillings about the year 966. The value of an ox in king Ethelred's time was between ſeven and eight ſhillings; a cow about ſix ſhillings. In the time of Henry I. bread, which would ſuffice a hundred men for a day, was rated at three ſhillings, or a ſhilling of that age; for it is thought that ſoon after the Conqueſt a pound ſterling was divided into twenty ſhillings.

WHENEVER a ſum of money is mentioned in ancient times, there are three things to be conſidered. Firſt, the change of denomination, by which a pound has been reduced to the third part of its ancient weight in ſilver. Secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the ſame weight of ſilver to ten times leſs value, compared to commodities; and conſequently a pound ſterling to the thirtieth part of the ancient value. Thirdly, the fewer people and leſs induſtry, which were then to be found in every European kingdom. This circumſtance made even the thirtieth part of the ſum more difficult to levy, and cauſed any ſum to have more than thirty times the weight and influence that it has at preſent. This laſt difference is not eaſy to be calculated. But allowing that England has now ſix times more induſtry, and three times more people than it had at the Conqueſt, and for ſome reigns after that period, we are, upon that ſuppoſition, to conceive, taking all circumſtances together, every ſum of money mentioned by hiſtorians, as if it were multiplied more than a hundred fold above a ſum of the ſame denomination at preſent.

THE manner of conducting trials in thoſe early times was equally ſingular and abſurd. When the evidence became too intricate for the judges to unravel, they had recourſe to what they called the judgment of God, that is, to fortune; and their methods of conſulting this oracle were various. One of them was the deciſion by the croſs: it was practiſed in this manner. When a perſon was accuſed of any crime, he firſt cleared himſelf. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the ſign of the croſs; and wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, or on ſome celebrated relique. After ſolemn prayers for the ſucceſs of the experiment, a prieſt, or in his ſtead ſome unexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and if he happened upon that

that which was marked with the figure of the croſs, the perſon was pronounced innocent; if otherwiſe, guilty.

THE ordeal was another eſtabliſhed method of trial among the Anglo-Saxons. It was practiſed either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people; the latter to the nobility. The water or iron was conſecrated by many prayers and maſſes, faſtings and exorciſms; after which, the perſon accuſed either took up a ſtone ſunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain diſtance; and his hand being wrapped up, and the covering ſealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwiſe, guilty. The trial by cold water was different. The perſon was thrown into conſecrated water; if he ſwam, he was innocent; if he ſunk, he was guilty.

CHAP. V.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

WILLIAM had no ſooner gained the great and deciſive victory at Haſtings, than *A. D.* 1066. he began to advance towards London, the magiſtrates of which came out in a body to receive him, and preſented him with the keys of the city, in token of their ſubmiſſion; and their example was ſoon after followed by all the reſt of the kingdom. Having thus made himſelf maſter of the government, at the expence only of one battle, though that indeed a very bloody one, he reſolved to have his authority confirmed by the ceremony of a coronation; and accordingly on the 26th of December, 1066, he was ſolemnly crowned by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, the archbiſhop of Canterbury being deemed unqualified for that office, on account of his having received his pall from Benedict IX. who was reckoned an uſurper.

BUT though he had been able to raiſe himſelf to the throne of England in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo little oppoſition, his reign was not ſuffered to paſs in tranquillity. He was perpetually employed in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections of his rebellious ſubjects, or repelling the attacks of his reſtleſs neighbours. A large body of Danes in 300 veſſels arrived upon the eaſtern coaſt, and entering the Humber, they reduced the city of York; but William marching againſt them with a numerous army, they were ſoon obliged to make a precipitate retreat. The Welſh continued their uſual depredations upon the weſtern

borders; but were always driven back, with conſiderable loſs, into their mountains and foreſts. Malcolm, king of Scots, too, made an inroad into the northern counties; but he was not only repulſed into his own country, but obliged to do homage to William for the principality of Cumberland.

WILLIAM had not been above three months in England, when he looked upon his authority as ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he thought he might make a journey to his native country of Normandy. Whether this proceeded from a motive of vanity and oſtentation, in wiſhing to dazzle his old ſubjects with the luſtre of his regal character, or was done with the ſecret, though leſs excuſable view of drawing the Engliſh into rebellion, and thereby furniſhing him with a plauſible pretext for depriving them of their eſtates, in order to beſtow them on his Norman captains, certain it is that it fully anſwered both theſe purpoſes. The Normans were ſtruck with the ſplendid appearance of his new courtiers, many of whom accompanied him to the continent; and the Engliſh at home being no longer overawed by his preſence, and being, at the ſame time, exaſperated and grievouſly oppreſſed by the inſolence and rapacity of his Norman officers, broke out almoſt every where into open rebellion. They are even ſaid to have formed a plot for cutting off all the Normans at once by a general maſſacre, ſimilar to that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes.

WILLIAM was no ſooner informed of theſe commotions, than he haſtened over to England, and inflicted the moſt ſevere, and even the moſt cruel puniſhments upon the delinquents. He put out the eyes of ſome, cut off the hands and feet of others, condemned ſeveral, either to death, or to perpetual impriſonment, and deprived almoſt all of them of their eſtates, which he beſtowed upon the Normans. He even ſeized the treaſures belonging to the monaſteries, under pretence that the rebels had concealed there their moſt valuable effects. He excluded the Engliſh from all places of truſt and profit, and ſtripped them, as far as he could, of all their ancient privileges, aboliſhing their laws, and eſtabliſhing thoſe of Normandy in their room. He divided the kingdom into about two hundred baronies, and ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen knight's fees; and he beſtowed all the former, either upon Normans, or other foreign adventurers; and ſuch of the Engliſh as retained their poſſeſſions, were content to be admitted into the ſecond claſs. He commanded the people to uſe the Norman or French tongue only in their law proceedings; cauſed the laws of the land to be tranſlated into that language; and ordered it to be taught in all ſchools; a practice, which has never ſince been entirely diſcontinued, and perhaps is as prevalent now in the

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ſchools in and about London as it was in the time of the Conqueror. In a word, he governed England as a conquered country; and it may be ſafely affirmed, that no ſovereign ever ruled with a more arbitrary and deſpotic ſway. With regard, however, to the Corfeu, or the obliging the people to put out their fires and lights on the ſounding of a certain bell, which is commonly cited as a proof of his tyranny, this cannot, with any propriety, admit of ſuch a conſtruction, inaſmuch as it was a law which William had previouſly eſtabliſhed in Normandy, and as the ſame cuſtom prevailed in Scotland.

HARASSED, however, as William was with the inroads of his reſtleſs and ambitious neighbours, and with the inſurrections of his rebellious ſubjects, his greateſt grievance did not ariſe from that quarter. It proceeded from a ſource, from which he had much leſs reaſon to apprehend it. It ſprung from the ingratitude, or at leaſt the inordinate ambition of his eldeſt ſon, Robert. This prince had been promiſed the ſovereignty of Maine, and had even been declared his father's ſucceſſor in the dutchy of Normandy; in caſe the expedition againſt England ſucceeded. William's view in taking the firſt ſtep was to gratify the humour of the barons of Maine, who wanted their province to be independent of Normandy; and his deſign in adopting the latter ſeems to have been to appeaſe the jealouſy of the French king, who dreaded, that if William ſhould be able to make a conqueſt of England, he would ſoon become too powerful a prince, to continue much longer a peaceable ſubject of France. As he had now, therefore, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the Engliſh throne, Robert demanded to be put in poſſeſſion both of Normandy and Maine. But to this requiſition William gave a flat refuſal, telling his ſon, according to the homely ſaying, that he never meant to throw off his clothes, till he went to bed.

ROBERT, though highly provoked at this diſappointment, would probably never have carried his reſentment farther than words, had it not been for the following incident, which plainly ſhews, according to the common proverb, that great events are ſometimes produced by little cauſes. Being one day engaged in play with his two younger brothers, William and Henry, at the caſtle of l'Aigle in Normandy, theſe laſt took it into their heads, by way of frolic, to throw ſome water upon him as he paſſed through the court on leaving their apartment. Robert, who was naturally of an iraſcible temper, and beſides had begun to grow jealous of his brothers on account of their father's partiality to them, immediately took fire at this trifling circumſtance, which his anger led him to conſtrue into a ſtudied indignity; and drawing his ſword, he ran up ſtairs with

with a determined reſolution to revenge the affront. The whole caſtle in an inſtant was filled with the uproar; and the king himſelf, who haſtened from his apartment, found great difficulty in appeaſing the diſturbance. But nothing could appeaſe the reſentment of Robert, who quitted the court that very evening; and being ſoon after joined by many of the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Britanny, he openly levied war againſt his father. William, however, ſoon reduced his ſon to ſuch difficulties as to compel him to take refuge in the caſtle of Gerberoy, which he formally inveſted; and while he lay before it, ſeveral petty rencounters took place between the two armies. In one of theſe, Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat enſued, till at laſt the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horſe. The next blow would, in all probability, have put an end to William's life, had he not called out for aſſiſtance; upon which his ſon knew him by his voice, and being ſtruck with remorſe for the crime he had committed, he threw himſelf at his father's feet, and begged pardon for his offence, which he in ſome meaſure obtained. An accommodation was ſoon after effected between them by the mediation of their common friends.

THERE is one particular of William's reign, which muſt not paſs unnoticed, as it is ſtrongly deſcriptive of his imperious character, which led him to ſacrifice the happineſs of his people not only to his ambition, but even to his pleaſure. Being extremely addicted, as was the faſhion of the times, to the diverſion of hunting, and not thinking his preſent foreſts ſufficiently large, he laid waſte the county of Hampſhire for the extent of thirty miles, and converted it into a habitation for wild beaſts, which he called the New Foreſt; a name which it ſtill retains. At the ſame time he denounced the moſt ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to hunt in any of the royal foreſts; and while the killing of a man might be atoned for by paying a moderate fine, the killing of a deer or boar, or even of a hare, was puniſhed with the loſs of the delinquent's eyes.

THE laſt public tranſaction, in which William was concerned, was a war with France, occaſioned partly by ſome inroads which the French barons had made into Normandy, and partly by ſome railleries which the king of France had thrown out upon his bodily infirmities. William, it ſeems, had now become corpulent, and having been confined to his bed for ſome time by ſickneſs, the French king had been heard to ſay, that

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he ſuppoſed his brother of England only lay in of his big belly. William was ſo provoked at this innocent joke, that he ſent Philip word he would ſoon be up, and would, at his churching, preſent ſuch a number of tapers in Notre-dame, as would ſet the kingdom of France in a blaze. In order to execute this threat, he levied a numerous army, with which he invaded the Iſle of France, and laid every thing waſte around him with fire and ſword. He took the town of Mante, and reduced it to aſhes. But this laſt action was attended with an accident that put a period to his life. Entering the town before the flames were extinguiſhed, his horſe happened to tread on ſome hot aſhes, which made the animal plunge; and William being thrown forward on the pommel of the ſaddle, bruiſed his belly to ſuch a degree, that he was ſoon after ſeized with a fever, which carried him off on the 9th of September, 1087; this being the ſixty-third year of his age, the twenty-firſt of his reign over England, and the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy.

THE character of this prince is evident from the whole tenour of his reign. Great parts, inſatiable ambition, undaunted courage, and indefatigable activity; theſe appear to have been the chief and moſt diſtinguiſhing features of his mind. Nor were the qualities of his body of a different complexion. His aſpect was ſevere and imperious, his ſtature was tall and portly, and the compoſition of his bones and muſcles was ſo ſtrong, that there was hardly a man of that age who could bend his bow, or handle his arms. By his wife, Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, he had four ſons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry; and five daughters, viz. Cicely, abbeſs of a monaſtery in Caen; Conſtantia, married to Alain Fergant, duke of Britany; Alice, who was contracted to Harold, but died in her infancy; Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, whoſe ſon of the ſame name afterwards mounted the throne of England; and Agatha, who was betrothed to the king of Gallicia, but died in her journey to that country. To Robert, his eldeſt ſon, he left Normandy and Maine; Richard was killed by a deer in the New Foreſt; to William he gave England; and to Henry he bequeathed nothing but his mother's poſſeſſions. But upon that prince's complaining to him of the ſmall patrimony he had received, William is ſaid to have comforted him with the hopes, that the dominions of his brothers would be one day united in his perſon; an event, which in the ſequel actually took place.

THERE is one tranſaction of William's reign, which we have not yet mentioned, and which we yet muſt not ſuffer to paſs without notice. He cauſed a general ſurvey to be made of all

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the lands in the kingdom, their extent in each diſtrict, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in ſome counties the number of tenants, cottagers, and ſlaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. He appointed commiſſioners for this purpoſe, who entered every particular in their regiſter by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of ſix years, they brought him an exact account of all the landed property in the kingdom. This monument, called Domeſday-book, the moſt valuable piece of antiquity poſſeſſed by any nation, is ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer; and though only a few extracts of it have been publiſhed, it ſerves to illuſtrate in many particulars the ancient ſtate of England. The great Alfred had finiſhed a like ſurvey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Wincheſter, and which probably ſerved as a model to William in this undertaking.

CHAP. VI.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

A. D. 1087. WILLIAM, ſurnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, ſucceeded his father on the throne of England, if not with the unanimous conſent, at leaſt without the expreſs diſapprobation of the people. This was partly owing to the deſtination which his father had made in his favour, but chiefly to the great influence and authority of Lanfranc, the primate, who, having been William's preceptor, had naturally contracted an attachment to his intereſt, and took care to ſet the crown upon his head immediately upon receiving the firſt news of the Conqueror's death. The great barons of the realm, however, though ſome of them aſſiſted at the ceremony, were by no means ſatisfied with this precipitate ſtep. As moſt of them were poſſeſſed of large eſtates both in England and Normandy, they naturally wiſhed to ſee both theſe countries governed by the ſame ſovereign, ſenſible that if they were ruled by different princes, and theſe princes ſhould at any time happen to quarrel, they themſelves would run the riſk of loſing their property either in the one country or the other; and as Robert ſeemed to be the only prince, who was entitled by his birth to the united ſovereignty of the whole, they therefore formed a conſpiracy in his favour, in order to raiſe him to the throne of England, in the ſame manner as he had already ſucceeded to the dutchy of Normandy. They even proceeded ſo far, upon receiving aſſurances

ances of being ſupported by Robert, as to make themſelves maſters of ſome caſtles; but William having, by general promiſes of future good treatment, engaged the native Engliſh in his intereſt, ſoon found means to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy, and though he was perſuaded to ſave the lives of the inſurgents, he yet confiſcated their eſtates, and baniſhed them the kingdom. He even thought himſelf in a condition, about three years after, to retaliate upon Robert by invading the dutchy of Normandy, which he accordingly did, and reduced ſeveral places; but the leading men on both ſides, who were ſtrongly connected by intereſt and alliances, interpoſed their good offices, and effected an accommodation between the two brothers upon this condition, that, on the demiſe of either without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to all his dominions.

WILLIAM was recalled into England by an inroad of the Welſh, who had invaded the weſtern borders. Theſe people he eaſily repulſed, and even purſued into their own country; but the Welſh betaking themſelves to their mountains and faſtneſſes, occaſionally ſallied out upon the diſperſed parties of the Engliſh, whom they put to the ſword without oppoſition; and William, finding it impoſſible to bring them to a battle, was at laſt obliged to give over the purſuit. Malcolm, king of Scots, too, made an attack upon the northern counties; but being ſurpriſed in the neighbourhood by a party of earl Moubray's troops, his army was eaſily put to the rout, and himſelf and his ſon Edward ſlain.

THE noiſe, however, of theſe petty wars was now quite drowned in the tumult of the Cruſades, which broke out about this time, and is certainly one of the moſt memorable events to be found in the hiſtory of the human kind. Peter the hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; and having ſeen with indignation the cruel hardſhips, to which the Chriſtians, who viſited the holy ſepulchre, were ſubjected by the infidel Turks, he entertained the bold and ſeemingly impracticable idea of leading into Aſia, from the fartheſt extremities of the weſt, armies ſufficient to ſubdue thoſe potent and warlike nations who were now in poſſeſſion of that place. By the permiſſion of Martin II. who then filled the papal chair, he preached up the cruſade all over Europe, and men of every rank and condition flew to arms for the expreſs purpoſe of reſcuing the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels; each perſon, as a mark of his zeal as well as piety, wearing the ſign of the croſs upon his right ſhoulder. But though moſt of the princes of Europe, tranſported with the general rage, aſſembled their forces for this religious war, few of them were poſſeſſed of money enough to defray the expence of the

the expedition; and they therefore ſold or mortgaged their poſſeſſions in Europe for what they could get for them, in hopes of being able to obtain more rich and magnificent ſettlements in the eaſt. This was exactly the caſe with Robert duke of Normandy, who, though brave, open, and generous, was naturally of an eaſy, indolent, and thoughtleſs diſpoſition, and who, wiſhing to appear in a manner ſuitable to his rank and ſtation, now mortgaged his dukedom to his brother William for the inadequate ſum of ten thouſand marks.

NOR was this the only acquiſition which William made, or at leaſt was upon the point of making, on this extraordinary occaſion. The duke of Guienne, who was likewiſe earl of Poiters, was preciſely in the ſame predicament as Robert of Normandy. He had aſſembled a large army of 60,000 horſe, and a much greater number of foot, with an intention of embarking in the cruſade; but he wanted money to pay them. He therefore offered to mortgage his dominions to the king of England for a ſtipulated ſum; and William, who never lent a deaf ear to any overture of that kind, immediately accepted the propoſal. Accordingly having raiſed the requiſite ſum by the moſt cruel exactions upon his ſubjects, he was preparing a fleet, and an army to eſcort the money to the continent, and take poſſeſſion of the provinces he was to receive in return, when an unexpected accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. One day as he was hunting in the New Foreſt, attended by Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, that gentleman, who excelled in archery, and was deſirous of giving the king a ſpecimen of his art, let fly an arrow at a ſtag that ſuddenly ſtarted before him. But the arrow, inſtead of piercing the ſtag, glanced accidentally either from its horns, or from ſome tree in the neighbourhood, and entering the king's breaſt, it inſtantly ſlew him; and Tyrrel, alarmed at the crime he had committed, however innocently, put ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea-ſhore, embarked for France, and joined the cruſade that was then ſetting out for Jeruſalem; a puniſhment that he inflicted upon himſelf for having been the involuntary cauſe of the king's death. This event happened on the 2d of Auguſt, in the year 1100, being the thirteenth year of William's reign, and about the fortieth of his age.

THE character of William has been tranſmitted to us in the blackeſt colours; though as he was almoſt all his life-time at variance with the monks, who were then the only hiſtorians, it is not unnatural to ſuppoſe, that they may have a little overcharged the picture. He appears, however, even with this abatement, to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; an inſidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind

kind and ungenerous relation; and the only good quality he ſeems to have poſſeſſed, was his ſignal courage, which roſe almoſt to a degree of ferocity. The Engliſh were ſo far from lamenting his death, that they looked upon it as one of the moſt fortunate events that could poſſibly have happened; and they further obſerved, that as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, in expelling all the inhabitants of Hampſhire, in order to form the New Foreſt; ſo providence, by a juſt retribution, had rendered that place fatal to ſeveral of his poſterity; for, beſides William, who now loſt his life in it, his elder ſon, Richard, and his grandſon, of the ſame name, natural ſon of duke Robert, were both killed by accident in the ſame Foreſt. As William was never married, he left no no legitimate iſſue. He rebuilt London-Bridge, which had been demoliſhed by torrents; ſurrounded the Tower with a ſtrong rampart; and erected Weſtminſter-Hall, which, though one of the largeſt buildings in Europe, he affected to deſpiſe as a petty bed-chamber.

CHAP. VII.

HENRY I.

AS William had no ſon to ſucceed him, his elder brother, Robert, was certainly entitled to the crown, not only by the right of primogeniture, but likewiſe in conſequence of the late treaty concluded between him and William. Robert, however, was now abſent in Italy, whither he had returned with great glory from the cruſade, and where having married Sybilla, daughter of the count of Converſana, he had there lingered away a whole year; a delay, that gave his younger brother, Henry, an opportunity of mounting the throne in his ſtead. With this view, Henry, was no ſooner informed of the death of Rufus, than he haſtened to Wincheſter, where having ſeized the royal treaſure, he thence proceeded directly to London, and partly by preſents, partly by promiſing to enlarge and confirm the privileges of the people, he procured ſuch a number of partizans, that on the 5th of Auguſt, 1106, that is, in three days after his brother's deceaſe, he was ſolemnly crowned in London, by Maurice, biſhop of that city. To perform the promiſe he had made to the people, he granted them a very advantageous charter, in which he confirmed ſeveral privileges they had enjoyed under the Saxon kings. He redreſſed many grievances, that had been complained *A. D.* 1100.

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of during the reign of his father and brother; reformed the abuſes, which had crept into the court; enacted ſevere penalties againſt offenders; and promiſed a general confirmation of Edward the Confeſſor's laws: and in order to give the greater authenticity to this deed, and render it the better known, he cauſed a copy of it to be lodged in ſome abbey of every county of the kingdom. The next ſtep he took was equally well calculated to endear him to his ſubjects. This was his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. This lady had been brought up in a convent in England, on account of the troubles in her native country; and as ſhe had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, there ſeemed to be ſome little difficulty in getting over this objection. But in an aſſembly of prelates and nobles, which was ſummoned for the purpoſe of examining this matter, Matilda clearly proved, that ſhe had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely by way of ſecurity to her honour; and the aſſembly admitting this reaſon as ſufficiently valid, Matilda was pronounced free to marry: and her nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity.

HOWEVER irregular the method by which Henry had attained to the throne, he had hitherto continued to poſſeſs it in the moſt perfect tranquillity; but now his peace began to be diſturbed by the return of his brother, Robert, from Italy. That prince, having reſumed the government of his native dutchy, immediately began to make preparations for aſſerting his claim to the Engliſh crown, to which he thought, and juſtly thought, that he had a better title than Henry. To this he was induced not merely by the natural deſire, which every man has, to maintain his own right, but likewiſe by the invitations he received from ſeveral of the Engliſh barons, who promiſed to join him with all their forces immediately upon his arrival in England. Theſe were actuated by the ſame motive, that had influenced them in the reign of William Rufus. They were uneaſy at ſeeing the government of England and that of Normandy divided, and wiſhed to have them united under the ſame head.

ROBERT accordingly aſſembled a body of troops, with which he landed at Portſmouth, and being there joined by ſeveral of the Engliſh, he ſeemed ſoon in a condition to diſpute with his brother the poſſeſſion of the throne. Henry was not long in advancing againſt him, and reſolved to give him battle; but juſt as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, the leading men on both ſides interpoſed their good offices, and effected an accommodation, upon this condition, that

that Robert ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the crown of England, in conſideration of which he ſhould receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; and that all the Engliſh, who had declared in his favour, ſhould be indulged with a pardon. Henry, however, who was more remarkable for ability than integrity, was not very punctual in performing the latter part of the agreement; upon which Robert, who had a great ſhare of knight-errantry in his temper, came over to England a ſecond time almoſt unattended, in order to perſuade his brother to fulfil his engagements; and Henry, taking advantage of Robert's imprudence, compelled him, before he would allow him to depart, to reſign his penſion. Nor was it long before Robert's indiſcretion expoſed him to ſtill greater calamities. He was, indeed, from his natural indolence, altogether unfit, not only for the government of his dutchy, but even for the management of his own private affairs. His ſervants plundered him without mercy; they even ſtole his very clothes, and they thence proceeded to practiſe every ſpecies of extortion on his defenceleſs ſubjects. The Normans, therefore, obſerving the regular government that was maintained in England, and the perpetual confuſion in which their own affairs were involved, invited Henry to come over to their country, and redreſs their grievances.

THIS was the very thing that Henry wanted. He had long meditated the conqueſt of Normandy, and the invitation of the people now furniſhed him with a plauſible pretext for putting his deſign in execution. Accordingly having levied an army, he paſſed over into Normandy, where he reduced ſeveral places, and coming up with his brother in the neighbourhood of Tenchebray, he there fought with him a battle, in which Robert was defeated, and himſelf and about ten thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. Henry having received the ſubmiſſion of all the Norman barons, and firmly eſtabliſhed his authority in that country, returned in triumph to England, leading with him his captive brother, whom he committed cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Cardiff in Wales; and here this unhappy prince continued for the ſpace of twenty-eight years, at the end of which he died, leaving behind him a ſon, named William, who was almoſt as unfortunate as himſelf. Upon this young prince, Lewis le Gros, the French king, intended to beſtow the inveſtiture of Normandy; but not being able to wreſt it from Henry, he gave him the county of Flanders, which, however, he did not long enjoy; for the year following he was killed at the ſiege of Aloſt. Henry reſented this conduct of the French king's ſo much, that he declared war againſt him; and in a battle, which was fought in the courſe of it, he was in great danger

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of being killed by one Criſpin, a Norman knight, who attacked him: nevertheleſs, he unhorſed his antagoniſt, and defeated the French; and the great ſtandard of France being taken, was carried in triumph to Roüen. Both kings, however, being at length equally tired of the war, agreed to a peace, which was brought about by the mediation of pope Calixtus II. who had an interview with them at Giſors.

HENRY had no ſooner extricated himſelf from this quarrel, than he was involved in one with his clergy, which probably gave him more uneaſineſs. This controverſy, indeed, had begun long before, nay even ſo early as the reign of his predeceſſor. The kings of England, it ſeems, had always had the privilege of beſtowing inveſtitures upon biſhops, by delivering to them the paſtoral ſtaff and ring; and alſo of exacting from them, as barons of the realm, an oath of allegiance. By the former, the prelates were ſuppoſed to receive their ſpiritual dignity; by the latter, they were entitled to the temporalties of their ſee. By this privilege the ſovereign had reſerved to himſelf the ſole power of appointing biſhops, though he indulged the chapter with a ſeeming right of election. But this practice having been condemned by a council aſſembled at Rome, Anſelm, who then held the ſee of Canterbury, forbad all the Engliſh prelates, either to receive the inveſtiture, or to take an oath of allegiance; and in order the more effectually to enforce his injunction, he himſelf refuſed to comply with theſe ceremonies. Henry, however, was not of a diſpoſition quietly to reſign ſuch an important prerogative of his crown; but being extremely unwilling to come to an open rupture with the court of Rome, he at length, after various negociations on the ſubject, relinquiſhed the right of beſtowing inveſtitures; and the pope allowed him to retain the privilege of exacting from the biſhops an oath of allegiance.

HAVING now eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect tranquillity, not only in his Engliſh, but likewiſe in his foreign dominions, he had every reaſon to flatter himſelf with the hopes of being able to paſs the remainder of his reign in the greateſt felicity; but all the ſatisfaction ariſing from his public good fortune was more than counterbalanced by a domeſtic calamity which at this time befel him. His only ſon, William, had now attained his eighteenth year; and the king, from the facility with which he himſelf had uſurped the throne, dreading that a like revolution might one day ſubvert his own family, had taken care to have him recognized as his ſucceſſor by the ſtates of the kingdom, and had carried him over to Normandy, to receive the homage of the barons of that dutchy. After performing this requiſite ceremony, the king reſolved to return to England;

land; and accordingly ſetting ſail from Barfleur, he was ſoon carried by a fair wind out of ſight of land. The prince was detained by ſome accident; and his ſailors, as well as their captain, Fitz-Stephens, having ſpent the interval in drinking, became at length ſo intoxicated, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they ran the ſhip upon a rock, where ſhe inſtantly foundered. William was put into the long-boat; and had got clear of the ſhip; but hearing the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Perche, he ordered the ſeamen to row back in hopes of ſaving her: but the numbers, who then crowded in, ſunk the boat; and the prince with all his retinue periſhed. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were loſt on this occaſion. A butcher of Rouen was the only perſon on board who eſcaped. He clung to the maſt, and was taken up next morning by fiſhermen. Fitz-Stephens alſo, after ſwimming for ſome time, took hold of the maſt; but being informed by the butcher that prince William had periſhed, then, ſaid he, I will not out-live him, and immediately ſunk to the bottom. The ſhrieks of theſe unfortunate people were heard from the ſhore, and the noiſe even reached the king's ſhip, but as the cauſe was then unknown, no attempts were made to relieve them. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his ſon had put into ſome diſtant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him, he fainted away, and was never ſeen to ſmile from that moment to the day of his death.

As Henry was now a widower, and was extremely deſirous of leaving male iſſue behind him, he took to his ſecond wife Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Louvaine; but ſhe bringing him no children, he was obliged to caſt his eyes upon his daughter, Matilda, as his ſucceſſor on the throne. This princeſs had been originally married to the emperor, Henry V. by whom ſhe had no iſſue; and afterwards to Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, to whom ſhe bore a ſon. Upon her therefore, and her ſon (who was likewiſe named Henry), the king fixed the ſucceſſion to all his dominions as firmly as oaths of allegiance could fix it, which however, in thoſe barbarous times, were but very feeble ties.

Soon after he made another voyage to Normandy, and ſeemed even determined to paſs the reſt of his days in that country, when an incurſion of the Welſh obliged him to think of returning to England. He accordingly began to prepare for the journey, and was juſt upon the point of ſetting out, when a ſurfeit of lampreys, a food he was always very fond of, threw him into a diſtemper, which put a period to his

his life in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His body, being embalmed according to the rude faſhion of the times, was brought over to England, and interred in Reading-Abbey. This prince was endowed with every quality both of body and mind, that could fit him for the high ſtation, in which he was placed. He had a manly perſon, an engaging countenance, a penetrating eye, and an addreſs ſo extremely affable, that, though he never deſcended to any indecent familiarities, his ſubjects could approach him with the utmoſt freedom. He was ſtrictly impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice; a great lover of learning, and indeed had made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs in it, that he was dignified with the ſurname of Beauclerk, or the Scholar. Ambition, however, was his ruling paſſion; for to this, in his treatment of his brother, Robert, he certainly ſacrificed all the dictates of juſtice, and all the feelings of humanity. It muſt not be omitted, however, as an inſtance of his clemency, if not of his magnanimity, that though Edgar Atheling had adhered to the fortunes of Robert, duke of Normandy, and was taken priſoner in the battle of Tenchebray, Henry not only gave him his liberty, but even ſettled upon him a ſmall penſion, with which he retired; and he lived in England to a good old age, totally neglected and forgotten.

WE ſhall conclude this reign with obſerving, that Henry, on his acceſſion, granted a charter to London, which ſeems to have been the firſt ſtep towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter, the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middleſex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own ſheriff and juſticiary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from Scot, Danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's retinue. Theſe, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of huſtings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middleſex and Surrey, are the chief articles of this charter.

CHAP. VIII.

STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135. HENRY had endeavoured to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his daughter Matilda, not only by obliging all his ſubjects both in England and Normandy to take a proviſional oath of allegiance to her, but likewiſe by engaging the principal nobility of both countries to ſupport her title from motives of gratitude. With this view he had heaped

heaped the greateſt favours upon many of them, and particularly upon his own nephews, Stephen of Blois, and his younger brother Henry. Theſe two princes were ſons of Stephen of Blois and of Adela, daughter of William the conqueror. Henry invited them both to England, and took a pleaſure in advancing them to the higheſt dignities and preferments. To the former he gave a large eſtate in land, and married him to Matilda, daughter and heireſs of Euſtace, count of Boulogne, and niece to Matilda, the king's firſt wife; and the latter he created abbot of Glaſtonbury, and biſhop of Wincheſter, and procured him the dignity of legate to the holy ſee.

But all the intereſt, which Stephen had acquired by his uncle's partiality towards him, was treacherouſly employed, not in ſupporting the title of the empreſs, but in raiſing himſelf to the throne. For he was no ſooner informed of the king's death, than he haſtened over to England; and having previouſly gained the good will of the people, and that of the clergy, by his own popular manners, and by his brother's addreſs, he was ſolemnly crowned in London by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. To eſtabliſh more firmly his yet tottering throne, and to rivet himſelf more ſtrongly in the affections of the people, he granted them a charter, in which he confirmed the privileges of the clergy; acknowledged he held the crown by no other tenure than the free choice of the nation; repealed moſt of the laws relating to hunting; and promiſed to aboliſh the tax called Danegelt. At the ſame time he ſeized the royal treaſure at Wincheſter, amounting to a hundred thouſand pounds; and thus turned againſt the family of his uncle and benefactor the very means which had been provided for its ſecurity: and having procured from Rome, with part of this money, a papal bull in ratification of his title, he was thereby enabled to quiet the ſcruples of the more ſuperſtitious, that is, of the more numerous claſs of his ſubjects.

But though moſt of the nobility had taken the oath of allegiance to Stephen, they had not done it from any conviction of his right to the throne, but from their utter inability to oppoſe his pretenſions. Now, however, that they had recovered from the ſurprize, into which his ſudden uſurpation of the crown had at firſt thrown them, they only waited for a favourable pretext of renouncing the fealty they had ſworn, and eſpouſing the cauſe of the empreſs, Matilda. Nor was it long before they were furniſhed with the opportunity they wiſhed for. Robert, earl of Glouceſter, a natural ſon of the late king, had done homage to Stephen as well as the other barons but now thinking, or affecting to think, that Stephen

had violated the conditions upon which he had received his fealty, he ſolemnly renounced his allegiance to him, and came over to England with a determined reſolution to ſupport the cauſe of his ſiſter. Matilda accompanied him in this expedition; and the juſtice of her claim, which was univerſally acknowledged, as well as her brother's popularity, ſoon procured them a numerous army, with which they attacked Stephen in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, and not only defeated his forces, but even took himſelf priſoner.

In conſequence of this victory the whole kingdom ſubmitted to Matilda; and ſhe was accordingly declared in an aſſembly of the prelates to be the legal ſovereign of England. But from this high ſtation, which ſhe had ſo ſuddenly attained, ſhe was as ſuddenly precipitated by her own imprudence, or, which is the ſame thing, by her imperious temper. Stephen's queen intreated her, in the moſt ſuppliant terms, to ſet her huſband at liberty; promiſing, that, upon that condition, he ſhould reſign the crown, and retire into a convent; the legate, who, though the king's brother, had lately eſpouſed her cauſe, and to whoſe intereſt ſhe had been, in a great meaſure, indebted for her ſucceſs, deſired, that prince Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, might enjoy Boulogne, and the other patrimonial eſtates of his father; and the Londoners applied to her for the eſtabliſhment of the confeſſor's laws, in place of thoſe of king Henry: but inſtead of granting theſe requeſts, which were ſeemingly ſo reaſonable, Matilda refuſed them all in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner.

None of the petitioners, however, were of a diſpoſition patiently to put up with the indignity they had ſuffered. The Londoners, who even then are ſaid to have been very numerous, and were certainly very warlike, formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the perſon of the empreſs, who was obliged to ſave herſelf by a precipitate flight; the legate immediately abandoned her cauſe, and eſpouſed again the party of her brother; and Stephen's queen was ſo exaſperated, that having levied a great body of troops, and reinforced them with thoſe, which her ſon, Euſtace, had brought to her aſſiſtance, ſhe marched, without delay, in queſt of the enemy; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of Wincheſter, ſhe entirely defeated them, and took the earl of Glouceſter priſoner. This nobleman, though a ſubject, was as much the life and ſoul of the one party, as Stephen was of the other; and the empreſs, therefore, ſenſible of his merit, conſented to purchaſe his liberty by delivering the king from confinement. The civil war was then renewed with greater fury than ever; and it continued, though

A. D. 1141.

with

with ſome ſhort intervals, till 1153, when young Henry, Matilda's ſon, who had now attained to his twenty-ſecond year, invaded England with a conſiderable army, and was probably upon the point of depriving Stephen once more of the crown, when that prince, who had loſt his eldeſt ſon Euſtace, and was unwilling to riſk his all upon the fate of a battle, agreed to a treaty, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould continue to reign during the remainder of his life; that, upon his death, young Henry ſhould ſucceed to the throne; and that William, Stephen's ſon, ſhould poſſeſs Boulogne, and the patrimonial eſtates of his father.

THIS treaty was the more advantageous to Henry, as Stephen did not ſurvive it above a twelvemonth. He died on the 25th of October, 1154, being the fiftieth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign, and was buried in the abbey of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded. He was certainly a prince of great induſtry, activity, and courage; and though not endowed with a ſound judgment, was far from being deficient in abilities. He had the art of gaining men's affections; and notwithſtanding his precarious title, he was never guilty of any act of cruelty or revenge. Beſides his ſons, Euſtace and William, he had a daughter named Mary, eſpouſed to Philip of Alſatia; and two natural ſons, William and Gervaſe, the laſt of whom was abbot of Weſtminſter.

THE deſire of preſerving unbroken the thread of the narrative has hitherto prevented our mentioning, that, 1138, David, king of Scots, invaded England in ſupport of the empreſs's title, who was his niece; but his army was not only defeated by the northern barons, but himſelf, and his ſon Henry, very narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. This battle was called the battle of the *Standard*, from a high crucifix which the Engliſh had erected on a waggon, and carried along with them as a military enſign.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY II.

HENRY II. aſcended the throne, as well by virtue of his hereditary right, derived from his grandfather, Henry I. as in conſequence of the late treaty he had made with Stephen. Before his elevation to this high dignity, he had given ſignal proofs of his great abilities, and was even poſſeſſed of very large dominions. Eleanor, *A. D.* 1154.

daughter and heireſs of William, duke of Guienne, had been originally married to Lewis VIII. king of France, whom ſhe accompanied in an expedition to the Holy Land, and having there, by her unguarded behaviour, excited the jealouſy of that monarch, ſhe had been formally divorced from him; but Henry, more politic, or leſs ſcrupulous than Lewis, ſoon after eſpouſed her, and thus got poſſeſſion of all her dominions, which, beſides Guienne, comprehended Poitou, Xaintoigne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angumois, and Limouſin. He was maſter, likewiſe, in right of his father, of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and in that of his mother, of Normandy. In a word, he was the moſt powerful of all the vaſſals of the French monarchy, and by his acceſſion to the throne of England, was become more powerful than his ſovereign lord himſelf.

THE firſt acts of his government were ſuch as might naturally be expected from a prince of his abilities. He revived the laws of Edward the confeſſor, and confirmed the charter of Henry I. He cleared the kingdom of all thoſe foreign mercenaries, who had been invited into it by Stephen, and had been guilty of innumerable diſorders. He revoked all the grants made by his predeceſſor, even thoſe which neceſſity had extorted from his mother; and that princeſs, who had reſigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no oppoſition to ſo ſalutary a meaſure. He demoliſhed the caſtles, which had been lately erected, and which ſerved as ſo many ſanctuaries to rebels and freebooters. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debaſed during the reign of his predeceſſor; and took proper precautions againſt a return of the like abuſe. He every where ſuppreſſed robbery and violence; enforced a ſtrict execution of the laws; and beſtowed the earldom of Huntingdon on Malcolm, king of Scots, who, in return, reſtored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland.

HENRY owed his ſucceſs as much to his political as to his military talents; for though he never declined any danger, when either his own rights or thoſe of his ſubjects were invaded, he commonly carried his point rather by the dexterity of his negociations, than by force of arms. The firſt proof he gave of his ſkill in this way was in the caſe of his brother Geoffrey, who had ſeized upon Anjou and Maine, under pretence that his father had bequeathed them to him. Henry was no ſooner informed of this event, than he paſſed over to the continent, and expelling Geoffrey from both theſe provinces, compelled him to be content with the county of Nantz, to the ſovereignty of which the inhabitants had lately raiſed him; and Geoffrey dying ſoon after, Henry proceeded to take

take poſſeſſion of Nantz, as devolved to him by hereditary right, though his brother had obtained it only by the free choice of the people. In this, however, he was oppoſed by Conan, duke of Britanny, who alledged, that Nantz of right belonged to him, having been ſeparated from his dutchy by a recent rebellion; and he was likely to be ſupported in this his oppoſition by the king of France, who began to grow jealous of the growing power of the Engliſh monarch. But Henry found means to get the better of them both. He affianced his eldeſt ſon to a daughter of the king of France, and thereby ſecured the friendſhip of that monarch; and Conan being deprived of this reſource, was not only obliged to deliver up Nantz, but was even perſuaded to betroth his daughter and only child, who was an infant, to Geoffrey, king Henry's third ſon, who was of the ſame tender years. And the duke dying about ſeven years after, Henry, as natural guardian to his ſon and daughter-in-law, took poſſeſſion of Britanny, and annexed it for the preſent to his other great dominions.

He was not ſo ſucceſsful in another attempt he made, which was to obtain poſſeſſion of the county of Toulouſe. To this he laid claim, in right of his wife, whoſe mother, Philippa, was the only iſſue of William IV. the late ſovereign of that province. But Lewis, king of France, eſpouſing the cauſe of Raymond, the preſent count of Toulouſe, and brother of the late one, and even throwing himſelf into the capital with a body of troops, Henry was reſtrained by motives of delicacy from puſhing the conteſt any farther.

Henry was now engaged in a domeſtic diſpute, which diverted his attention from foreign politics. This was his famous controverſy with Thomas a Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Becket, the firſt man of Engliſh deſcent, who, ſince the Norman conqueſt, had riſen to any conſiderable ſtation, was the ſon of a citizen of London; and having been bred to the law, and acquired great reputation in that profeſſion, he had been gradually advanced through the ſeveral inferior offices of ſtate, till at laſt he attained to the high poſt of chancellor. As he was a man of induſtry and parts, as well as of wit and humour, Henry not only entruſted him with the management of all his more important affairs, but likewiſe admitted him into his parties of pleaſure, whenever he indulged himſelf in any kind of diverſion; and Becket, who had only taken deacon's orders, imagined that, without giving offence, he might freely partake of every innocent amuſement.

As a proof of the familiarity, with which the king treated him, a contemporary hiſtorian mentions a very ſingular circumſtance; and as it is ſtrongly characteriſtical of the manners of

the age, it may not be improper to relate it. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the ſtreets of London, they obſerved a beggar, who was ſhivering with cold. "Would it not be very praiſe-worthy," ſaid the king, "to give that poor man a warm coat in this ſevere ſeaſon?" It would, ſurely," replied the chancellor; "and you do well, ſir, in thinking of ſuch good actions." "Then he ſhall have one preſently," replied the king; and ſeizing the ſkirt of the chancellor's coat, which was ſcarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himſelf for ſome time; and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horſes in the ſtreet, when Becket, after a violent ſtruggle, let go his coat; which the king beſtowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the perſons, was not a little ſurpriſed at the preſent.

As Henry had reſolved conſiderably to abridge the privileges of the clergy, who, for ſome time paſt, had been making the moſt violent encroachments upon the civil power, and as this could not be ſo eaſily done without the concurrence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that ſee being now vacant, he inſtantly promoted Becket to it. He naturally concluded, that as this man owed every thing to the royal bounty, and was fully appriſed of his ſovereign's views with regard to the church, he would aſſiſt in carrying them into execution.

BUT never prince was more miſtaken in the opinion he formed of his prime miniſter. For Becket was no ſooner inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, which rendered him for life the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he ſeemed all at once to become a new man. He immediately reſigned the office of chancellor, even without aſking his majeſty's permiſſion; and this he did on the ſpecious pretence, that he muſt henceforth detach himſelf from ſecular affairs, and devote his whole attention to the diſcharge of his eccleſiaſtical duties. He continued indeed, in his retinue and attendants, to maintain his former pomp and magnificence, which he conſidered as neceſſary to ſtrike the vulgar; but in his own perſon he appeared to be the moſt mortified of mankind. He wore ſackcloth next his ſkin: he changed it ſo ſeldom, that it was frequently filled with dirt and vermin: his uſual diet was bread; his drink water, which he rendered ſtill more unpalatable by the mixture of unſavoury herbs: he tore his back with the ſevere diſcipline which he inflicted on it: he every day, on his knees, waſhed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hoſpitals; and having thus acquired, as he imagined, the character of the higheſt

higheſt ſanctity in the opinion of the people, he thought himſelf enabled, not only to oppoſe the king's views with regard to the retrenchment of eccleſiaſtical privileges, but even to extend thoſe privileges to a greater length than ever.

ACCORDINGLY, inſtead of waiting till Henry ſhould begin the conteſt, Becket had the audacity to begin it himſelf. He ſummoned the earl of Clare to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, under pretence that it had once belonged to the ſee of Canterbury. He preſented to a vacant benefice on an eſtate of William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, though the right of preſentation was evidently in Eynsford himſelf. But his next act was ſtill more audacious, not to ſay criminal. A clergyman in Worceſterſhire had debauched a gentleman's daughter, and afterwards, to ſcreen himſelf from the effects of his reſentment, had even proceeded to murder the father. Henry, enraged at ſuch a combination of atrocious crimes, inſiſted that the delinquent ſhould be delivered up to the civil power, and be made to ſuffer the puniſhment which the laws had denounced againſt ſuch offenders. But Becket, in return, alledged the privileges of the church, and aſſerted, that no greater puniſhment than degradation could be legally inflicted on any clergyman; and leſt the criminal ſhould be ſeized by the king's officers, he took care to have him confined in the biſhop's priſon.

THE king now ſaw the neceſſity of bringing matters to a final iſſue, and of determining, as exactly as poſſible, the preciſe boundaries of the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions. With this view he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, and partly by his eloquence and authority, but chiefly by the cogency of the arguments he advanced, he brought them all to agree to certain reſolutions, importing, among other things, that all ſuits concerning the advowſon and preſentation of churches ſhould be determined in the civil courts; that clergymen, accuſed of any crime, ſhould be tried in the ſame civil courts; and that no layman ſhould be accuſed in ſpiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witneſſes. Theſe reſolutions, amounting, in the whole, to ſixteen, and others either explanatory or corroborative of them, were denominated the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and were ſubſcribed to by all the lay and eccleſiaſtical peers preſent. Becket at firſt diſcovered great reluctance to ſet his name to them; but at laſt was prevailed on to ſubſcribe like the reſt. But when they were ſent to Pope Alexander III. in order to receive his approbation, that pontiff condemned them in the ſevereſt terms, upon which Becket retracted the aſſent he had given, and en-

deavoured to perſuade the other prelates to do the ſame.

HENRY, as might naturally be expected, was highly incenſed at ſuch a diſingenuous and undutiful behaviour; and he reſolved to make Becket feel the full force of his reſentment. With this view, he required him to account for various ſums of money he had received during his chancellorſhip, and while he was employed in other civil offices; and though Becket complied with ſome of his demands, yet when he found himſelf puſhed to extremity, and that a determined reſolution was taken to cruſh him, his ſpirit roſe ſuperior to the difficulties that environed him, and he adopted a meaſure that at once ſurpriſed and confounded his enemies. He went to court arrayed in his ſacred veſtments; and as ſoon as he arrived within the palace-gate, he took the croſs into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that poſture into the royal apartments. He there put himſelf, in the moſt ſolemn manner, under the protection of the ſovereign pontiff; and not being able to obtain the king's permiſſion to depart the kingdom, he ſecretly withdrew from it, and arriving on the continent, was cordially received, not only by the pope, but likewiſe by the earl of Flanders, and even by the French king.

HENRY was ſo highly provoked at this conduct of his holineſs, that he began to take ſome ſteps towards acknowledging Paſcal, the anti-pope; and Alexander, in return, threatened to lay England, and all the king's other dominions, under an interdict. At length, after various conferences and negociations on the ſubject, and after Becket had continued abroad for the ſpace of ſix years, an accommodation was effected between him and his ſovereign, and he *A. D.* 1170. was permitted once more to return to England.

But nothing could exceed the inſolence with which he conducted himſelf upon his firſt landing in this kingdom. Inſtead of retiring to his dioceſe with that modeſty which became a man juſt pardoned by his king, he made a progreſs through the country with all the pomp and parade of a ſovereign pontiff. In Rocheſter, and ſeveral other towns, he was received by the populace with ſhouts and acclamations. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. Thus aſſured of the good will and affection of the people, he proceeded to launch his ſpiritual thunders againſt all who had incurred his diſpleaſure. He notified to the archbiſhop of York, who had crowned Henry's eldeſt ſon in his abſence, the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, and to the biſhops of London

London and Saliſbury, the ſentence of excommunication, which, at his requeſt, the pope had pronounced againſt them; and he himſelf actually excommunicated Robert de Broc, Nigel de Sackville, and ſeveral others of the king's ſervants who had aſſiſted at the coronation.

HENRY was in Normandy while the primate was thus throwing the kingdom into a flame, and it was not without the utmoſt indignation that he heard of his inſolence and preſumption. When the ſuſpended and excommunicated prelates arrived with their complaints, his anger was inflamed to a ſtill higher degree. The archbiſhop of York obſerved, that, while Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity; and the king himſelf, being vehemently agitated, burſt out into a violent paſſion, and exclaimed, that he had no faithful ſervants about him, otherwiſe he ſhould not have been ſo long expoſed to the inſults of that imperious prelate. Theſe words were remarked by four gentlemen of the houſhold, who taking them to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately ſet out for England, and arriving at the palace of Canterbury, entered the primate's apartment, and ſternly upbraided him with the inſolence of his conduct. But Becket, who was naturally of a bold and intrepid ſpirit, was ſo little affected with their threats, that he went unguarded, and almoſt unattended, to aſſiſt at veſpers in his own cathedral. The aſſaſſins followed him thither, and falling upon him at once before the altar of St. Benedict, they clove his head with repeated blows, and then retired without the leaſt oppoſition.

HENRY was no ſooner informed of Becket's murder, the guilt of which, he knew, however unjuſtly, would be ultimately imputed to him, than he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to aſſert his innocence, to offer to ſtand to the award of the pope in the matter, and to declare his readineſs to make every ſubmiſſion which his holineſs ſhould require. And this embaſſy had ſo far the deſired effect, that though the pope anathematized in general all the actors, abettors, and accomplices in Becket's murder, he did not mention Henry by name.

THE king, in the mean time, in order to divert the attention of the people towards another object, undertook an expedition againſt Ireland, a project indeed which he had long meditated, and to the execution of which he was now invited by ſeveral concurring circumſtances. But before we proceed to deſcribe the progreſs of the Engliſh arms in ſubduing Ireland, it may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of the country itſelf, and of the people by whom it was then in-

habited. Ireland then is an iſland to the weſt of Great Britain, extending in length about three hundred miles, and in breadth about one hundred and fifty. It is bounded on the north by the Deucaledonian ſea, on the weſt by the Atlantic ocean, on the ſouth by St. George's channel, and on the eaſt by the Iriſh ſea, which divides it from Great Britain. The ſoil is fruitful, and the climate temperate, though rather moiſt, the weather being much wetter there than it is in England. As Britain was firſt peopled from Gaul, ſo was Ireland probably from Britain; and the inhabitants of all theſe countries ſeem to have been ſo many tribes of the Celtæ, who derive their origin from an antiquity that lies far beyond the records of any hiſtory or tradition. The Iriſh, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the groſſeſt ignorance and barbariſm; and as they were never conquered or even invaded by the Romans, they had not attained to the ſame degree of civilization as the other nations of Europe. They were divided into a number of petty independent ſtates, each ruled by its reſpective chieftain; and at the time of the iſland's being ſubdued, beſides ſeveral ſmaller tribes, there were five principal ſovereignties in the country, viz. Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught. As it had been uſual for one or other of theſe to take the lead in their wars, he was denominated ſole monarch of the kingdom; a dignity, that was then poſſeſſed by Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, while Dermot Macmoorrgh was king of Leinſter. This laſt prince, who was equally remarkable for the weakneſs of his head and the badneſs of his heart, had carried off Dovergilda, wife of Ororic, prince of Breffny. To revenge this cruel outrage, Ororic aſſembled a body of troops, and being joined by ſome forces from the king of Connaught, he ventured to invade Dermot's dominions, and expelled him his kingdom. In this extremity Dermot had recourſe to Henry, who was then in Guienne, and promiſed, that if he would aſſiſt him in recovering his poſſeſſions, he would continue for the future to hold them in vaſſalage of him. Henry readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarraſſed by the rebellions of his French ſubjects, as well as by his quarrel with the ſee of Rome, he could not conveniently undertake the enterprize himſelf; and he therefore iſſued letters patent, empowering all his ſubjects to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince in the recovery of his dominions.

DERMOT, ſupported by this authority, came to Briſtol; and, after ſome little difficulty, he formed a treaty with Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who promiſed to aſſiſt him upon this condition, that he himſelf ſhould be ſuffered

to

to eſpouſe Eva, Dermot's daughter, and be declared heir to all his dominions. Dermot likewiſe made a journey into Wales, and engaged in his intereſt ſome inferior adventurers. Being now aſſured of effectual ſupport, he returned privately to Ireland, and concealed himſelf, during the winter, in the monaſtery of Ferns, which he had founded.

STRONGBOW, though the moſt powerful of all Dermot's auxiliaries, was not the firſt that arrived. Robert Fitz-Stephens was before him. He came over with thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers, and being ſoon after joined by Maurice de Pendergaſt with ten knights and ſixty archers, theſe two together thought themſelves ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of Wexford, which they accordingly inveſted and reduced. In a little time after, they received a reinforcement of ten knights, thirty eſquires, and a hundred archers, under the command of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and theſe three bodies compoſed an army, which nothing in Ireland was able to withſtand. Roderic indeed, the chief monarch of the iſland, ventured to oppoſe them; but he was defeated in different engagements; the prince of Oſſory was obliged to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his good behaviour; and Dermot, not ſatisfied with being re-eſtabliſhed in his hereditary dominions, began to entertain thoughts of dethroning Roderic, and rendering himſelf the ſole ſovereign of Ireland.

WITH this view he ſent a meſſage to Strongbow, entreating him to perform the promiſe he had made, and repreſenting the advantages that might eaſily be obtained by a reinforcement of Engliſh warriors. Strongbow, having now procured an expreſs permiſſion from the king for the Iriſh expedition (which he ſeems not to have got before), began ſeriouſly to prepare for that enterpriſe. He firſt ſent Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh, that ventured to attack him. He himſelf arrived ſoon after with two hundred horſe, and one hundred archers, and was immediately joined by all the other Engliſh forces in the iſland; and though the whole number never amounted to above one thouſand and eighty, yet, with ſo ſmall a force, he reduced Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which he took by aſſault. There he married Eva, the daughter of Dermot, and, according to agreement, upon that prince's death, he became maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter.

RODERIC, and the other Iriſh princes, were naturally alarmed at this rapid progreſs of the Engliſh arms, and reſolving ſtill to make one effort more for the preſervation of their freedom, they beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand

men; but Strongbow ſallied out upon them at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, and putting them to the rout, he chaſed them off the field, and purſued them a great way with the moſt terrible ſlaughter. From that time forward no one in Ireland dared to make any oppoſition to the Engliſh; and Henry himſelf arriving ſoon after with five hundred knights, beſides other ſoldiers, had little elſe to do than to receive the ſubmiſſion of his new ſubjects. He confirmed moſt of the Iriſh chieftains or princes in their ancient poſſeſſions; beſtowed ſome lands on the Engliſh adventurers; appointed Richard Strongbow ſeneſchal of the kingdom; and after a ſtay of a few months returned in triumph to England. But though Ireland was thus formally annexed to the Engliſh crown, it continued, for a long time, in a very rude and uncultivated ſtate; the minds of the people were ſtill averſe to their new maſters; nor can they be ſaid to have been completely ſubdued till towards the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, nor to have been rendered of any real ſervice to the Engliſh nation till that of her ſucceſſor king James I.

Henry had no ſooner returned to England, than he went over to Normandy, in order to have an interview with two of the pope's legates, who had come into that country for the purpoſe of inquiring into Becket's death. With theſe he immediately formed an accommodation, upon his ſwearing before the relicks of the ſaints, that ſo far from having been privy to the primate's murder, he was extremely ſorry when he received the firſt news of it; but as the paſſionate expreſſions, he had dropped, had probably given occaſion to that tragical event, he was willing to atone for his involuntary offence by agreeing to the following conditions. He promiſed to pardon all ſuch as had been baniſhed for their adherence to Becket's cauſe; to reinſtate the ſee of Canterbury in all its ancient privileges; to pay the templars a ſum of money for maintaining a body of troops in the Holy Land; and to take the croſs himſelf at the enſuing Chriſtmas, and, if the pope required it, to ſerve three years againſt the infidels, either in Spain or Paleſtine. Upon his ſubſcribing theſe conceſſions, and a few others of a ſimilar nature, he received abſolution from the two legates, and was likewiſe confirmed in the ſovereignty of Ireland, that had been granted him by Adrian, the proceding pope.

Henry having thus freed himſelf from ſo dangerous a controverſy with the ſee of Rome, and having, at the ſame time, got poſſeſſion of a new kingdom with ſo little difficulty, had every reaſon to think he ſhould be able to paſs the remaining part of his reign in peace and tranquillity; but all

his flattering proſpects were ſuddenly overcaſt by the jealouſy of his queen, and by the undutiful and unnatural behaviour of his children. The queen's jealouſy is ſaid to have been owing to Henry's attachment to his miſtreſſes, particularly to Roſamond Clifford, daugher of lord Clifford, and commonly called the fair Roſamond. This lady, who is reported to have been the moſt beautiful woman in the kingdom, Henry is ſaid to have concealed in a labyrinth in Woodſtock park, in order to ſcreen her from the reſentment of his conſort. But as jealouſy is both ſharp-ſighted and vindictive, the queen, according to the chronicles, or rather the legends of the times, (for this part of the ſtory is, by the moſt judicious hiſtorians, ſuppoſed to be fabulous) found means to diſcover the retreat of her fair rival, to which, we are told, ſhe was guided by a clew of ſilk, and by holding a drawn dagger to her breaſt, compelled her to drink poiſon. Be this ſtory, however, true or falſe, it is a certain fact, that the queen was among the firſt that encouraged her children to rebel againſt their father. And the conduct of the young princes was the more criminal, as there does not appear to have been ever a more indulgent, or even a more provident parent than Henry, and it was probably the ample and early proviſion he had made for them, that firſt inſpired with the thoughts of diſputing his authority. He had appointed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, to be his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, and the dutchy of Normandy; he had inveſted Richard, his ſecond ſon, in the dutchy of Guienne and county of Poictou; Geoffrey, his third ſon, inherited, in right of his wife, the dutchy of Britanny; and the new conqueſt of Ireland was deſigned as an appanage for his fourth and favourite ſon John. But all theſe allotments were rather intended to be in reverſion than in immediate poſſeſſion, as it could not be ſuppoſed that the king would diveſt himſelf of his ſovereign power, to beſtow it upon boys, who had ſcarce yet attained to the years of puberty.

THEIR mother, however, who, as ſhe had diſguſted her firſt huſband by her gallantries, was become no leſs offenſive to her ſecond by her jealouſy, endeavoured to inſpire them with other notions. She told them, they ought immediately to be inveſted with the government of thoſe countries, which their father had aſſigned them; and Lewis, the French king, who was father-in-law to the eldeſt prince, contributed ſtill farther to inflame their ambition. He even promiſed to aſſiſt them with his arms in enabling them to obtain that ſovereign power, of which, he ſaid, their father had only given them the ſhadow. With this view he invited them to his court, whither they now fled, and their mother, Eleanor, was preparing to follow

follow them. She had even clad herſelf in man's apparel for that purpoſe, when the king being informed of her deſign, cauſed her to be arreſted, and put in confinement.

Henry's only motive for making theſe early and ſeemingly premature grants to his ſons was, in order to ſecure them, as far as human ſagacity and foreſight could poſſibly ſecure them, in the ſucceſſion to thoſe territories which he now aſſigned them; an advantage they could not have enjoyed with the ſame certainty without theſe previous appointments, as hereditary right was by no means ſo well eſtabliſhed in that age as it is at preſent. That it was not, we may eaſily judge from this circumſtance, that of all the kings that had ſat upon the Engliſh throne ſince the time of William the conqueror, not one of them had poſſeſſed it by hereditary right, except Henry II. Even the French kings, from the ſame motive, were in the habit of having their eldeſt ſons crowned during their own life-time, but without beſtowing upon them any part of the royal power; and therefore the conduct of Lewis, in the preſent inſtance, was the more unjuſtifiable: but the morality of kings has always been ſuppoſed to be ſubordinate to their policy.

HENRY's ſons were not only determined to ſtrip him of the greateſt part, if not of the whole of his ſovereign authority, but they had even the aſſurance to require from him the ſurrender of it in expreſs terms; and, upon their meeting with a refuſal, they began to prepare for extorting that by force of arms, which they could not obtain by more gentle means. And in this unnatural attempt they were aſſiſted, not only by the French king (as we have ſaid), but likewiſe by the king of Scotland, as alſo by moſt of the Normans, and even by many of the Engliſh barons, who expected to enjoy greater freedom under a young, thoughtleſs, and extravagant prince, than under an old, vigilant, and frugal monarch.

IN this deſperate extremity, Henry had recourſe to the ſee of Rome, and procured from the pope a ſentence of excommunication againſt all his enemies; but this expedient not having produced the deſired effect, he began to levy an army, and reſolved to meet his adverſaries with their own weapons. Well knowing, however, the influence of religion, or even of ſuperſtition, over the minds of the people, he determined to make a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb; for that prelate had been lately canonized, and was now become a very famous ſaint. He is even ſaid to have performed a number of miracles, and he certainly attracted ſuch a multitude of votaries to his ſhrine, that not leſs than a hundred thouſand

pilgrims

pilgrims are ſuppoſed to have arrived at Canterbury in one year, in order to pay their devotion to him.

To perform this ceremony with the greater ſpeed and the greater ſolemnity, Henry came over from Normandy, where he then was, and where he had happily foiled all the attempts of his enemies. He landed at Southampton, from whence he haſtened to Canterbury; and as ſoon as he came in ſight of the cathedral of that city, where Becket's remains were now depoſited, he diſmounted from his horſe, walked barefoot towards it, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaint, remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy relicks. Not ſatisfied with this mark of his piety, or, more properly ſpeaking, of his hypocriſy, he ſubmitted to a penance, which was ſtill more ſingular and humiliating. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into the hands of each, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the ſtripes which they inflicted upon him. Next day he received abſolution; and departing for London, got the agreeable intelligence of a great victory obtained by his generals over the Scots, who had invaded the northern counties, and whoſe king, William, was taken priſoner in the action. Nor could he recover his liberty, till he had done homage to Henry, not only for the territories which he held in England, but likewiſe for his whole kingdom of Scotland.

This event ſeems to have quite damped the ſpirits of the Engliſh rebels, ſome of whom had already taken arms, and the others were preparing to do ſo; but they all of them now ſubmitted to the king; and young Henry, who was coming over from the continent, in order to ſupport them, being informed of this diſappointment of his ambitious hopes, deſiſted from his enterpriſe, and an accommodation was ſoon after effected between him and his juſtly offended, though ſtill indulgent father. The young prince did not long ſurvive this return to his duty. He died ſoon after, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, not without expreſſing the moſt ſincere contrition for his very ungrateful and unnatural behaviour.

The conduct of Henry's ſurviving children was but very ill calculated to conſole him for the loſs of his eldeſt ſon. As that prince had died without iſſue, Richard was now become heir to all his father's dominions; and as he was of a temper equally ambitious, and ſtill more impetuous than his deceaſed brother, it was generally concluded, that it would not be long before he proceeded to make more violent attacks upon the royal authority. Theſe conjectures turned out in the end to be but too well founded. For Richard having entered into

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an alliance with the French king, who ſeized every opportunity of diſturbing Henry's government, theſe two princes declared war againſt him, and in a little time reduced him to ſuch difficulties, that he was glad to accept of any terms which they were pleaſed to preſcribe. Theſe, indeed, were ſo very ſevere, as filled him with the deepeſt ſorrow and affliction. But the moſt mortifying circumſtance of all was, that he found his youngeſt and favourite ſon, John, had been concerned in the confederacy againſt him. This laſt inſtance of filial ingratitude, for which he was not prepared, threw him into a ſtate of abſolute deſpondence. He curſed, in the agony of his grief, the day on which he was born; and beſtowed on his undutiful and rebellious children a malediction, which he could never afterwards be prevailed on to retract. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip, the more he reſented the unnatural behaviour of his ſons; and theſe domeſtic calamities, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirits, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at Chinon, on the ſixth of July, 1189, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His body was carried to Fontevrault, which he had ordered for the place of his interment. This prince was poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment, both of body and mind, that could fit him for the high ſtation in which he was placed. He was brave, active, generous, merciful, juſt, and prudent; and was thus alike qualified to gain the affections, and command the eſteem of his ſubjects. In a word, he was one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious monarchs that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne.

By his queen, Eleanor, he had five ſons, viz. William, who died in his infancy; Henry, whom we have already mentioned; Richard, who ſucceeded him; Geoffrey, who was killed in a tournament at Paris; and John, his youngeſt, who ſucceeded Richard. Geoffrey left behind him a ſon, named Arthur, who was duke of Bretagne, and who was afterwards murdered by his uncle, king John. Henry had likewiſe three daughters, namely, Maud, married to the duke of Saxony; Eleanor, wife of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; and Joan, conſort to William II. ſurnamed the Good, king of Sicily. He had alſo, by the fair Roſamond, two ſons, viz. William Longue-eſpee, or Long-ſword, earl of Saliſbury; and Geoffrey, archbiſhop of York. Greatly as we admire the character of this prince, our regard to impartiality obliges us to obſerve, that he is ſaid to have carried on an intrigue with Alice, ſiſter to the French king, and betrothed to his own ſon Richard. He is even reported to have had a child by her; but this ſtory is

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diſcredited by the beſt hiſtorians. It is certain, however, that Richard made uſe of this pretence for refuſing to marry that princeſs.

To this account of king Henry the ſecond's reign we ſhall now ſubjoin a few of thoſe detached events, that could not ſo properly enter into the body of the hiſtory. How little the Engliſh had improved in domeſtic cleanlineſs in that age, we may in ſome meaſure be enabled to judge from the following circumſtance. Hiſtorians tell us, that Thomas a Becket, when chancellor, lived with greater pomp and magnificence than any ſubject in England had ever done before; and, as a proof of this, they add, that his apartments in winter were every day covered with clean ſtraw or hay, and in ſummer with green ruſhes or boughs, leſt the gentlemen, who came to pay their court to him, and could not, by reaſon of their great number, find a place at table, ſhould ſoil their fine cloaths by ſitting on a dirty floor. The partition of England into four diviſions, and the appointment of itinerant juſtices to go the circuit in each, was an inſtitution of Henry's.

How ill the police of London was regulated during that rude age (and the caſe muſt have been the ſame or even worſe in the other cities in the kingdom) will evidently appear from the following ſingular facts. It was a cuſtom, we are told, in London for great numbers, to the amonnt of a hundred or more, the ſons and relations of conſiderable citizens, to form themſelves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houſes and plunder them, to rob and murder the paſſengers, and to commit with impunity all ſorts of diſorder. By theſe crimes, it had become ſo dangerous to walk the ſtreets by night, that the citizens durſt no more venture abroad after ſun-ſet, than if they had been expoſed to the incurſions of a public enemy. The brother of the earl of Ferrars had been murdered by ſome of thoſe nocturnal rioters; and the death of ſo eminent a perſon, which, in thoſe feudal times, was much more regarded than that of many thouſands of an inferior ſtation, ſo provoked the king, that he ſwore vengeance againſt the criminals, and became thenceforth more vigorous in the execution of the laws.

THERE is another inſtance given by hiſtorians, which proves to what a height ſuch riots had proceeded, and how open thoſe criminals were in committing their murders. A band of them had attacked the houſe of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; had broken through a ſtone-wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the houſe ſword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pee, and ſupported by his faithful ſervants, appeared in the paſſage

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to oppoſe them. He cut off the right hand of the firſt robber that entered, and made ſuch a ſtout reſiſtance, that his neighbours had leiſure to aſſemble, and come to his relief. The man, who loſt his hand, was taken; and was tempted by the promiſe of pardon to diſcover his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, eſteemed among the richeſt and beſt-born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refuſed the money, and ordered him to be hanged.

IT appears from a ſtatute of Edward I. that theſe diſorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the corfeu, to carry a weapon, or to walk without a light or lanthorn. It is ſaid in the preamble to this law, that, both by night and day, there were continual frays in the ſtreets of London.

THERE is no wonder, that the manners of laymen, in thoſe early times, were ſo rude and barbarous, when even eccleſiaſtics could proceed to the moſt indecent and moſt violent outrages in their public aſſemblies. Cardinal Haguezun being ſent, in 1176, as legate into Britain, ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at London; and as both the archbiſhops pretended to ſit on his right hand, this queſtion of precedency begat a controverſy between them. The monks and retainers of the archbiſhop of Canterbury fell upon the archbiſhop of York, in preſence of the cardinal and the ſynod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and ſo bruiſed him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was, with difficulty, ſaved from their violence. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large ſum of money to the legate, in order to ſuppreſs all complaints with regard to this enormity.

THE luxury of monks is well known. They ſeem, even ſo early as the reign of Henry, to have made a very conſiderable progreſs in the ſcience of eating. We are told by Giraldus Cambrenſis, that the monks and prior of St. Swithin threw themſelves, one day, proſtrate on the ground and in the mire before Henry, complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was alſo their abbot, had cut off three diſhes from their table. How many has he left you, ſaid the king? Ten only, replied the diſconſolate monks. I myſelf, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your biſhop to reduce you to the ſame number.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

RICHARD I.

THOUGH Richard had proved ſo undutiful a ſon during the life-time of his father, yet that indulgent parent was no ſooner dead, than he ſeemed heartily to repent of his conduct, and endeavoured, though now indeed too late, to make all the atonement in his power. He baniſhed from his preſence thoſe perſons, who had aſſiſted him in his late inſurrections; he confirmed in their offices the miniſters and ſervants who had continued faithful to their former maſter; and in order to make amends to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, he reſtored to her liberty his mother, Eleanor, who had remained in confinement during ſeveral years. At the ſame time, to fix his brother John the more firmly in his intereſt, he loaded him with many great and diſtinguiſhed favours. He beſtowed on him the county of Mortaigne in Normandy; granted him a penſion of four thouſand marks a year; married him to Aviſa, the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter; delivered to him the government of ſix counties; and put him in poſſeſſion of no leſs than eight caſtles, with all the foreſts and honours that were uſually annexed to them. And by thus endeavouring to bind that vicious prince the more ſtrongly to his duty, he only enabled him, whenever he was ſo diſpoſed, the more eaſily to depart from it. *A. D.* 1189.

As the heading a cruſade was the great object of Richard's ambition, he immediately began to concert with Philip, the French king, the neceſſary meaſures for ſuch an undertaking; and as this ſcheme could not poſſibly be executed without large ſums of money, he ſet every engine, even the moſt violent, at work, in order to collect the requiſite ſupplies. He ſold, for the paltry ſum of ten thouſand marks, the ſuperiority of Scotland, which his father had acquired; he put to ſale all the revenues and manors of the crown, all places of truſt and profit, even the ſeats in the courts of juſtice, and when ſome of his miniſters took the liberty to repreſent to him the extreme folly of ſuch proceedings, he frankly told them, that he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer.

In order to ſecure the tranquillity of the kingdom during his abſence, he entruſted the management of public affairs to Hugh, biſhop of Durham, and William Longchamp, biſhop of

of Ely, his chancellor, who, at the ſame time, was appointed the pope's legate. He then went over to the continent, and had an interview with Philip at Vezelay; and here the two monarchs ſwore, in the moſt ſolemn manner, not to invade each other's dominions during the cruſade. They next proceeded to review their armies, which were now united, and found them to amount to 100,000 fighting men, well provided with every thing which their reſpective territories could ſupply.

At firſt they propoſed to take different routes, Philip directing his march towards Genoa, and Richard bending his courſe towards Marſeilles; but they were both of them driven, by ſtreſs of weather, into Sicily, where they were obliged to ſpend the winter. Here a miſunderſtanding broke out between them, ariſing partly from their old habits of rivalſhip, but chiefly occaſioned by the arts and intrigues of Tancred, king of the iſland, who being equally apprehenſive of danger from both theſe princes, endeavoured to embroil them with each other. The quarrel, however, was at laſt compromiſed; and Philip ſet ſail for Paleſtine, and was ſoon after followed by Richard, accompanied by his ſiſter Joan, the queen dowager of Sicily, and Berengaria of Navarre, who had been lately betrothed to him.

Philip met with no farther interruption in his voyage; but Richard was retarded by another impediment. Upon leaving Sicily, his fleet was diſperſed by a furious ſtorm, and many of the ſhips were wrecked upon the coaſt of Cyprus. Iſaac, king of this iſland, who aſſumed the magnificent title of Emperor, not only pillaged the ſhips that were ſtranded, but even threw the ſeamen and paſſengers into priſon, nor would he ſo much as allow the princeſſes, in their preſent diſtreſs, to enter the harbour of Limiſſo. This barbarity, however, was ſeverely revenged by Richard, who arrived ſoon after. He landed his troops, attacked the tyrant, defeated his army, took himſelf priſoner, loaded him with ſilver chains, ſeized upon his kingdom; and having conſummated his marriage with Berengaria, ſet out for the Chriſtian camp before Acre.

The arrival of Richard added greatly to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian troops, not merely by the reinforcement he brought, though that was conſiderable; but ſtill more by his own perſonal courage and bravery. For ſome time he and Philip acted in the moſt perfect concert; but at length the ſuperiority of Richard in military talents, and conſequently in military fame, excited the jealouſy of the French king, who took every opportunity of expreſſing his diſguſt; and accordingly upon the taking of Acre, which ſurrendered in July, 1191, after having been beſieged above two years, and having coſt the Chriſtians

Chriſtians 300,000 men, Philip, under pretence of ſickneſs, quitted the camp, and ſet out on his return for his own country. He left, however, about ten thouſand of his troops, under the duke of Burgundy, to aſſiſt the cruſaders in their future enterpriſes.

RICHARD was not diſheartened by the deſertion of his French ally; he determined to improve the advantage he had gained; he reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to pave the way for that of Jeruſalem. Saladin, the emperor of the eaſt, was equally reſolute to oppoſe him. He placed himſelf, with an army of 300,000 men, in the only road which Richard could take. The two armies came to an engagement. Both the wings of the Chriſtian army were immediately broke; but Richard, who commanded the main body, reſtored the battle, and attacking the enemy with irreſiſtible fury, he obtained over them a complete victory, after putting about forty thouſand of them to the ſword. Aſcalon ſurrendered in a little time after, as did likewiſe Joppa, Cæſarea, and ſeveral other places; and Richard arrived within ſight of Jeruſalem, the reduction of which was the great end of the enterpriſe, and the chief object of his wiſhes. But he was prevented from accompliſhing this favourite point by the backwardneſs of the other Chriſtian powers, all of whom expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of returning to their native country; for that ardour, which had at firſt carried them to the Holy Land, and had made them ſurmount every difficulty, was now conſiderably abated, or rather indeed was totally extinguiſhed by fatigue, famine, diſeaſe, and all thoſe other diſagreeable circumſtances that uſually attend ſuch diſtant expeditions. Richard therefore was under a neceſſity of giving over the proſecution of the war for the preſent, and he concluded a truce for three years with Saladin, upon condition, that all the maritime towns of Paleſtine ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that every perſon of that religion ſhould be at full liberty to make his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

HE then began to prepare for his return to England; but before he ſet out, he beſtowed Iſabella, widow of Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, and king of Jeruſalem (who had been murdered in Sidon), upon Henry, count of Champagne, his nephew, who ſucceeded Conrade on the throne of Jeruſalem. This dignity indeed, ſince the conqueſt of the Eaſt by Saladin, was little more than titular; and therefore the transferring it from one perſon, or even from one family, to another, excited the leſs jealouſy. At the ſame time he gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Guy de Luſignan, who had filled the throne of Jeruſalem before Conrade.

THE

THE manner of Conrade's death was ſo ſingular, that it ought to be related. He had given offence, it ſeems, to a Saracen prince, commonly denominated *the Scheic, or the old Man of the Mountain*, who had inſpired his fanatical ſubjects with ſuch a devoted ſubmiſſion to his will, that they courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders. His people went by the name of aſſaſſins, whence the word has been transferred into modern languages, to ſignify a murderer. To revenge the affront, real or imaginary, which the Scheic had received, he diſpatched two of his emiſſaries, who mixing in diſguiſe among Conrade's guards, mortally wounded him in the ſtreets of Sidon; and when they were ſeized, and put to the torture, they triumphed amidſt their agonies, rejoicing that they had been deſtined by heaven to ſuffer in ſo juſt and meritorious a cauſe; for they firmly believed, that the higheſt joys of paradiſe were the infallible reward of their ſacrificing their lives in obedience to their prince.

As Richard could not with ſafety paſs through France, he ſailed to the Adriatic; but being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Iſtria, he fell into the hands of Leopald, duke of Auſtria, who delivered him up to the emperor, Henry VI. his inveterate enemy; and by him he was not only thrown into priſon, but even loaded with irons. This captivity of Richard was the more unfortunate, not only to himſelf, but likewiſe to his ſubjects, as his worthleſs brother John, in concert with the French king, had for ſome time been forming cabals againſt his authority; and now finding, that he was immured in a dungeon in Germany, from which they hoped, or at leaſt wiſhed, that he might never be releaſed, they had even the impudence to propagate a report, that he was actually dead. Richard, however, had it at laſt in his power effectually to diſconcert all their projects; for after continuing in confinement for about fourteen months, he recovered his liberty upon paying a ranſom of 150,000 marks, that is, about 300,000 pounds of our preſent money. Philip was then ſo ſenſible of the impoſſibility of accompliſhing the deſign, which he and John had formed againſt Richard, that he wrote to the prince in the following terms; *Take care of yourſelf; the devil is broke looſe.*

ONE of the king's firſt cares, after his return to England, was to have the ceremony of his coronation repeated, which was accordingly done, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral of Wincheſter. This was probably with a view to wiping off the diſgrace of his captivity. He next proceeded to puniſh his brother John for his very ungrateful and unnatural behaviour. He confiſcated all his poſſeſſions on account of his treaſon; and

and John was for ſome time in the deepeſt diſgrace. A reconciliation, however, was at laſt brought about by the interceſſion of their mother, queen Eleanor. The king conſented to take his brother into favour with this ſingular expreſſion: *I forgive him*, ſaid he, *and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon.*

AFTER this, Richard was engaged in two petty wars with the French king, neither of which, however, was attended with any action of importance; and he was juſt upon the point of commencing hoſtilities a third time againſt that monarch, when an end was put to his own life by a very ſingular accident. The viſcount of Limoges, one of his vaſſals, had found a treaſure in his fields, of which he ſent part to the king as a preſent. But Richard inſiſted upon the whole being delivered up to him as ſuperior lord of the ſoil; and upon his meeting with a refuſal to this demand, he reſolved to beſiege the caſtle of Chalus, where he underſtood the treaſure was depoſited. But as he had no native troops at that time in readineſs, and did not think it worth the while to levy any for the purpoſe, he engaged a party of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Brabançons, and ſometimes by that of Routiers or Cottereaux. Theſe were a ſet of men, who, without belonging properly to any particular country, made war a trade, lived entirely by fighting, and hired themſelves out, ſometimes to one prince, ſometimes to another, but always, or at leaſt generally, to the beſt bidder. And as they had no other means of ſubſiſtence than the uſe of arms, they were, in time of peace, the very peſts and plague of ſociety. They infeſted the highways, pillaged the open country, and ſet at defiance all the efforts of the civil magiſtrate, and all the excommunications of the church. In a word, they ſeem to have been the only ſtanding army in thoſe times, and contributed, more perhaps than any other circumſtance, to keep the world in a ſtate of rudeneſs and barbariſm.

WITH a body of theſe, Richard now inveſted the caſtle of Chalus. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but the king replied, that ſince he had taken the trouble to come ſo far and beſiege the place in perſon, he would take it by force, and would hang every one of them. The ſame day, Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of the Brabançons, approached the caſtle, in order to ſurvey it, when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced him in the ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault, took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, whom he reſerved for a more cruel execution.

THE

THE wound was not in itſelf dangerous; but an unſkilful ſurgeon, in pulling out the arrow, ſo rankled it, that a gangrene enſued; and the king was now ſenſible, that his life was drawing towards a period. He ſent for Gourdon, and thus addreſſed him, "Wretch, what have I ever done to you, that ſhould induce you to take away my life?" "What have you done to me?" replied coolly the priſoner: "You killed with your own hands my father, and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myſelf: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the moſt cruel torments; but I ſhall endure them all with pleaſure, provided I can think that I have been ſo happy as to rid the world of ſuch a nuiſance." Richard, ſtruck with the reaſonableneſs of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him. But Marcadee, like a true ruffian, ſeized the unhappy man, flead him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

HE had no legitimate children; but he left a natural ſon behind him, named Philip, to whom he bequeathed the lordſhip of Cognac in Guienne. He was the firſt king of England who took three lions paſſant for his arms, in which he has been imitated by all his ſucceſſors.

THE character of this prince was ſuch, as will always attract the admiration of the people, though perhaps neither their love nor eſteem. He was endowed with ſuch heroic courage, as juſtly to have merited the ſurname of *Cœur de Lion*, or lion-hearted. All Europe and Aſia reſounded with his fame; and the Saracens, in particular, had conceived ſuch an idea of his military proweſs, that they were wont to inſtil their children with the terror of his name. This good quality, however, was more than counter-balanced by his many vices. He was haughty, cruel, ambitious, revengeful, and domineering; and was thus better calculated to dazzle men by the ſplendour of his enterprizes, than either to promote their happineſs or his own glory, by a juſt and equal adminiſtration of government.

THE price of commodities, in this reign, was nearly the ſame as at the time of the conqueſt. The common price of an ox was four ſhillings; of a labouring horſe, the ſame; of a ſow, one ſhilling; of a ſheep with fine wool, ten-pence; with coarſe wool, ſix-pence.

THE diſorders in London had now riſen to a greater height than ever; and in the year 1196, there ſeemed to be formed ſo regular a conſpiracy among the numerous malefactors, as threat-

threatened the city with deſtruction. There was one William Fitz-Oſbert, commonly called *Longbeard*, a lawyer, who had rendered himſelf extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; he defended their cauſe upon all occaſions; he even went over to Normandy, where the king then reſided, and obtained a mitigation of the taxes in their favour; and by theſe, and various other means, he obtained the appellation of advocate or ſaviour of the poor. He exerted his authority by injuring and inſulting the more ſubſtantial citizens, with whom he lived in a ſtate of hoſtility, and who were every moment expoſed to the moſt outrageous acts of violence from him and his emiſſaries. Murders were daily committed in the ſtreets; houſes were broke open and pillaged in open day; and it is pretended, that no leſs than fifty-two thouſand perſons had entered into an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves to obey all the orders of this deſperate ruffian.

Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief juſticiary, ſummoned him before the council to anſwer for his conduct; but he came with ſuch a numerous and formidable train, that no one durſt accuſe him, or give evidence againſt him; and the primate finding it impoſſible to bring him to juſtice at that time, was ſatisfied with exacting from the citizens hoſtages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a watchful eye on Fitz-Oſbert; and ſeizing a favourable opportunity, ſent two citizens with a guard to arreſt him; but the criminal ſlew one of the citizens, and fought his way with a halbert to the church of St. Mary le Bow, whither he was followed by his concubine and ſome of the populace. There he was ſupplied with arms and proviſions, and ſeemed determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; but the guard forcing the body of the church, he was obliged to retire into the ſteeple, from whence he was driven by the ſmoke of ſome wet ſtraw kindled for the purpoſe. He was then taken, tried, convicted, and, being drawn at a horſe's tail through the ſtreets of London, was hung in chains, with nine of his accomplices. The lower claſs of people revered him as a martyr, and began to believe reports of his having worked miracles. The gibbet was ſtolen, as rivalling the croſs in ſanctity. The turf, on which it ſtood, was carried away, and kept as a preſervative from ſickneſs and misfortune; and infinite crowds of people reſorted to the place, either from curioſity or devotion. In a word, this ruffian was in a fair way of being reckoned as great a ſaint as Becket, when the archbiſhop ſet a guard upon the ſpot to keep off the multitude; and thereby put an end to this unſeleſs ſuperſtition.

It was during the cruſades, that the cuſtom of uſing coats of arms was firſt introduced into Europe. The knights, caſed up in armour, had no other way of making themſelves known and diſtinguiſhed in battle, than by the devices on their ſhields; and theſe were gradually adopted by their poſterity, who were proud of the pious and military enterprizes of their anceſtors.

In this reign, the citizens of London are ſaid to have been firſt divided into different corporations, or ſocieties; or, as they are now termed, companies.

CHAP. XI.

JOHN.

A. D. 1199. RICHARD was ſucceeded by his youngeſt and only ſurviving brother, John, to the excluſion of his nephew, Arthur, ſon of his next brother, Geoffrey, who, had hereditary right been then firmly eſtabliſhed, would certainly have been the true heir to the crown. Richard, indeed, himſelf ſeems to have been ſo ſenſible of the juſtneſs of his claim, that, upon his ſetting out for the Holy Land, he made a will in his favour; but afterwards, either on account of the extreme youth of Arthur, or for ſome other reaſon, he altered it, and appointed John heir to all his dominions. The barons of England appear to have been leſs diſſatiſied with this diſpoſition of the ſovereign power, than thoſe of Normandy; for theſe laſt, inſtead of paying any regard to the late king's will, declared Arthur to be their lawful prince, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the French monarch, as his ſuperior lord, to ſupport him in his title. Philip readily complied with their requeſt, hoping that the iſſue of this quarrel, whatever it might be, would ultimately tend to his own advantage; but Conſtantia, Arthur's mother, fearing that the French king only meant to make a tool of her ſon, and that, under pretence of inveſting him with the dutchy of Normandy, he only intended to re-annex it to his own crown, from which it had been originally wreſted, carried off the young prince from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, reſtored the provinces that had adhered to Arthur; and made him do homage for the dutchy of Britanny, which was conſidered as a rere-fief of Normandy.

This reconciliation, however, between the king of England

land and his nephew was but of ſhort duration; for in a little time after Arthur returned to the French court, where Philip beſtowed upon him his daughter Mary, and ſeemed now more determined then ever to ſupport his pretenſions, not only to the dutchy of Normandy, but even to the Engliſh crown. John indeed, by his imprudence, or rather by his profligacy, had lately furniſhed Philip with a fair opportunity for recommencing hoſtilities againſt him. His firſt wife was Aviſa, daughter and heireſs of the earl of Glouceſter; but having conceived a paſſion for Iſabella, daughter of the count of Angouleſme, who had been betrothed to the count de la Marche, and even committed to the care of that nobleman, though, on account of her tender years, the marriage had not been conſummated, John perſuaded the young lady's father to carry her off from her huſband, and having, on ſome frivolous pretence or other, procured a divorce from Aviſa, he now married Iſabella; regardleſs alike of the menaces of the pope, who exclaimed againſt theſe irregular proceedings, and of the reſentment of the injured huſband, who ſoon fonnd means of puniſhing his powerful and inſolent rival.

THE count, encouraged, and no doubt ſecretly aſſiſted by the French king, was able to excite commotions in Poictou; and though Philip did not at firſt openly eſpouſe his cauſe, he ſoon after did ſo, and that too with ſpirit. For not only he himſelf, with a numerous army, invaded Normandy, but he likewiſe ſent prince Arthur, with a ſtrong body of troops, to make a diverſion in Poictou. But this expedition proved fatal to the young prince; for hearing that his grandmother, who had always been his enemy, had taken refuge in the caſtle of Mirabel, he laid ſiege to that place; and while he was employed in carrying it on, he was ſuddenly ſurprized by his uncle, king John, who carried him priſoner to Rouen, and having put him to death with his own hands, threw his body into the Seine.

THE unnatural monſter, however, inſtead of deriving the benefit he expected from this barbarous deed, was thereby involved in a train of calamities, that rendered all the remaining part of his life a ſcene of miſery, and contributed to bring him to a premature death. The Britons preferred their complaints to Philip, as their liege lord, and demanded juſtice for the inhuman violence committed againſt the perſon of Arthur. Philip ſummoned John to ſtand a trial before him; and, on his non-appearance, paſſed ſentence upon him; declared him guilty of felony and parricide; and adjudged him to forfeit to his ſuperior lord all his ſeignories and fiefs

in France. In order the more effectually to execute this ſentence, he entered his territories with a numerous army, and conquered Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poictou; and reunited to the crown of France, the whole province of Normandy, two hundred and ninety-four years after it had been ſeparated from it by Charles the Simple, who gave it to Rollo, the Dane.

A. D. 1205.

It is an old and a juſt obſervation, that misfortunes ſeldom come ſingle. John had no ſooner undergone the mortifying diſgrace of being ſtripped of his foreign dominions, than he was involved in a quarrel with the pope, that virtually, though not actually, deprived him of the crown of England. The principal circumſtances of this intereſting diſpute we ſhall compriſe in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible. Upon the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſome of the younger monks of Chriſt-church in that city, without the knowledge of the elder monks, or the conſent of the king, ſecretly choſe Reginald, their ſub-prior, for his ſucceſſor; and even ſent him to Rome, to obtain from the pope the confirmation of his election. But the king, being offended at this invaſion of his prerogative, peremptorily commanded them to ſet aſide Reginald, and ſtrongly recommended to them John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, who was accordingly choſen by all the monks, and ſeated on the archiepiſcopal throne. The ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, however, who had always had a right of concurring in the election, were equally diſſatisfied with this ſecond choice. They had not been conſulted on this intereſting occaſion, and they therefore ſent an agent to Rome, to maintain their cauſe before his holineſs. The king too, and the convent of Chriſt-church, diſpatched twelve monks of that order, to ſupport their election before the ſame tribunal.

The ſee of Rome had owed its grandeur to the politic uſe it had always made of ſuch appeals, occaſioned ſometimes by violent controverſies between different ſovereigns, ſometimes by thoſe between ſovereigns and their own ſubjects; and it was too wiſe not to take advantage of the preſent opportunity. The pope, therefore, inſtead of giving his ſanction to either election, compelled the monks, who had arrived at Rome, to elect to the ſee of Canterbury, cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but bred in France, and a doctor of the univerſity of Paris. John was ſtill more violently incenſed at this third election than he had been at the firſt. He proteſted againſt it in the ſtrongeſt terms; and in order to ſhew his indignation at the perſons who had made it, he expelled the monks of Chriſt-church from their monaſtery. The pope ſent

ſent him word, that if he perſiſted in his obſtinacy, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to lay his kingdom under an interdict; and John returned for anſwer, that if his holineſs proceeded to ſuch extremity, he would break off all connection and correſpondence with the ſee of Rome.

THE pope, however, Innocent III. well knew, that John had rendered himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects by his numerous vices, that they would not ſtand by him in any controverſy with the holy ſee; and finding him ſtill to be altogether incorrigible, he at laſt iſſued the dreadful ſentence. The execution of it was peculiarly calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes, and to operate powerfully on the ſuperſtitious minds of the people. The nation was of a ſudden deprived of all exterior exerciſe of religion; the altars were deſpoiled of their ornaments; the croſſes, the relicks, the images, the ſtatues of the ſaints were laid on the ground; and as if the air itſelf was profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the prieſts carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The uſe of bells entirely ceaſed in all the churches; the bells themſelves were removed from the ſteeples, and laid on the ground with the other ſacred utenſils. Maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors, and none but the prieſts were admitted to that inſtitution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptiſm to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in conſecrated ground, but were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; and their obſequies were not attended with prayers or any other ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful ſituation, the people were prohibited the uſe of meat as in Lent, or times of the higheſt penance; they were debarred from all pleaſures and entertainments, and were forbidden even to ſalute each other, or ſo much as to ſhave their beards, or give any decent attention to their perſon and apparel. Every circumſtance carried ſymptoms of the deapeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſions of divine vengeance and indignation.

DREADFUL, however, as this ſentence was, the king appears to have been leſs intimidated by it than the pope probably expected. On the contrary, he endeavoured to retaliate by the like, or even ſtill greater ſeverities. He confiſcated the eſtates of ſuch of the clergy as obeyed the interdict, baniſhed the prelates, confined the monks in their convent, and treated the adherents of Langton with the utmoſt rigour. In a word, he ſeemed determined to ſet the court of Rome at defiance. But Innocent knew, that, however a po-

pular prince might have been able to brave the thunders of the Vatican, though even that, in ſo ignorant and ſuperſtitious an age, was hardly poſſible; a prince, ſo little beloved, or rather ſo generally deteſted as John, was altogether unequal to the arduous taſk, and that, in a controverſy of this kind, he muſt yield at the long run. He therefore proceeded to iſſue againſt him the ſtill more dreadful ſentence of excommunication. He likewiſe excommunicated all ſuch as preſumed to have any commerce or correſpondence with him: he abſolved his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; ſolemnly depoſed him from his throne; gave his dominions to Philip, king of France; and granted indulgences to every one who ſhould declare war againſt him.

PHILIP, glad of ſo fair an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on his old enemy and natural rival, and perhaps flattered with ſome faint hopes of making ſuch a mighty acquiſition to the power of his crown, began immediately to prepare for the expedition. But John, who ſaw nothing before him but certain deſtruction, was at laſt induced, after a violent ſtruggle between his pride and his prudence, to yield to the pope, and even to ſubmit to the mortifying condition of acknowledging himſelf a vaſſal of the Roman ſee. The more ſolemnly to ratify this ſingular deed, he paſſed a charter, in which he ſaid, that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free-will, and by the common advice and conſent of his barons, he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, reſigned England and Ireland to God, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair: he agreed to hold his dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thouſand marks; ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. And he ſtipulated, that, if he or his ſucceſſors ſhould ever preſume to revoke or infringe this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except upon admonition they repented of their offence, forfeit all right to their dominions.

IN conſequence of this agreement, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the ſubmiſſive rites which the feudal law required of vaſſals before their liege-lord and ſuperior. He came diſarmed into the legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he flung himſelf on his knees before him; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them within thoſe of Pandolf; he ſwore fealty to the pope; and he paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by this ſupreme triumph of pontifical power, could not forbear diſcovering extravagant ſymptoms of joy and exultation. He

trampled

trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom; an inſolence, of which, however offenſive to all the Engliſh, no one preſent dared to take notice, except the archbiſhop of Dublin.

JOHN, notwithſtanding the humiliating ſtate to which he was now reduced, could not help giving a freſh proof of his tyrannical diſpoſition. One Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold, that the king, this very year, ſhould loſe his crown; and for that raſh prophecy, he had been thrown into priſon in Corfe-caſtle. John now determined to bring him to puniſhment as an impoſtor; and though the man pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had loſt the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was ſuppoſed to be an aggravation of his guilt. He was dragged at a horſe's tail to the town of Wareham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his ſon.

WHEN the legate returned to France, he informed Philip, that there was not only no neceſſity for executing the pope's former orders by an invaſion of England; but as that kingdom had become a fief of the holy ſee, ſuch a ſtep could not now be taken without the moſt manifeſt impiety. Philip was enraged at this intelligence, and ſo much the more as he had already laid out above ſixty thouſand pounds in making preparations. He exclaimed againſt the duplicity of the ſee of Rome, which, under pretence of the intereſts of religion, was ſolely intent upon encreaſing its own power and grandeur. He even threatened, at the riſk of incurring the pope's diſpleaſure, to carry on the expedition; but his fleet being defeated by the earl of Saliſbury, king John's natural brother, he was at laſt obliged to give over the enterpriſe.

THE quarrels with the court of France and the ſee of Rome, however intereſting, were not the moſt dangerous in which John was engaged. He was involved in a controverſy with his own ſubjects, that was attended with conſequences of a ſtill more important nature. The Engliſh barons, though of Norman extraction, had now, in a great meaſure, become naturalized; and they were extremely eager for a revival of the laws enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons, and which are commonly denominated the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. Theſe laws had been confirmed in the charters granted by every king ſince the time of the conqueſt. The confirmation, however, had rather been in appearance than reality; and the barons wiſhed to ſee them re-eſtabliſhed in a more clear and determinate manner.

CONVINCED, however, that ſo tyrannical a king would never conſent to ſuch an equitable meaſure, unleſs compelled

to it by force of arms, they aſſembled a large body of troops, with which they advanced within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then reſided; and they there received a meſſage from the king by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, deſiring to know what thoſe liberties were which they ſo zealouſly challenged from their ſovereign. They delivered to theſe meſſengers a ſchedule, containing the chief articles of their demands; which was no ſooner ſhewn to the king, than he burſt into a furious paſſion, and aſked, why the barons did not alſo demand of him his kingdom; ſwearing, that he would never grant them ſuch liberties as muſt reduce himſelf to ſlavery.

THE barons, however, were too numerous and too powerful to be diverted from their purpoſe by a few high words. They choſe Robert Fitz-Walter for their general, whom they dignified with the name of *Mareſchal of the army of God and of holy church*; and they proceeded, without farther ceremony, to make war upon the king. They beſieged Northampton, which, however, they could not take; they entered Bedford without oppoſition; and they were received in London with demonſtrations of joy. Encouraged now by the ſuperiority of their forces, they iſſued a proclamation, requiring ſuch of the nobility and gentry as had not yet joined them, immediately to do ſo, and threatening their eſtates with havoc and devaſtation, in caſe they refuſed or neglected to comply. The king had removed to Odiham in Surrey, where he was attended by a retinue of only ſeven knights, and after trying various expedients to elude the blow, ſuch as offering to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be choſen by him, and four by the confederates, he at laſt found himſelf obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion.

A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines; a place which has ever ſince been extremely celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped a-part like open enemies; and after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility ſomewhat ſuſpicious, ſigned and ſealed the charter which was required of him. This famous deed, commonly called *Magna Charta*, or the *Great Charter*, has ever ſince been conſidered as laying the firſt foundation of our free conſtitution, and as the great bulwark of our liberties. Among other things, it was ordained, that no freeman ſhould be taken or impriſoned, or diſpoſſeſſed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed or baniſhed, or any wiſe hurt or injured, unleſs by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and that all who had ſuffered otherwiſe in this or the two former reigns,

reigns, ſhould be reſtored to their rights and poſſeſſions; that every freeman ſhould be fined in proportion to his fault; that no fine ſhould be levied upon him to his utter ruin; and that even a villain or ruſtic ſhould not, by any fine, be deprived of his carts, ploughs, or implements of huſbandry. This was the only article calculated for the intereſts of this body of men, probably at that time the moſt numerous in the kingdom. Farmers or huſbandmen appear to have been then in little better than a ſtate of ſlavery; that is, they were attached to the ſoil, were transferrable with it, and were exactly in the ſame ſituation as the peaſants of Ruſſia, Poland, and ſome other countries are at preſent.

It was not long before John repented of the conceſſions he had made. The indignities he had ſuffered, as he fooliſhly imagined them, made a deep impreſſion upon his haughty ſpirit. He grew ſullen, ſilent, and reſerved; he ſhunned the ſociety of his courtiers and nobles; he retired to the Iſle of Wight, and he there laid a plan, and made preparations, for taking ſignal vengeance on all thoſe, who in reality were their country's beſt friends, but whom he was led, by his tyrannical diſpoſition, to conſider as his inveterate and implacable enemies. He invited over an army of Brabançons, a ſet of men, as we have already obſerved, who were always ready to execute any orders, however criminal, provided they were well paid, and were ſtill further allured with the proſpect of plunder. At the ſame time, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, to obtain a repeal of the Great Charter; and this the pope very readily granted, hoping, no doubt, to derive more advantage from a kingdom governed by his own feudatory, however tyrannical, than from one that was bleſſed with a free conſtitution.

The pope's bull and the foreign mercenaries arrived nearly about the ſame time; and John being thus armed both with temporal and ſpiritual authority, proceeded immediately to throw off the maſk he had hitherto worn, and to commence hoſtilities againſt his innocent ſubjects. The barbarous banditti, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates, tenants, manors, houſes, and parks of the barons, and ſpread devaſtation over the face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles reduced to aſhes, the conſternation and miſery of the inhabitants, tortures inflicted by the ſoldiery to make them reveal their concealed treaſures, and repriſals no leſs barbarous committed by the barons and their partizans on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the

crown. The king marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, laid waſte the country on each ſide of him; and conſidered every ſtate, which was not his immediate property, as entirely hoſtile and the object of military execution.

In this deſperate extremity, the barons had recourſe to a remedy no leſs deſperate. They applied themſelves to the French king, and promiſed, that if he would aſſiſt them in overcoming their preſent tyrant, rather than ſovereign, they would beſtow their crown upon his eldeſt ſon Lewis. Lewis accordingly ſoon after arrived, though only with a ſmall army; but being preſently joined by moſt of the Engliſh barons, he became maſter, in a little time, of the greateſt part of the kingdom. John was now reduced to the very brink of ruin; yet he ſeemed determined to make one effort more for the preſervation of his crown, and with that view was aſſembling a conſiderable army. But paſſing from Lynne to Lincolnſhire, his road lay along the ſea ſhore, which was overflowed at high water; and not chuſing the proper time for his journey, he loſt in the inundation all his carriages, treaſure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction he ſuffered from this diſaſter, and his vexation on account of the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, increaſed a ſickneſs under which he then laboured; and though he reached the caſtle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his diſtemper ſoon after put an end to his life, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

The character of this prince was a compound of every vice that can diſgrace human nature, with hardly a ſingle virtue or good quality to throw into the oppoſite ſcale. He was proud, imperious, raſh, cruel, vindictive, perfidious, cowardly, licentious, and inconſtant; abject in adverſity, and overbearing in proſperity; contemned and hated by his ſubjects, over whom he tyrannized to the utmoſt of his power; abhorred by the clergy, whom he oppreſſed with exactions; and deſpiſed by all the neighbouring princes of Europe.

By his firſt wife, Aviſa, he had no children. By his ſecond, Iſabella, he had two ſons, viz. Henry, his ſucceſſor; and Richard, earl of Cornwall, who was afterwards choſen king of the Romans. By the ſame lady he had three daughters, namely, Jane, wife to Alexander II. king of Scots; Eleanor, married firſt to William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Simon de Montefort, earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella, conſort to the emperor Frederic II. He had alſo ten natural children; but none of them were any wiſe diſtinguiſhed.

It was this king, who, in the ninth year of his reign, firſt gave by charter, to the citizens of London, the right of chuſing annually a mayor out of their own body, an office which had hitherto been held for life. He gave the city alſo power to elect and remove its ſheriffs at pleaſure, and its common-council-men annually. London-bridge was finiſhed in this reign; the former bridge was of wood. Maud the empreſs was the firſt that built a ſtone bridge in England.

The Engliſh barons, in thoſe early times, were poſſeſſed of immenſe fortunes. This may be inferred from the princely grants which William the conqueror beſtowed upon ſome of his chief favourites and captains. We ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning a few of them. He gave to Hugh de Abrincis, his ſiſter's ſon, the whole county of Cheſter, which he erected into a palatinate, and rendered almoſt independent of the crown. Robert, earl of Mortaigne, had 973 manors and lordſhips; Allan, earl of Britanny and Richmond, 442; Odo, biſhop of Baieux, 439; Geoffrey, biſhop of Coutance, 280; Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, 107; William, earl of Warenne, 298, beſides 28 towns or hamlets in Yorkſhire; Todenei, 81; Roger Bigod, 122; Robert, earl of Eu, 119; Roger Mortimer, 132, beſides ſeveral hamlets; Robert de Stafford, 130; Walter de Eurus, earl of Saliſbury, 46; Geoffrey de Mandeville, 118; Richard de Clare, 171; Hugh de Beauchamp, 47; Baldwin de Ridvers, 164; Henry de Ferrers, 222; William de Percy, 119; Norman d'Arcy, 33. Sir Henry Spelman computes, that, in the large county of Norfolk there were not, in the Conqueror's time, above ſixty-ſix proprietors of land.

The Engliſh kings in that age, and indeed all the other ſovereigns of Europe, behaved nearly in the ſame manner as the barbarous princes of the Eaſt do at preſent. No man could approach them without a preſent; they ſold all their good offices; they even ſold law and juſtice; they intruded themſelves into every buſineſs, that they might have a pretence for extorting money; and the methods they took for this purpoſe were ſome of them very curious. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's requeſt to Iſolda Biſet, that ſhe would take him for a huſband. Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys to have the king's letter to Roger Bertram's mother, that ſhe would marry him. The biſhop of Wincheſter gave one tun of good wine for not putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the counteſs of Albemarle. And Robert de Vaux gave five of the beſt palfreys, that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife.

THE moſt remarkable events that happened in the other countries of Europe, during king John's reign, were the taking of Conſtantinople by the French and Venetians, in 1204; and the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of ſectaries in the ſouth of France, who were entirely exterminated. This cruſade is ſaid to have given riſe to the bloody inquiſition.

As a deſcription of men and manners is not only more entertaining, but likewiſe more inſtructive, than a hiſtory of ſieges and battles, or even an account of the great political tranſactions of princes, it may not be amiſs to ſay a few words concerning the origin of chivalry. Chivalry ſeems to have been introduced into England by the Normans: no traces of thoſe fantaſtic notions are to be found among the plain and ruſtic Saxons. The feudal inſtitutions, by raiſing the military tenants to a kind of ſovereign dignity, by rendering perſonal ſtrength and valour requiſite, and by making every knight and baron his own protector and avenger, produced that martial pride and ſenſe of honour, which, being cultivated and embelliſhed by the poets and romance writers of the age, ended in chivalry. The virtuous knight fought not only in his own quarrel, but in that of the innocent, of the helpleſs, and, above all, of the fair, whom he ſuppoſed to be for ever under the guardianſhip of his valiant arm. The uncourteous knight, who, from his caſtle, exerciſed robbery on travellers, and committed violence on virgins, was the object of his perpetual indignation; and he put him to death, without ſcruple, or trial, or appeal, wherever he met with him.

THE great independence of men made perſonal honour and fidelity the chief tie among them; and rendered it the capital virtue of every true knight, or genuine profeſſor of chivalry. The ſolemnities of ſingle combat, as eſtabliſhed by law, baniſhed the notion of every thing unfair or unequal in rencounters; and maintained an appearance of courteſy between the combatants till the very moment of their engagement. The credulity of the age grafted on this ſtock the notion of giants, enchanters, dragons, ſpells, and a thouſand wonders, which ſtill multiplied during the times of the cruſades; when men, returning from ſo great a diſtance, uſed the liberty of impoſing every fiction on their believing audience. Theſe ideas of chivalry infected the writings, converſation, and behaviour of men, during ſome ages; and even after they were, in a great meaſure, baniſhed by the revival of learning, they left modern gallantry, and the point of honour,

nour, which ſtill maintain their influence, and are the genuine offspring of thoſe ancient affectations.

THE Normans introduced into England the uſe of ſurnames, which tend to preſerve the knowledge of families and pedigrees.

CHAP. XII.

HENRY III.

HENRY III. eldeſt ſon of the late king, *A. D.* 1216. was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death; and as the whole kingdom was then over-run with the French troops, and with thoſe of the revolted barons, he would probably have had but very little chance of making good his pretenſions to the throne, had it not been for the zeal and activity of the earl of Pembroke, who had adhered to the father during all his reverſes of fortune, and now ſupported the cauſe of the ſon with the like fidelity. In this he was aſſiſted by Gualo, the pope's legate, who conſidering England as a fief of the holy ſee, excommunicated Lewis and all his adherents, for daring to attack the patrimony of St. Peter.

As Pembroke was at that time Mareſchal of England, he was by his office at the head of the armies, and conſequently, in the then unſettled ſtate of affairs, at the head of the government; and it happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not have been intruſted into more able or more faithful hands. Knowing that, in ſuch a ſuperſtitious age, the young prince would not be generally recognized as king, until he had been crowned and anointed by a prelate, he took care to have that ceremony performed upon him by the biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath, in preſence of the legate. He then wrote circular letters to the revolted barons, in which he repreſented to them, that whatever juſt cauſe of complaint they might have had againſt the late king, they could have none againſt the preſent ſovereign, who was too young ever to have given them any; and he therefore exhorted them, by returning to their duty, and acknowledging their lawful and hereditary prince, to reſtore the tranquillity, and preſerve the independence of their native country, inſtead of expoſing it, as they now did, to the danger of being ſubjected to a foreign yoke, by obſtinately adhering to the cauſe of Lewis. Moſt of them were either ſo prudent or ſo patriotic as to follow this advice, and they did

did ſo the more readily as they had of late become highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of Lewis, on account of his partiality to his own countrymen, and his unreaſonable prejudice againſt the Engliſh.

PEMBROKE, encouraged by this acceſſion of ſtrength to his own party, and the proportionate weakneſs it muſt neceſſarily occaſion in that of the enemy, reſolved to overwhelm them while they were thus diſmayed by their recent misfortune, and he accordingly attacked them in the city of Lincoln, which they had entered, and the caſtle of which they were employed in beſieging. They had even endeavoured to fortify the town, ſo as to keep off the approach of Pembroke; but that nobleman having forced the gates of the city, at the ſame time that the garriſon in the caſtle made a vigorous ſally, the enemy were put to a total rout; their general, the count de Perche, was ſlain, and a great number of their principal officers, with about 400 knights, were taken priſoners. Soon after, a fleet, that was bringing them a ſtrong reinforcement, was defeated by the ſhips of the Cinque ports, under the command of Philip d'Albiney, who is ſaid to have owed his ſucceſs to the following ſtratagem. Having gained the wind of the enemy, he came down upon them with violence; and throwing in their faces a great quantity of quick lime, he ſo blinded them, that he rendered them totally incapable of making any reſiſtance. Theſe heavy and repeated loſſes, coming ſo cloſe upon the heels of one another, reduced Lewis at laſt to ſuch a ſtate of deſpair, that he was glad to purchaſe a ſafe retreat by reſigning all pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, and by withdrawing his forces entirely from the kingdom. He only ſtipulated, that ſuch of the Engliſh as had adhered to his intereſt, ſhould be indulged with a pardon, and ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their honours and fortunes.

PEMBROKE did not long ſurvive the concluſion of this treaty: he died in 1219, and was ſucceeded in the government by Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poitevin, and Hubert de Burgh, who, during the late reign, had defended Dover againſt all the attempts of Lewis and his party. This laſt nobleman was at the ſame time created chief-juſticiary of England. The two miniſters acted at firſt with great unanimity; but at laſt a jealouſy broke out between them, while each of them endeavoured to engroſs to himſelf the favour of the king; which, after a ſhort ſtruggle, was gained by Hubert de Burgh, who, in 1226, obtained a bull from the pope, declaring Henry to be of full age, in conſequence of which the biſhop was diſmiſſed from his office.

As Hubert was a man of virtue as well as abilities, he would probably have filled his high ſtation with equal honour to himſelf and ſatisfaction to the people, had he not been provoked, by the turbulence of the barons and the licentiouſneſs of the times, into ſome meaſures that were rather too violent. Among other acts of his, proceeding from the latter cauſe, may be reckoned the ſevere and arbitrary puniſhment he inflicted upon ſome London rioters; and this diſturbance was occaſioned by a very trifling incident. A wreſtling-match had taken place between the inhabitants of London and thoſe of Weſtminſter. The former gained the victory. To enable the latter to retrieve their honour, another match was propoſed. But when the Londoners come to the place of conteſt, they were furiouſly attacked, and driven off the field, by an armed band, headed by the ſteward of the abbot of Weſtminſter, who had appointed the two matches. To revenge this inſult, the Londoners aſſembled in great crowds, and demoliſhed ſome houſes belonging to the abbot; and as they had formerly been ſtrongly attached to the French intereſt, they made uſe, in the height of their paſſion, of the French war-word, *Mon joye St. Denis*; a proof, it was thought, that the ſeeds of rebellion ſtill lurked in their minds, and that they were not yet thoroughly reconciled to the preſent government.

HUBERT made ſtrict inquiry into the matter; and finding one Conſtantine Fitz-Arnolf to have been the ringleader, an inſolent man, who juſtified his crime in Hubert's preſence, he proceeded againſt him by martial law, and ordered him with two of his accomplices to be immediately hanged, without trial or form of proceſs. He alſo cut off the hands and feet of ſome of the other delinquents. In order to give a check to the turbulence of the barons, he compelled them, by the fears of an excommunication, which, in caſe of refuſal, the biſhops threatened to iſſue againſt them, to deliver up moſt of the royal caſtles, that had been committed to their care during the late troubles and during the minority. There are ſaid to have been no leſs than 1115 caſtles at that time in England.

BY theſe and ſeveral other unpopular acts, Hubert drew upon himſelf ſuch a load of public odium, that though he had attained to the higheſt degree of power and authority of any man in the kingdom, having acquired the poſſeſſion of an immenſe property, having obtained in marriage the eldeſt ſiſter of the Scottiſh king, having been created earl of Kent, and even conſtituted chief juſticiary of England for life; yet after Henry had loaded him with all theſe favours, and repeatedly

peatedly expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction with his zeal and fidelity, he was at laſt induced, partly by the importunities of his ſubjects, but chiefly by his own capricious temper, to diſmiſs Hubert from his ſervice, and to ſubſtitute in his room the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had formerly been Hubert's coadjutor.

THE people, however, did not find themſelves bettered by this change; for as the biſhop was a Poitevin, whole ſhoals of his countrymen now came over to England, and upon them, and them only, were conferred all the places of truſt and profit in the kingdom. Nor were the lucrative employments in the gift of the crown ſufficient to ſatisfy the voracity of theſe foreign vultures. Large ſums of money were obliged to be raiſed for the ſame purpoſe; and this, joined to two unſucceſsful, but expenſive expeditions, which the king made to France, involved him at laſt in ſo many difficulties, that he was under a neceſſity of ſelling his plate and jewels, in order to enable him to diſcharge his incumbrances. When this laſt expedient was propoſed to him, he aſked, where he ſhould find purchaſers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word," ſaid he, "if the treaſury of Auguſtus were brought to ſale, the citizens are able to be the purchaſers: Theſe clowns, who aſſume to themſelves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits." And he was thenceforth obſerved to be more forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

IT is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Engliſh could patiently bear to ſee a ſet of worthleſs and needy foreigners thus preferred to them upon all occaſions. They were enraged to the higheſt degree at this partiality ſhown to the Poitevins, and they even proceeded ſo far, that they took up arms under the earl of Pembroke (brother to him who had been the protector) and would probably have compelled the king to diſmiſs his foreign miniſters, had not de Roches (for that, as we have already obſerved, was the name of the prime miniſter) contrived to ſow jealouſy among the malecontents, and thereby diſconcerted all their meaſures. He even ſuborned ſome aſſaſſins, who murdered the earl of Pembroke in Ireland. Nevertheleſs, this odious miniſter was at laſt diſgraced at the inſtigation of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and he and all his aſſociates were baniſhed from court.

BUT the freedom, which the Engliſh thus obtained, from the dominion of foreigners, was but of very ſhort duration. For Henry having, in 1236, married Eleanor, daughter to Raymond, count of Provence, his court was filled with a freſh ſwarm of adventurers from that country. His mother too had,

upon

upon the death of her huſband, eſpouſed Hugh, count de la Marche, to whom ſhe had been originally betrothed; and to him ſhe bore four ſons, whom ſhe now ſent over to England, with a numerous retinue, in order to pay a viſit to their brother; and as Henry, who was of an eaſy temper, was entirely governed by thoſe about him, he conferred every office in church and ſtate upon theſe new favourites.

THE patience of the Engliſh was now worn out by this endleſs inundation of foreigners. They plainly told Henry, that if he would not diſmiſs them, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and would place the crown upon ſome other head, more worthy to wear it; and as they well knew, from repeated experience, that there was no depending upon the king's promiſes, nor even upon his moſt ſolemn oaths and aſſurances, they reſolved to bind him to the obſervance of his word by ſuch a tie as he could not poſſibly break through. They formed a regular and well-digeſted confederacy for the redreſs of public grievances, and they placed at the head of it, Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter, ſon of that Mountfort, who had commanded in the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes; and as this man was married to the king's ſiſter, and was poſſeſſed, beſides, of great intereſt and authority in the kingdom, they thought him the beſt qualified on that account, as well as by his extraordinary courage and abilities, to direct and conduct them in all their meaſures.

HAVING taken theſe previous ſteps, the barons came to Parliament in complete armour; and when the king, ſtruck with the unuſual ſight, aſked them, if they meant to make him their priſoner, they humbly replied, that he was not their priſoner, but their ſovereign; that they even intended to grant him large ſupplies, in order to anſwer his preſent exigencies; that they expected, however, ſome favour in return, and that was a redreſs of the public grievances; and as he had frequently been found, on former occaſions, to violate his word without any apparent cauſe, and merely from the ficklenes of his own temper, he muſt now ſubmit to more ſtrict regulations. The king, allured by the hopes of ſupply, and intimidated by the martial appearance of the barons, readily agreed to all their demands, and promiſed to ſummon another Parliament at Oxford, in order to draw up the new plan of government.

THIS Parliament, which the royaliſts at firſt, and afterwards the nation at large, denominated the *mad Parliament*, immediately ſet about the work of reformation. Twelve barons

rons were ſelected from among the king's miniſters; twelve more were choſen by Parliament: to theſe twenty-
A. D. 1258. four, with Leiceſter at their head, unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate; and the king himſelf took an oath, that he would maintain whatever ordinances they ſhould think proper to enact for that purpoſe. Their firſt ſtep had a ſpecious appearance. They ordered that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county; that they ſhould inquire into the grievances in their neighbourhood, and ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, and there give an account of every thing that needed to be redreſſed. This was a nearer approach to our preſent conſtitution than had hitherto taken place.

BUT the next meaſure they adopted was ſubverſive of the authority of parliament itſelf. They appointed a committee of twelve perſons, who, during the intervals of the ſeſſions, were inveſted with the power of the whole parliament, and were to attend on a ſummons the perſon of the king in all his motions. In a word, they ſeem to have reſembled the Roman decemvirs. Both of them, perhaps, were at firſt neceſſary; the one to compile a body of laws, the other to reform the abuſes of the ſtate. Perhaps too, at firſt, they were both of them actuated by the pureſt and moſt diſintereſted motives. But as all exorbitant power naturally tends to corrupt thoſe who are inveſted with it, both of them were found to degenerate at laſt from their original character, and inſtead of patriots, they became tyrants; and had not the latter, happily for the nation, met with a ſeaſonable and an effectual check, they would probably have eſtabliſhed a complete oligarchy.

THE firſt oppoſition to their power came from the knights of the ſhires, who now appear to have been pretty regularly ſummoned to parliament, and ſometimes ſat in a ſeparate houſe. Theſe repreſented, that though the king had performed all the conditions required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing for the public good, but had been ſolely intent on perpetuating and augmenting their own power, and promoting their own private intereſt. They even appealed to the king's eldeſt ſon, prince Edward, and begged he would exert his utmoſt authority for the welfare of the nation, and the reformation of the government. But Edward had ſworn, as well as his father, to obſerve the ſtatutes or proviſions of Oxford (for ſo the new regulations were termed); and as he had ſeen the bad effects of the king's facility in making promiſes, and his proportionable levity in breaking them, he was determined to bring himſelf under no engagements that he could not perform.

perform. He therefore declined proceeding to any extremities at preſent, and contented himſelf with ſending a meſſage to the barons, requiring them to bring their work to a ſpeedy concluſion, and fulfil the promiſes they had made to the public; otherwiſe he told them, that, at the riſk of his life, he would oblige them to do their duty, and would ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in promoting the intereſts, and ſatisfying the juſt wiſhes of the nation.

The barons, urged by ſo preſſing a neceſſity, publiſhed a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the ſtate. But theſe were ſo little ſatisfactory, that an agreement was entered into between the two parties, to refer all matters in diſpute to the king of France. His deciſion, however, was far from being agreeable to the barons; and as the pope had now abſolved Henry from the oath he had taken to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford, and as that prince had, in conſequence, reſumed the ſupreme power, and replaced every thing upon its ancient footing, it was abundantly evident to all men of ſenſe, that nothing but the ſword could determine the controverſy between the king and his barons.

Both parties, therefore, began to prepare for this important conteſt; large armies were levied on either ſide; and theſe, after ſome freſh but fruitleſs attempts made to compromiſe matters in an amicable manner, came to an engagement at Lewes in Suſſex, when the barons *A. D.* 1264. obtained a complete victory, having taken the king himſelf, and his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, priſoners. Prince Edward, who commanded a wing of the royal army, and was victorious in that part where he fought, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf in exchange for his father, as was likewiſe his couſin, Henry d'Allmaine, in lieu of his parent, the earl of Cornwall. The two princes were committed to Dover-caſtle; and Leiceſter kept the king, in violation of the treaty, a priſoner at large, and carrying him about with him through all parts of the kingdom, made uſe of his authority to get into his poſſeſſion ſuch towns and fortreſſes as had hitherto adhered to the royal cauſe.

In order to ſtrengthen and increaſe his popularity, Leiceſter ſummoned a new parliament in London, where his influence was great; and he fixed this aſſembly on a more democratical baſis, than any which had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the monarchy. Beſides the barons of his own party, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights for each ſhire, and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men, which had hitherto

therto been regarded as too mean to have any ſhare in the legiſlature of their country.

THIS period is generally eſteemed the epoch of the Houſe of Commons in England; and it is certainly the firſt time that hiſtorians ſpeak of any repreſentatives ſent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of thoſe aſſemblies, the prelates and barons only are mentioned as the conſtituent members; and even in the moſt particular narratives delivered of parliamentary tranſactions, as in the trial of Thomas a Becket, where the events of each day, and almoſt of each hour, are carefully recorded by cotemporary authors, there is not, throughout the whole, the leaſt appearance of a Houſe of Commons. But though that houſe derived its exiſtence from ſo precarious an origin as Leiceſter's preſent difficulties, it ſoon proved, when ſummoned by the legal princes, to be one of the moſt uſeful and moſt powerful branches of the Engliſh conſtitution, and gradually freed the kingdom both from ariſtocratical and from regal tyranny.

WHATEVER may have been the demerits of the king himſelf, his ſon prince Edward had always been a great favourite of the nation, and therefore his impriſonment was taken very ill by the people in general. Leiceſter plainly ſaw that there would ſoon be a neceſſity for ſetting him at liberty; and in order to make a merit of what he could not prevent, he ſummoned a parliament on purpoſe, where, after obliging the prince to agree to certain articles circumſcribing his own authority, he reſtored him to his freedom, though he ſtill took care to keep him ſo ſtrictly guarded by his ſpies and emiſſaries, that he could not take a ſingle ſtep without being obſerved. But Edward was of too high a ſpirit long to ſubmit to ſuch unworthy treatment. He contrived, in a little time, to eſcape from his guards, and joining the earl of Glouceſter, who had already taken arms in favour of the royal cauſe, he firſt defeated Leiceſter's ſon in the neighbourhood of Kenilworth, and afterwards attacking the earl himſelf at Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, he obtained over him a complete victory. In this action Leiceſter was ſlain, after performing incredible feats of valour; and though he aſked for quarter, after he was unhorſed, it was cruelly denied him. His body was even mangled by Roger Mortimer, one of the lords marchers; his head was cut off, and with a ſavage barbarity was ſent to his widow, as a proof of the final triumph of the royal party. The old king himſelf, who now accompanied Leiceſter, was placed in the front of the battle; and being clad in armour, and thereby not known, he received a wound,

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and was in danger of his life. But crying out, *I am Henry of Wincheſter, your king*, he was ſaved, and put in a place of ſafety by his ſon, who flew to his reſcue. Leiceſter's ſecond ſon Simon (for Henry, the eldeſt, was killed in the battle of Eveſham) held out, for ſome time, in the iſland of Axholme; but, at laſt, was obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion. Adam de Gourdon too, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf, for ſome months, in the foreſts of Hampſhire, committed depredations in the neighbourhood, and obliged prince Edward to lead a body of troops into that country againſt him. Edward attacked the camp of the enemy; and being tranſported by the ardour of battle, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon in ſingle combat. The victory was long diſputed between theſe valiant combatants; but ended at laſt in the prince's favour, who wounded his antagoniſt, threw him from his horſe, and made him priſoner. He not only gave him his life; but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, reſtored him to his eſtate, received him into favour, and was ever after faithfully ſerved by him.

THE earl of Glouceſter, who had originally belonged to the aſſociated barons, from whom he had deſerted, had had ſo capital a ſhare in bringing about this happy revolution in favour of the roya lcauſe, that it was no eaſy matter to content him; and, upon ſome ſlight diſguſt, he was once more tempted to excite the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. He even inſtigated the populace of London to take up arms; and prince Edward was obliged to aſſemble an army of 30,000 men, in order to ſuppreſs them; but this at laſt was happily effected without any great effuſion of blood on either ſide.

THERE are two tranſactions of Henry's reign, the mention of which we have hitherto omitted, partly becauſe the ſcene of them was laid in foreign countries, and partly becauſe they appear to have no very cloſe connection with the events that more properly relate to England. The firſt is the tender of the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope, who pretended to be ſuperior lord of that country, made to Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, Henry's ſecond ſon, provided that prince would take the trouble of conquering it; and Henry was ſo fooliſh as to accept the offer: but his barons refuſing to aſſiſt him in the enterprize, he was finally obliged to abandon the project. The ſecond is the election of his brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the dignity of king of the Romans; but as that prince was not poſſeſſed of any perſonal, or family intereſt in Germany, he never obtained the Imperial crown. Even the firſt

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empty title he owed to his great wealth; for Richard is ſaid to have been, at that time, the richeſt ſubject in Chriſtendom.

THE tranquillity of the kingdom being perfectly re-eſtabliſhed by the victory at Eveſham, prince Edward, who was paſſionately fond of glory, began to think of undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land; to this he was incited as well by the example as exhortations of Lewis, commonly called St. Lewis, king of France, one of the moſt accompliſhed monarchs that had hitherto appeared in Europe. He accordingly ſailed from England with an army; and arrived in Lewis's camp before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate, and the fatigues of the enterpriſe. Prince Edward, however, not in the leaſt diſcouraged by this event, continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he ſignalized himſelf by acts of valour; revived the glory of the Engliſh arms in thoſe parts; and ſtruck ſuch terror into the Saracens, that they employed an aſſaſſin to deprive him of his life. This ruffian having procured admittance to the prince, under pretence of carrying on a negociation, he took an opportunity, when there was nobody in the room but Edward and himſelf, to aim a poiſoned dagger at his breaſt. Edward found means to ward off the blow, though in ſo doing he was wounded in the arm; and perceiving the infidel about to repeat the blow, he ſtruck him on the breaſt ſo forcibly with his foot, that he threw him to the ground; and then wreſting the dagger from his hand, he inſtantly plunged it in the barbarian's heart. Edward's wound ſeemed at firſt very dangerous; but was at laſt cured, as ſome ſay, by the extraordinary ſkill of an Engliſh ſurgeon, and, according to others, by the piety of his conſort, Eleanor, who ſucked out the poiſon with her mouth, in order to ſave his life at the evident hazard of her own.

MEAN while, his abſence from England was attended with many of thoſe bad conſequences that had been generally apprehended from it. The laws were not executed; the barons oppreſſed the commons with impunity; they gave ſhelter on their eſtates to bands of robbers, whom they employed in committing ravages on the eſtates of their enemies; the populace of London returned to their former licentiouſneſs; and the king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre, which was ready to drop from his feeble and irreſolute hands. At laſt, overcome by the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he viſibly declined, and he expired at St. Edmundſbury, in the 64th year of his age,

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and the 56th of his reign, the longeſt that is to be met with in the Engliſh annals.

HENRY had nine children, four of whom only ſurvived him, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Edmund, earl of Lancaſter; Margaret, married to Alexander III. king of Scots; and Beatrix, wife to John de Dreux, duke of Britanny.

THE character of this prince may be eaſily collected from the tranſactions of his reign. He was certainly poſſeſſed of very mean abilities; was a ſlave to his paſſions, devoted to favourites, fickle, capricious, and violent in his temper; and to theſe cauſes, rather than to his arbitrary principles, ought to be attributed all the diſturbances that happened in his reign. Greedy of money, but profuſe in his expences, he was perpetually employed in pillaging his ſubjects, or laviſhing his weath upon worthleſs favourites. Gentle, however, and merciful in his diſpoſition, he was never guilty of any act of cruelty; but was ſatisfied with puniſhing the rebels in their effects, when he might juſtly have deluged the ſcaffold with their blood.

WE are apt to be ſurprized at the high intereſt now paid for money in the Eaſt Indies, amounting, it is ſaid, to twenty-five, and even ſometimes to thirty-ſix per cent. But inſtances occur at this time, in England, of fifty per cent. having been paid for money. No wonder, therefore, that the Jews, who were then the only money-lenders, ſhould be tempted to ſtay in the kingdom, notwithſtanding the grievous extortions that were practiſed upon them. Theſe, indeed, were ſometimes ſo great as almoſt to exceed the bounds of credibility. In 1241, 20,000 marks were exacted from them. Two years after, money was again extorted; and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was obliged to pay above 4000 marks. In 1250, Henry renewed his oppreſſions; and the ſame Aaron was condemned to pay him 30,000 marks upon an accuſation of forgery. In 1255, the king demanded 8000 marks from the Jews, and threatened to hang them, if they refuſed compliance. They now loſt all patience, and deſired to retire with their effects out of the kingdom. But the king replied: "How can I remedy the oppreſſions you complain of? I am myſelf a beggar. I am ſpoiled, I am ſtripped of all my revenues. I owe above 200,000 marks; and if I had ſaid 300,000, I ſhould not exceed the truth: I am obliged to pay my ſon, prince Edward, 15,000 marks a year: I have not a farthing; and I muſt have money from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means." He then delivered over the Jews to the earl of Cornwall, that thoſe, whom one brother had ſtead, the other

other might embowel, to uſe the words of the hiſtorian, Matthew Paris. King John, his father, once demanded 10,000 marks from a Jew of Briſtol; and, on his refuſal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day till he ſhould comply. The Jew loſt ſeven teeth, and then paid the ſum required of him. One talliage laid upon the Jews in 1243 amounted to 60,000 marks, a ſum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the crown.

HENRY granted a charter to the town of Newcaſtle, in which he gave the inhabitants a licence to dig coal. This is the firſt mention of coal in England. Arnot, in his hiſtory of Edinburgh, ſays, that it is not above two hundred years ſince coal began to be uſed in Britain. But it evidently appears from this charter, that he is in a miſtake.

CHAP. XIII.

EDWARD I.

A. D. 1272. PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of his father's death; and he diſcovered a deep concern on the occaſion. At the ſame time he heard of the death of an infant ſon, John, whom his princeſs, Eleanor of Caſtile, had born him at Acre, in Paleſtine, and as he appeared to be much leſs affected with the latter misfortune than the former, the king of Sicily expreſſed his ſurpriſe at this difference; but was told by Edward, that the death of a ſon was a loſs which he might hope to repair; the loſs of a father was a loſs irreparable.

FROM Sicily Edward repaired to France, where he did homage to Philip for Guienne; and having ſettled the affairs of that province, he came over to England, and was crowned at Weſtminſter on the 19th of Auguſt, 1274; Alexander king of Scots, John duke of Bretagne, and the wives of theſe two princes, Edward's ſiſters, being preſent at the ſolemnity. It is ſaid, that, in order to add to the grandeur of the ceremony, five hundred horſes were turned looſe, with liberty to every one to keep as many of them as he could catch.

EDWARD had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the government, than he applied himſelf, with equal diligence and ſucceſs, to the reformation of thoſe abuſes, which had taken place during the reign of his father. And as the adulteration of the coin was one of the principal evils complained of,

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and the Jews were chiefly ſuſpected of that crime, no leſs than two hundred and eighty of theſe people were hanged at once for this enormity in London, beſides thoſe who ſuffered in other parts of the kingdom. He likewiſe appointed commiſſioners to enquire into the encroachments on the royal foreſts, and even into the validity of the titles by which the barons held their eſtates; but this laſt meaſure, he found, was likely to be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences. For when earl Warenne, who, during the preceding reign, had performed the moſt important ſervices to the crown, was required to ſhew his titles, he inſtantly drew his ſword, and ſaid, *that* was his title; adding, that William, the Norman, did not conquer England for himſelf alone; his anceſtor was a joint adventurer in the enterprize; and he himſelf was determined to maintain what had, from that period, remained unqueſtioned in his family. Edward had too much prudence to puſh the matter any farther.

BEING now freed from all ſerious occupation in his domeſtic government, he began to turn his attention towards foreign politics; and the firſt object that attracted his regard was the principality of Wales, the ſovereign of which, Lewellyn, had lately given him ſome juſt cauſes of complaint. He had refuſed to aſſiſt at Edward's coronation, and had even declined doing homage for his principality; a mark of ſubmiſſion, that, for ſome time paſt, had been paid the crown of England by all his predeceſſors. Edward, therefore, reſolved to chaſtiſe him for this neglect of his duty as a vaſſal, and to ſhew him the folly of ſetting at defiance a power ſo greatly ſuperior to his own. He accordingly marched againſt him with a numerous army; and having cooped him up in a narrow corner, he ſoon reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he obliged him to agree to whatever terms he thought proper to impoſe. Theſe were, that Lewellyn ſhould pay to Edward 50,000 pounds, as a reparation of damages; ſhould do homage to him for his principality; permit all the barons of Wales, except four about Snowdon, to ſwear fealty to the crown of England; and ſhould relinquiſh the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway. On performance of the other articles, Edward remitted the payment of the 50,000 pounds, which it is more than probable the poverty of the country rendered it abſolutely impoſſible for Lewellyn to raiſe.

THIS accommodation, however, was but of very ſhort continuance. For Lewellyn, provoked at ſome perſonal inſults he had received from Edward; enraged likewiſe at the many hoſtilities, which the lords marchers (as they were called) committed upon the Welſh borders; and being further inſti-

gated by the ſuggeſtions of his brother, David, who exhorted him to recover his ancient independence; he was once more tempted to take up arms: but being defeated and ſlain by Mortimer, one of the lords marchers, his head was cut off, and fixed on the Tower of London. His brother David, too, who ſucceeded him in the principality, being taken priſoner, was brought to a formal trial before all the peers of England, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor; though guilty of no other crime, than that of defending by arms the liberty of his native country, together with his own hereditary authority. The Welſh now made no farther reſiſtance; they all of them quietly ſubmitted to the conqueror; the laws of England, with the ſheriffs and other miniſters of juſtice, were eſtabliſhed in that principality; and though it was long before national antipathies were extinguiſhed, and a thorough union attained between the people, yet this important conqueſt, which it had required eight hundred years fully to effect, was at laſt happily accompliſhed by Edward.

THE king, ſenſible that nothing kept alive the ideas of military valour and of ancient glory, ſo much as the traditional poetry of the people, which, aſſiſted by the power of muſic, and the jollity of feſtivals, made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the youth, gathered together all the Welſh bards, and, with a cruel and barbarous policy, ordered them to be put to death. Another expedient he employed for reconciling the Welſh to the Engliſh government, was of much more innocent nature. Hearing, that that people had an unconquerable averſion to the dominion of foreigners, he cauſed his queen, who was then big with child, to go and lie in at Caernarvon Caſtle, and on her being delivered of a ſon, who was named Edward, he preſented him to the natives as a Welſhman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language.

THE next project, in which Edward was engaged, was of a much more important nature than even the conqueſt of Wales, though he was not able to bring it to ſo happy an iſſue. This was no other than his celebrated attempt, firſt to acquire a ſuperiority over Scotland, and afterwards entirely to ſubdue it; and to this he was led not merely by the natural deſire, which every Engliſh king muſt have had, of wiſhing to ſee the whole iſland under one government, but likewiſe by the application which the Scottiſh nobility made to him for his aſſiſtance in ſettling the diſputed ſucceſſion to their throne.

IN order the better to underſtand this ſubject, it will not be amiſs to take a brief view of the then ſtate of the Scottiſh royal family. Alexander III. king of Scots, had, by his wife, Edward's ſiſter, an only daughter, called Margaret, married

married to Eric, king of Norway, to whom ſhe bore a daughter of the ſame name with herſelf; and ſoon after died. Alexander being killed, about this period, by a fall from his horſe, was ſucceeded by his grand-daughter, Margaret of Norway, who, at the ſame time, was betrothed to the young prince of Wales; by which marriage, had it taken effect, the crown of England and Scotland would have been united: but the princeſs dying in her paſſage from Norway, the throne of Scotland thereby became vacant.

But though there was no immediate or direct heir to the Scottiſh crown, there were ſeveral who advanced very plauſible pretenſions to that ſovereign dignity. The number of competitors, in the whole, was not leſs than twelve; but the two, whoſe titles ſeemed to be the beſt founded, were John Baliol and Robert Bruce, both of them related to the royal family of Scotland, though not exactly in the ſame degree. Here it may be proper to obſerve, that the poſterity of William, king of Scotland, the prince who was taken priſoner by Henry II. being all extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway; the right to the crown was devolved on the line of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, whoſe male line being alſo extinct, left the ſucceſſion open to the poſterity of his three daughters, Margaret, Iſabella, and Adama. Baliol was grandſon of the eldeſt of theſe; Bruce was ſon of the ſecond; ſo that Baliol was related to the royal family in the third degree, but ſprung from an elder branch; Bruce was related to it in the ſecond degree, but ſprung from a younger.

It rarely happens, even in the moſt civilized countries, that a diſputed ſucceſſion to the throne can be ſettled without having recourſe to arms; and much leſs was this to be expected in ſuch a country as Scotland, which was then involved in the groſſeſt barbariſm. The nobility, therefore, of that kingdom, foreſeeing and dreading the horrors of a civil war, and willing, if poſſible, to prevent them, reſolved to refer the deciſion of this important point to ſome neighbouring prince, endowed with juſtice and judgment enough to make an equitable award, and poſſeſſed, at the ſame time, of ſufficient power to compel all the refractory part of the nation to agree to his ſentence. And no one appeared to be better qualified for this purpoſe than the Engliſh monarch, who had already acquired a very high reputation for impartiality in matters of this kind, particularly in a reference made to him by the kings of France and Arragon.

To him, therefore, the Scottiſh nobility applied, and they had no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the ſentence he gave,

which was in favour of Baliol, who was undoubtedly the true heir to the crown; but the condition, upon which he gave it, was ſuch as they neither expected, nor were willing to agree to, but yet were afraid abſolutely to reject. This was no other than obliging the two candidates, and even the nobility, to acknowledge his ſuperiority over Scotland, and that that kingdom was no more than a fief or dependant of the Engliſh crown. The two competitors very readily gave their aſſent, before paſſing of the ſentence; ſo much more powerful in the human breaſt is the principle of ambition, than the ſpirit of patriotiſm: the nobility at firſt diſcovered great reluctance thus to ſurrender the independence of their country; but as Edward then lay in the neighbourhood of them with a numerous army, and was fully able to extort that by force which he now demanded in the moſt gentle terms, they found it would be in vain to make any farther reſiſtance, and they therefore agreed to give him this mark of their ſubmiſſion.

BUT merely to obtain the ſuperiority of Scotland was not the only point that Edward aimed at; he wiſhed to make an entire conqueſt of the country, to incorporate it thoroughly with England, and thus to convert the whole iſland into one compact and undivided monarchy. And in order to furniſh him with a more plauſible pretence for effecting this purpoſe, he did every thing in his power to provoke Baliol into rebellion, intending, if he could once draw him into this ſnare, to forfeit his dominions as the puniſhment of his treaſon. Nor was it long before the arts he employed were crowned with ſucceſs. And this they were the more eaſily, as Baliol was now moſt heartily aſhamed of the conceſſions he had made, and found that he had incurred the hatred as well as the contempt of his ſubjects, by deſtroying the ancient independence of their kingdom. He therefore procured from the ſee of Rome a diſpenſation from the oath of fealty and allegiance he had ſworn to Edward, and he ſent that prince a meſſage of defiance, renouncing for himſelf, as well as for his ſucceſſors, the homage he had done him for the Scottiſh crown. But Edward was not to be intimidated by a few high words from ſuch a prince as Baliol. He immediately marched into Scotland with an army 30,000 ſtrong; he reduced Berwick, Dunbar, and ſeveral other places; he detached his general, earl Warenne, with a ſtrong body of troops to attack the Scottiſh army, which was defeated with the loſs of 20,000 men: in a word, he reduced Baliol to ſuch extremity, that that prince was at laſt obliged to ſubmit at diſcre-

A. D. 1296. tion, and to reſign his crown to the Engliſh monarch, with liberty to diſpoſe of it in whatever

ever way he pleaſed. Baliol accordingly was brought up to London, and committed priſoner to the Tower, where he continued about two years, at the end of which he was permitted to go into voluntary exile, and he died abroad in a private ſtation. At the ſame time Edward cauſed the crown and ſceptre of Scotland, together with the famous ſtone at Scone (which the Scots regarded as the palladium of their monarchy), to be carried to London; and having reduced that kingdom to the form of an Engliſh province, and entruſted the government of it to earl Warenne, he returned into England with his victorious army.

But though the country of Scotland had been ſo ſoon conquered, it was not by any means ſuch an eaſy matter to ſubdue the minds of the inhabitants, and to reconcile them perfectly to the new yoke of ſlavery which Edward had impoſed upon them. And this taſk was rendered the more dificult by the unfitneſs of the inſtruments that were employed for the purpoſe. For Warenne ſoon after returning into England on account of his bad ſtate of health, the entire management of Scottiſh affairs devolved upon Ormeſby the juſticiary, and Creſſingham the treaſurer; two men, who were extremely ill qualified for ſoothing the minds of an untractable people into a cordial ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh government. The former was remarkable for his rigour and ſeverity; the latter was diſtinguiſhed by his avarice and rapacity; and both of them were, at the ſame time, ſo extremely imprudent, as, by treating the Scots as a conquered nation, to make them too early ſenſible of the grievous ſtate of ſervitude into which they had fallen. In a word, the minds of that people were ſo highly exaſperated by the numerous oppreſſions under which they laboured, that they became ſoon every where ripe for a revolt; and they wanted nothing but ſome chief to conduct them, in order to give vent to their fury and indignation.

Nor was it long before they found ſuch a leader as they wiſhed for. This was the celebrated William Wallace, a gentleman of ſmall fortune, but deſcended from an ancient family in the weſtern part of Scotland. He was a perſon of gigantic ſtature, of incredible ſtrength, and invincible fortitude, who now putting himſelf at the head of all the reſolute and diſcontented ſpirits in the kingdom, ſoon became maſter of ſuch a force, as rendered him truly formidable to the Engliſh government. He even formed a deſign for ſeizing the perſon of Ormeſby, the juſticiary; and that gentleman had no other method of avoiding the danger than by flying into England, where he informed earl Warenne of the rapid progreſs which Wallace was making. Warenne aſſembled an

army of 40,000 men, with which he marched into Scotland; but venturing unwarily to attack Wallace in the neighbourhood of Stirling on very diſadvantageous ground, he not only ſuffered a total defeat, but was obliged, with the ſhattered remains of his forces, to retreat into England. Thither he was followed by the victorious Wallace, who, after committing depredations in the more northern provinces, returned into his own country, laden with ſpoil, and poſſeſſed of ſuch a high reputation for military proweſs and good fortune, that his followers unanimouſly beſtowed upon him the title of Regent of the kingdom.

This dignity, however, he did not long enjoy. The nobility, with their uſual pride, and their conſtant envy of merit in perſons of an inferior ſtation, ſoon became jealous of his growing fame, and diſdained to fight under the banners of a private gentleman. Wallace, therefore, whoſe love of his country appears to have been equal to his other noble qualities, rather than injure the intereſts of the public by any private feuds or diſſenſions, voluntarily reſigned the ſupreme command; and it was immediately conferred upon John Cummin, and the ſteward of Scotland, the ſame nobleman, from whom the royal family of Stuart ſprung. But theſe new commanders were as much inferior to Wallace in abilities as they were ſuperior to him in rank and dignity; for though they had the courage, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, to engage Edward (who had now entered Scotland with an army 100,000 ſtrong), they were nevertheleſs by their own miſconduct, though no doubt ſtill more by the ſuperiority of the Engliſh as well in numbers as in military diſcipline, completely defeated, with the loſs, ſome ſay, of 50,000, according to others, of 40,000, but at the very loweſt computation, of 20,000 men. In this engagement, Wallace, though he ſhared in the defeat, did not for all that loſe his reputation; for, notwithſtanding the total rout of the reſt of the army, he ſtill kept together the body of troops which he commanded, and he retired with them after the action, without being purſued by the Engliſh.

Great, however, as was the loſs of the Scots in this bloody battle, it was not ſufficient entirely to break their ſpirits. They reſolved ſtill to make one other effort for the recovery of their liberty, and with this view they choſe John Cummin for their regent. That nobleman was much more ſucceſsful when acting by himſelf, than when he commanded in concert with the ſteward of Scotland; for being aſſiſted by ſir Simon Fraſer, a northern chieftain, he obtained no leſs than three victories in one day over John de Segrave, the new Engliſh general.

general. Edward was no ſooner informed of this event, than he marched into Scotland with ſuch a formidable army, that the inhabitants were afraid to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and he thus proceeded, without interruption, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, receiving every where the ſubmiſſion of the people.

He could not, however, deem his conqueſt of Scotland perfectly ſecure, while Wallace was alive; and being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to diſcover, and become maſter of his perſon. At laſt, that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen, ſtill to maintain his independency, was betrayed into Edward's hands by ſir John Monteeth, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. The king, whoſe natural bravery and magnanimity ſhould have induced him to reſpect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at ſome acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, reſolved to overawe the Scots by an example of ſeverity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made ſubmiſſion nor ſworn fealty to England; and to be hanged, drawn, and quartered on Tower-Hill.

But this cruel policy did not produce the deſired effect. The Scots were ſo far from being frightened into ſubmiſſion, that, on the contrary, they were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment; and they ſoon found another leader, almoſt as ſpirited, and ſtill more fortunate than Wallace. This was no other than Robert Bruce, grandſon of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown. This young nobleman, by the death of his grandfather and father, as alſo by the demiſe of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, that prince's eldeſt ſon, ſeemed now to be the only perſon that had any juſt title to the Scottiſh throne. This, therefore, he determined to aſſert, and he hoped to meet with the more hearty concurrence of the Scots themſelves in ſuch an attempt, as he could not vindicate his own rights, without re-eſtabliſhing the independence of his country. His firſt ſtep was to open a correſpondence with Cummin, the regent, to whom he communicated the deſign he had formed. But as Cummin had himſelf ſome diſtant pretenſions to the crown, and wanted beſides to pay court to the Engliſh monarch, he revealed the whole ſecret to Edward; and Bruce, who was then at London, was juſt upon the point of being arreſted, when hearing of his danger from a particular friend, he inſtantly departed, and arriving at Dumfries in Annandale, where his chief intereſt lay, he there expoſtulated with Cummin;

min; and not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer from that nobleman, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, and was himſelf, ſoon after, ſolemnly crowned at Scone, by the biſhop of St. Andrew's.

For ſome time, indeed, he was very little able to maintain himſelf in his high ſtation. On the contrary, he was overwhelmed with a ſucceſſion of bad fortune; for being defeated by the earl of Pembroke, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his fortreſſes; and ſeeing his relations perſecuted, his wife and ſiſter impriſoned, his brothers and his nobility brought to the block, and himſelf abandoned by all the world, he was obliged to take refuge in one of the Weſtern iſles, where he lay concealed at the houſe of a friend in expectation of better days. Fortune, however, at laſt began to ſmile upon him. For Edward, who had wintered at Carliſle, no ſooner returned to London, than Bruce came forth from the place of his concealment, and aſſembling the ſcattered remains of his army, and reinforcing them with new levies, he attacked and defeated the earl of Pembroke; and being now entire maſter of the field, he recovered poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns which the Engliſh had ſeized.

Edward was highly enraged when he heard of this third revolt of the Scots, whom he now conſidered as altogether incorrigible; and he reſolved to puniſh their repeated rebellions by waſting their country from one extremity to the other. For this purpoſe he levied a numerous army, and began his march for the North; but he had not proceeded farther than the Burgh on the ſands in Cumberland, when he was ſeized with a dyſentery, or bloody flux, which put a period to his life in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. So eager was he for the accompliſhment of his favourite object, the reduction of Scotland, that he enjoined his ſon and ſucceſſor, with his dying breath, to proſecute the enterpriſe, and never to deſiſt till he had made an entire conqueſt of that kingdom. His body was conveyed to Weſtminſter, and was interred near that of king Henry, his father.

A. D. 1307.

Edward was concerned in ſome other tranſactions beſides thoſe we have related; and the mention of theſe we have purpoſely delayed, that we might not interrupt the thread of the narrative with regard to the conqueſt of Scotland. He was engaged in a war with France; though it was not attended with any remarkable events. He loſt Guienne, indeed, by an artifice of the French court; but after expending immenſe ſums of money in contracting alliances with foreign powers, he was at laſt able to recover that province.

He

He was likewiſe engaged in a diſpute with the clergy, who had refuſed to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate. Edward took a very effectual, and (as it was then deemed) a very legal method of forcing them to a compliance. He plainly told them, that ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would therefore put them out of the protection of the law. He was as good as his word. He immediately iſſued orders to the judges to receive no cauſe brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants; to do every man juſtice againſt them; but to do them juſtice againſt nobody.

The clergy ſoon found themſelves in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. They could not remain in their own houſes or convents for want of ſubſiſtence: if they went abroad in queſt of maintenance, they were diſmounted, robbed of their horſes and cloaths, abuſed by every ruffian, and no redreſs could be obtained by them for the moſt violent injury. The primate himſelf was attacked on the highway, was ſtripped of his equipage and furniture, and was at laſt reduced to board himſelf with a ſingle ſervant in the houſe of a country clergyman. The king, mean while, remained an indifferent ſpectator of all theſe violences; and without employing his officers in committing any immediate injury on the prieſts, which might have appeared invidious and oppreſſive, he took ample vengeance on them for their obſtinate refuſal. The ſpirits of the clergy were at laſt quite broken by this harſh treatment, and they agreed to pay the ſums, however exorbitant, that were demanded from them.

Edward I. was certainly one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious princes that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. Of a graceful perſon, and dignified aſpect, (notwithſtanding the great length and ſlenderneſs of his legs, which procured him the ſurname of Long-ſhanks) he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance, as to gain the approbation of men of ſenſe by his more ſolid virtues. Endued alike with perſonal bravery and political courage, he had the ſpirit to undertake, and the reſolution to accompliſh ſome of the moſt difficult and dangerous enterprizes that ever were attempted by any Engliſh monarch. Nor was he leſs remarkable for his civil than his military talents. The improvements which he made in the Engliſh law were ſo many and ſo great, that he received the appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. He divided the court of Exchequer into four diſtinct courts, which managed each its reſpective branch of buſineſs. He firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace; re-

preſſed robberies and diſorders; encouraged trade, by giving merchants an eaſy method of recovering their debts; and, in ſhort, introduced a new face of things by the vigour and wiſdom of his adminiſtration.

By his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, he had four ſons; but Edward, his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. He had likewiſe, by the ſame conſort, eleven daughters, ſix of whom died in their infancy. Eleanor was married to Henry, duke of Bar; Joan, to Gilbert Clare, earl of Glouceſter, and afterwards to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, to John, duke of Brabant; Elizabeth, to John, earl of Holland, and afterwards to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and conſtable of England; Mary was a nun at Ambreſbury. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, he had two ſons; Thomas, earl of Norfolk, and marſhal of England; Edmund, earl of Kent; and a daughter, named Eleanor, who died in her childhood.

In 1296, the famous mercantile Society, called the *Merchant Adventurers*, had its firſt origin. It was inſtituted for the improvement of the woollen manufacture, and the vending of the cloth abroad, particularly at Antwerp. For the Engliſh at this time ſcarcely thought of any more diſtant commerce.

This king granted a charter or declaration of protection and privileges to foreign merchants, and alſo aſcertained the cuſtoms or duties which thoſe merchants were in return to pay on merchandize imported and exported. He promiſed them ſecurity; allowed them a jury on trials, conſiſting half of natives, half of foreigners; and appointed them a juſticiary in London for their protection. But notwithſtanding this ſeeming attention to foreign merchants, Edward did not free them from the cruel hardſhip, of making one anſwerable for the debts, and even for the crimes of another, that came from the ſame country. We read of ſuch practices among the preſent barbarous nations. The king alſo impoſed on them a duty of two ſhillings on each tun of wine imported, over and above the old duty; and forty pence on each ſack of wool exported, beſides half a mark, the former duty.

In 1303, the exchequer was robbed, and of no leſs a ſum than 100,000 pounds, as is pretended. The abbot and monks of Weſtminſter were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear, that the king ever diſcovered the criminals with certainty; though his indignation fell on the ſociety of Lombard merchants, particularly the Freſcobaldi, very opulent Florentines.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

EDWARD II.

A Young king is commonly popular at the time of his acceſſion, and this was particularly the caſe with Edward II. who was only twenty-three years of age when he aſcended the throne. But it ſoon appeared, that he was altogether unqualified for the high ſtation, in which he was placed. Inſtead of following his father's advice, and endeavouring to complete the reduction of Scotland, for which the force he had now in his hands was fully ſufficient, he advanced but a little way into that country, and without ſo much as ſeeing the face of an enemy, he returned into England, and diſbanded his army. He ſoon after went over to Boulogne, to celebrate his nuptials with Iſabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France, to whom he had formerly been betrothed; and the ceremony was accordingly performed in the preſence of four monarchs, viz. Philip king of France, Lewis king of Navarre, Charles king of Sicily, and the king of the Romans. *A. D.* 1307.

EDWARD's averſion to ſerious buſineſs, however ſtrong, and his total incapacity for it, which was now very apparent, were not, by any means, his greateſt foible; his attachment to favourites was a more capital defect, and involved him in the end in more grievous calamities. The firſt minion he pitched upon was one Piers Gaveſton, a Gaſcon knight, a man of a fine figure, a lively wit, and an inſinuating addreſs; but totally deſtitute of every quality of head or heart, that could recommend him to the eſteem of the judicious and diſcerning. The late king, perceiving the influence of this foreigner with his ſon, and dreading the conſequence of ſuch a dangerous connection, had baniſhed him the kingdom; but Edward was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he recalled him into England, and loaded him with ſuch marks of his favour and affection, as excited the jealouſy of the barons, who required the king once more to baniſh him. With this requeſt he found it neceſſary to comply; though even in his compliance he gave freſh proofs of his fondneſs for his favourite. Inſtead of expelling him the Engliſh dominions, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Briſtol on his journey thither, and before his departure conferred upon him new lands and riches. He even ventured in a little time to recall him into England.

THE barons, enraged at ſuch incurable weakneſs, which perhaps they were at firſt inclined to pity, reſolved to take ſome more effectual meaſures for preventing the repetition of this, or any the like grievance; and they therefore not only compelled the king to baniſh Gaveſton to Flanders, but they even obliged him to entruſt the ſovereign power to twelve perſons, to be choſen by the prelates and barons. Theſe commiſſioners were no ſooner inveſted with the ſupreme authority, than they proceeded to enact ſeveral ſalutary ſtatutes for the government of the kingdom; and, among others, one, by which it was ordained, that no foreigner ſhould, for the future, enjoy any place of truſt in England. Edward, however, though he had given his conſent to the election of the commiſſioners, and had even promiſed to obſerve the ſtatutes which they had prepared, ſecretly contrived to elude the force of this obligation; accordingly, having delivered himſelf from the hands of the barons, he annulled the ſtatutes, and recalled Gaveſton; a conduct that gave ſuch general diſguſt, that the barons roſe in arms, beſieged the *A. D.* 1312. favourite in Scarborough, took him priſoner, and conducting him thence to the caſtle of Warwick, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off by the common executioner.

WHILE England was thus diſtracted by theſe petty diſſenſions, the Scots were every day making rapid advances towards the recovery of their ancient independence, and the total expulſion of the Engliſh from that part of the iſland. Nay, they even ventured to make inroads into England; and Edward was rouſed more by ſhame, than by any nobler motive, to march an army into Scotland, amounting, according to the Scottiſh hiſtorians, to 100,000 men, while that of Robert Bruce did not exceed 30,000; yet, with this ſmall force, Bruce took his meaſures ſo well, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly at Bannockburn, near Stirling, that he not only ventured to encounter the Engliſh, but even put them to a total rout, and purſued them as far as Berwick: ſo much does the character of a nation, in its military capacity, depend upon the abilities of him that commands it; and ſo ſudden ſometimes is the tranſition, in the ſame people, from the moſt heroic courage to the moſt effeminate puſillanimity. Bruce was ſo much elated with this victory, that he now thought nothing too hard for him. He reduced Stirling, recovered Berwick, and rendered his name, it is ſaid, ſo terrible to the Engliſh, that no ſuperiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field againſt him.

THE miſerable fate of Gaveſton did not deter others from aſpiring to the rank of a royal favourite; and Edward, indeed, ſeemed

ſeemed to be incapable of living without ſuch a confident. The next who attained to this envied, but dangerous ſtation, was Hugh Deſpencer, or Spencer, a young nobleman of a graceful perſon and genteel addreſs, but remarkable, at the ſame time, for his pride, inſolence, and rapacity. The barons, therefore, were no leſs enraged at the elevation of this new minion, than they had been at that of Gaveſton, and they formed a powerful confederacy againſt him, as well as againſt his father, who, by means of the ſon, had acquired a conſiderable intereſt at court. At the head of this confederacy was Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, the king's uncle, who having, in conjunction with ſome of the other barons, aſſembled a body of troops, laid waſte the eſtates of the Spencers, and compelled their ſovereign to baniſh thoſe miniſters. But Edward having, under ſome other pretence, levied a ſmall army, attacked the barons unawares, defeated them entirely, took the earl of Lancaſter priſoner, cauſed that nobleman to be beheaded, and recalled the two Spencers to England.

THE averſion, however, of the people to the dominion of favourites was not to be conquered; and Spencer took but too little pains to overcome this prejudice by the equity or moderation of his conduct. He had lately incurred the diſpleaſure of the queen, who, indeed, was a woman of an abandoned character, and had now begun to form a criminal connection with Roger Mortimer, a baron in the Welſh marches. That ſhe might have it in her power to gratify this new paſſion with the leſs reſtraint, ſhe determined not only to remove the Spencers, but even perhaps, if fortune ſhould favour her, to proceed to the very laſt extremities againſt her weak, and as far as related to her at leaſt, much injured huſband. With this view ſhe went over to France, ſeemingly for another purpoſe, and ſhe carried with her her ſon Edward, who did homage to the French king for Guienne and Ponthieu. But Charles the Fair, her brother, who then ſat upon the throne of France, though he ſecretly encouraged her project, was aſhamed openly to ſupport the queen and prince againſt the authority of a huſband and father. Iſabella, therefore, was obliged to apply elſewhere, and ſhe betrothed her ſon to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, from whom ſhe obtained an army of about 3000 men, with which ſhe ſet ſail for England; and as ſhe pretended that her ſole intention was the removal of the Spencers, ſhe was, immediately upon her landing, joined by moſt of the barons. *A. D.* 1322.

EDWARD was now in a moſt miſerable ſituation. He firſt endeavoured to raiſe the citizens of London in his favour; but not ſucceeding in that attempt, he ſet out for the weſt, where

where he hoped to meet with better fortune. His hopes, however, there proved to be equally ill-founded. He then reſolved to fly into Ireland, and actually took ſhipping for that purpoſe; but being driven back by contrary winds, he concealed himſelf in Neath-Abbey in Wales, where he was ſoon after diſcovered, and committed cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Kenilworth. As to the two Spencers, the barons wreaked their vengeance upon them in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner. The elder, who was taken in Briſtol, was hanged upon the common gallows, his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs, and his head was expoſed at Wincheſter. The younger, who was ſeized in the mountains of Wales, underwent nearly the ſame fate. He was hanged upon a gibbet fifty feet high, and his head was ſent to London, where it was fixed upon the bridge.

It ſoon appeared, however, that the removal, and even the death of the two Spencers, was not the queen's only object. She had a more favourite end in view, and that was the murder of her own huſband, during whoſe life ſhe could not expect, with the ſame freedom, to indulge her criminal paſſion with Mortimer. She therefore ſummoned a parliament, which being entirely under her own influence, drew up a formal charge againſt Edward, in which he was accuſed of incapacity for government, of waſting his time in idle amuſements, of neglecting public buſineſs, of being ſwayed by evil counſellors, and of having loſt, by his miſconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne. For theſe crimes, real or pretended, he was declared altogether unworthy to reign. His depoſition was inſtantly voted by parliament; his ſon, prince Edward, now only in the fourteenth year of his age, was fixed upon as his ſucceſſor; and the queen was appointed regent during the minority. A deputation was then ſent to the dethroned king to require him to reſign the crown. Violent as he well knew his enemies to be, this ſeems to have been a ſtep, for which Edward was not prepared. Upon receiving the firſt intimation of it, he was ſo thunderſtruck, that he almoſt fainted away. Convinced, however, that it was in vain to reſiſt, he ſoon recollected his ſpirits, and then formally ſurrendered the regalia, which had been brought to him for the purpoſe.

It is an old and a juſt obſervation, that there is but a ſhort interval between the dethronement and the death of kings; and this remark was never more truly verified than in the fate of king Edward. At firſt he was committed to the care of Henry earl of Lancaſter; and that nobleman was ſo touched with pity for his unhappy condition, that he not only uſed him with great lenity, but was even ſuſpected to have entertained thoughts

thoughts of reſtoring him to the throne. He was therefore taken from the hands of Lancaſter, and delivered over to lord Berkley, and Mautravers and Gournay, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the cuſtody of Berkley, he was ſtill treated with the gentleneſs due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every kind of indignity was offered to him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's ſpirits, and to employ his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent means, to put a period to his life. It is reported, that one day, when Edward was to be ſhaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpoſe; and when he deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed, that, in ſpite of their inſolence, he ſhould be ſhaved with clean and warm water.

But as this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared ſtill too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſecretly ſent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, inſtantly to diſpatch him; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkley's ſickneſs, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, and who was thereby rendered incapable of attending his charge, they came to Berkley-caſtle, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his perſon were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams, with which the agonizing king filled the caſtle, while his bowels were conſuming within him.

He expired in the forty-third year of his age, *A. D.* 1327. and the twentieth of his reign.

Gournay and Mautravers were held in univerſal deteſtation; and they found it neceſſary, upon the diſgrace of the queen and Mortimer, to provide for their ſafety by flying the kingdom. Gournay was afterwards ſeized at Marſeilles, delivered over to the ſenechal of Guienne, put on board a ſhip with a view of carrying him to England; but he was beheaded at ſea, by ſecret orders, as was ſuppoſed, from ſome nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any diſcovery, which he might make of his accomplices. Mautravers concealed himſelf for ſeveral years in Germany; but having found means to perform ſome important ſervice to Edward

III.

III. he ventured to approach his perſon, threw himſelf on his knees before him, ſubmitted to his mercy, and received a pardon.

EDWARD II. is ſaid to have reſembled his father in the lineaments of his face, as well as in the elegance and regularity of his ſhape; and he followed his example in a ſtrict obſervance of the conjugal duties, to which he met with a very ungrateful return: but he was utterly deſtitute of all thoſe great and noble qualities, which rendered the other the moſt illuſtrious hero of the age. Of a warm and benevolent heart, he was ſtrongly inclined to friendſhip; but of weak and narrow intellects, he had not diſcernment to chuſe a friend: of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he took up with the firſt that fortune threw in his way; and of ſtrong and violent paſſions, when once he had fixed his choice, he could never be perſuaded to withdraw his attachment: and to this cauſe are ſuppoſed to be owing all the calamities that befel him in his life, and the untimely death to which he was at laſt brought.

EDWARD had, by his queen Iſabella, two ſons, and two daughters, namely, Edward, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, eſpouſed to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

ENGLAND, during this reign, was afflicted with ſo grievous a famine, that men are ſaid to have devoured one another. This kind of calamity was very common in former times, before commerce had opened ſuch an eaſy communication, as now exiſts, between the different parts of the world. But trade and navigation have, in ſome meaſure, linked the whole human ſpecies together; and the wants of one part of the earth are eaſiy ſupplied by the ſuperfluities of another.

THE prices of proviſions, as ſettled by the parliament during this famine, are ſomewhat remarkable. Here follow a few of them: three pounds twelve ſhillings of our preſent money for the beſt ſtalled ox: for other oxen, two pounds eight: a fat hog of two years old, ten ſhillings: a fat wether unſhorn, a crown; if ſhorn, three ſhillings and ſixpence: a fat gooſe, ſeven-pence halfpenny: a fat capon, ſix-pence: a fat hen, three-pence: two chickens, three-pence: four pigeons, three-pence: two dozen of eggs, three-pence.

THE petition of the elder Spencer to parliament, complaining of the devaſtation committed on his lands by the barons, contains ſeveral particulars, which are curious, and diſcover the manners of the age. He affirms, that they had ravaged ſixty-three manors belonging to him, and he makes his loſſes amount to 46,000l. that is, to 138,000 pounds of our preſent money. Among other particulars he enumerates

28,000

28,000 ſheep, 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows with their breed for two years, 560 cart horſes, 2000 hogs, together with 600 bacons, 80 carcaſes of beef, and 600 muttons in the larder; ten tuns of cyder, arms for 200 men, and other warlike engines and proviſions. The plain inference is, that the greater part of Spencer's vaſt eſtate, as well as the eſtates of the other nobility, was farmed by the landlord himſelf, managed by his ſtewards or bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains. Little or none of it was let on leaſe to huſbandmen; its produce was conſumed in ruſtic hoſpitality by the baron or his officers; a great number of idle dependents, ready for any diſorder or miſchief, were maintained by him; all who lived upon his eſtate were abſolutely at his diſpoſal; and in caſe of any injury, whether real or ſuppoſed, inſtead of applying to courts of juſtice, he uſually ſought redreſs by open force and violence.

STOWE, in his hiſtory of London, gives us a curious inſtance of the hoſpitality of the ancient nobility in this period. It is taken from the accounts of the coſſerer or ſteward of Thomas earl of Lancaſter, and contains the expences of that earl during the year 1313, when the price of proviſions was not higher than uſual. For the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, 3504 pounds. For 369 pipes of red wine, and two of white, 104 pounds, &c. The whole 7309 pounds; that is, near 22,000 pounds of our preſent money; and making allowance for the cheapneſs of commodities, near a hundred thouſand pounds.

SOME of Edward's private diſburſements were of a very ſingular nature. One article, in particular, is mentioned, where a crown is ſaid to have been paid to a certain perſon for making the king laugh.

THE order of knights templars, which had riſen during the cruſades, was now aboliſhed in France; and the example of that kingdom was ſoon after followed by all the other ſtates of Europe. Theſe knights had degenerated greatly from the virtue of their predeceſſors; but the chief cauſe of their ruin ſeems to have been the immenſe wealth which they had every where acquired, and which excited the avidity of the Chriſtian princes.

CHAP. XV.

EDWARD III.

AS Edward III. was only in his fourteenth year at the time of his acceſſion, a council of regency was appointed to conduct the affairs of government *A. D.* 1327.

vernment during his minority. This council conſiſted of twelve perſons; five prelates, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Worceſter, and Hereford; and ſeven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Roſs. Mortimer might no doubt have been one of the regency, had he thought proper; but he artfully declined that honour, in order to give himſelf the appearance of moderation. He took care, however, to render the council perfectly uſeleſs, by retaining to himſelf the whole power of the ſtate; he ſettled on the queen-dowager (with whom he continued to live in the moſt ſcandalous familiarity) the greateſt part of the royal revenues; he never conſulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public meaſure; and he ſo beſet the young king with his creatures and dependants, that it was impoſſible for any one elſe to procure acceſs to the ſovereign. In a word, by theſe and various others ſteps of a ſimilar nature, he became, in a little time, as completely odious as ever had been either the Spencers or Gaveſton.

THE better to ſecure himſelf againſt the effects of that public hatred, which he knew he had ſo well merited, he beſtowed all places of truſt and profit upon thoſe only in whom he could confide; and as he was juſtly apprehenſive, that if once the barons were aſſembled in arms, they would be apt to turn the brunt of their indignation againſt him, inſtead of directing it againſt the public enemy, he haſtened to conclude a peace with the Scots, who had renewed hoſtilities, and made an incurſion into the northern counties. The conditions of this peace were as honourable and advantageous to the Scots, as they were mortifying to the Engliſh. It was ſtipulated, that England ſhould renounce all claim of ſuperiority over Scotland, in return for which the latter was to pay to the former the ſum of 30,000 marks; and in order to render this treaty the more laſting, the princeſs Jane, king Edward's ſiſter, was beſtowed in marriage upon David Bruce, eldeſt ſon of the Scottiſh king. But Mortimer determined to overawe his enemies by the boldneſs of his proceedings, as well as to over-reach them by his cunning and addreſs. Having drawn the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, into a ſeeming conſpiracy againſt the government, he had him inſtantly arreſted, tried, and condemned; and without allowing Edward time to reflect on the cruelty of the deed, the priſoner was executed the very next day.

BUT it was impoſſible, that ſo odious and tyrannical a miniſter could long proceed in his preſent career. The king, who had now attained to the eighteenth year of his age, began to be ſenſibly touched with the diſgrace that was brought upon

upon his family by the ſhameful commerce between his mother and Mortimer; he was likewiſe affected with the heavy complaints he every day heard againſt the conduct of the miniſter; and he reſolved to rid himſelf and the nation of a man, that was at once the ſource of ſo much diſhonour to the one and miſery to the other. But ſo powerfully was Mortimer attended, that it was neceſſary for Edward to uſe as much caution in ſeizing his perſon as if he had been forming a conſpiracy againſt the government. He communicated his intention to ſome of his principal barons, who heartily approved of it; and the caſtle of Nottingham was fixed upon as the place for executing the enterprize. The queen dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortreſs; the king alſo was admitted, though only with a few of his attendants; and as the caſtle was ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became neceſſary to impart the deſign to ſir William Eland, the governor, who zealouſly took part in it. By his direction, the king's aſſociates were admitted through a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had formerly been contrived as a ſecret outlet from the caſtle, but was now covered with rubbiſh; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make the leaſt reſiſtance, was ſuddenly ſeized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's.

It was in vain, that, upon the firſt alarm, that princeſs cried out to her ſon in the French language, which was her mother-tongue—"Mon Fitz, mon Fitz, ayez pitié du gentil Mortimer—My ſon, my ſon, have pity upon the gentle Mortimer." No more mercy was now ſhewn to him than he had formerly ſhewed to others. A parliament was inſtantly ſummoned for his condemnation. He was accuſed before that aſſembly of having uſurped regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince, upon a groundleſs report, propagated by Mortimer, that he was ſtill alive; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting 20,000 marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and miſdemeanors. The parliament condemned him from the ſuppoſed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his anſwer, or examining a witneſs; and he was hanged at Elmes, in the neighbourhood of London, where his body continued during two days upon the common gallows. As to the queen, ſhe was protected by the dignity of her rank. She was only confined to her houſe at Riſings; her revenue was reduced to 4000 pounds. *A. D.* 1330.

pounds a year; and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent viſit once or twice a year, ſhe was never able to reinſtate herſelf in any credit or authority.

The peace with Scotland, though cemented by a marriage between the two royal families, was not, by any means, of ſuch long continuance as was generally expected. One of the articles of that peace had been, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who, before the commencement of the war, enjoyed lands in England, and the Engliſh who inherited eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. But though this article had been executed pretty regularly by the king of England, the Scots had hitherto neglected to fulfil their part of the engagement; and the Engliſh barons, therefore, reſolved to do themſelves juſtice by force of arms. With this view they ſent for Edward Baliol (ſon of the late king John) who then reſided in France as a private perſon, and placing him at their head, invaded Scotland with no greater force than 2500 men, with which, however, they were able to defeat the regent, Marre, in two pitched battles; their fleet, at the ſame time, obtained a victory over that of the enemy; and thus the kingdom being in effect ſubdued by a mere handful of men, Baliol was ſolemnly crowned at Scone; and the young king, David, (for his father Robert had lately died) was obliged to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate flight, and to take refuge, with his betrothed conſort, at the court of his ally, the king of France.

A. D. 1332.

Baliol, however, was very little able to ſupport himſelf in his new dignity; for he had no ſooner parted with his Engliſh followers, than he was ſuddenly attacked by ſir Archibald Douglas, and chaſed into England in a moſt miſerable condition. There, indeed, he met with a much better reception than he had reaſon to expect. For Edward, who had hitherto favoured him in private, though he was aſhamed to aſſiſt him openly againſt a minor king, and a brother-in-law, now reſolved to eſpouſe his cauſe in earneſt, provided that Baliol would do him homage for his crown; a condition to which the other very readily agreed. Accordingly he marched into Scotland with a numerous army, defeated the natives in a great battle at Halidown-hill near Berwick, where the enemy are ſaid to have loſt about thirty thouſand men, and re-eſtabliſhed Baliol on the throne; but he had no ſooner departed than that prince was driven once more into England. Edward returned into Scotland with a ſtill more formidable army, and reſtored Baliol, who, immediately upon the departure of the Engliſh, was a third time expelled the kingdom; and as Edward's

ward's thoughts were now taken up with matters of much greater conſequence, Baliol was never able afterwards to recover poſſeſſion of the throne.

THE great object that now occupied Edward's attention was the aſſerting his right to the crown of France, to which he pretended he had a juſt title. It does not appear however that his claim was, by any means, well founded. For the better underſtanding of this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to take a general view of the manner, in which the ſucceſſion to the French crown was regulated. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female; and in order to give more authority to this maxim, and aſſign it a determinate origin, it had been uſual to derive it from a clauſe in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that law, when ſtrictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confeſſion of the beſt antiquarians, bear the ſenſe commonly impoſed upon it.

BUT though poſitive law ſeems wanting among the French for the excluſion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was eſtabliſhed beyond controverſy on ſome ancient as well as ſome modern precedents. During the firſt race of the monarchy (for the French have had ſeveral races of kings) the Franks were ſo rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of ſubmitting to a female reign; and in that period of their hiſtory there were ſeveral inſtances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice of females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of conſanguinity. Theſe precedents, joined to like cauſes, had alſo eſtabliſhed the male ſucceſſion in the ſecond race; and though the inſtances were neither ſo frequent nor ſo certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line ſeems ſtill to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had deſcended from father to ſon for eleven generations, from Hugh Capot to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the courſe of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males; and no female, and none who founded his title on a female, had ever mounted the throne.

PHILIP the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three ſons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Iſabella, queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldeſt, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret, ſiſter of Eades, duke of Burgundy; and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip, his next brother, was appointed regent, till it ſhould appear whether the child was a ſon or a daughter. The

queen

queen bore a male, who lived only a few days; Philip was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſerted the rights of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, gave her an excluſion, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without diſpute or controverſy, then ſucceeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was alſo ſhort. He left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, couſin german to the deceaſed king; being the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The queen was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimiouſly placed on the throne of France.

THE king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion, that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the couſin german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worſe grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an eſtabliſhed opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law; it was ſupported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent inſtances, ſolemnly and deliberately decided And what placed it ſtill farther beyond controverſy, if Edward was diſpoſed to queſtion its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretenſions; ſince the three laſt kings had all left daughters, who were ſtill alive, and who ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion.

HE was therefore reduced to aſſert, that though his mother, Iſabella, was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceeding, he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But beſides that this pretenſion was more favourable to Charles, king of Navarre, deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was ſo contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of ſucceſſion in every country of Europe, was ſo repugnant to the practice both in private and public inheritances, that no body in France thought of Edward's claim; Philip's title was univerſally recognized; and he never imagined, that he had a competitor, much leſs ſo formidable a one as the king of England.

EDWARD, however, was too young to aſſert his pretenſions at that particular period; he therefore concealed them for the preſent; and he even went over to France, and did homage to Philip for Guienne and Ponthieu, in preſence of the kings

kings of Navarre, Majorca, and Bohemia; but he took care, before he left England, to proteſt privately againſt this ceremony. He began, nevertheleſs, from this time forward to make preparations for this mighty undertaking; and having at length equipped a fleet and aſſembled an army, he ſet ſail for France in 1340. The firſt action of any conſequence was a ſignal victory he obtained by ſea, in which the French are ſaid to have loſt two hundred and thirty ſhips, thirty thouſand men, and two of their admirals.

EXCEPT this advantage, the firſt campaign was not attended with any event of importance; and Edward ſeems to have intermitted his operations for a conſiderable time. But in 1346 he invaded France a ſecond time with an army of thirty thouſand men; and being overtaken by the French king, in the neighbourhood of Crecy, with an army one hundred and twenty thouſand ſtrong, he there gave him a total defeat. The honour of this victory was chiefly due to the prince of Wales, ſurnamed the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, who was then only in the ſixteenth year of his age, and now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt heroic acts of valour. The officers around him, apprehenſive for his ſafety, and fearing that in the end he would be overwhelmed with numbers, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, entreating him immediately to ſend aſſiſtance to the prince. Edward, who eyed the battle from the top of a neighbouring hill, demanded of the meſſenger whether the prince was ſlain or wounded. On receiving an anſwer in the negative, "Return, ſaid he, to my ſon, and tell him that I reſerve the honour of the day for him; I am confident that he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the honour of knighthood, which I ſo lately conferred upon him; he will be able without my aſſiſtance to repel the enemy." This ſpeech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inſpired them with freſh courage; they attacked the French with redoubled vigour; their example was followed by the reſt of the army; and the enemy were every where put to the rout. As ſoon as the action was over, the king deſcended from the hill, and returned to the camp, when flying into the arms of the prince of Wales, he exclaimed; "My brave ſon: perſevere in your honourable courſe: you are my ſon; for valiantly have you acquitted yourſelf to-day: you have ſhewn yourſelf worthy of empire."

THE loſs of the French in this battle was great; for beſides 1200 knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 men of inferior rank, there fell the duke of Alençon, king Philip's brother, the dukes of Lorrain and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Harcourt, Vaudemont, Aumale, and

and the kings of Majorca and Bohemia; which laſt was blind from age, and died fighting for France agreeably to his wiſh. His creſt was three oſtrich feathers, and his motto theſe German words, *Ich dien*, I ſerve, which the prince of Wales adopted in memory of this ſignal victory, and the ſame has been retained by all his ſucceſſors. It is related by ſome hiſtorians, that the Engliſh firſt employed cannon in this great battle; and that though the uſe of this engine was known in France as well as in England, Philip had neglected to bring his artillery with him.

EDWARD was not ſo far elated with this important victory as to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He contented himſelf with undertaking the ſiege of Calais; and after keeping it cloſely inveſted for the ſpace of a twelvemonth, he reduced the garriſon to the very laſt extremity. Philip, informed of their diſtreſſed ſituation, determined, if poſſible, to bring them relief; and he approached the Engliſh with an army, it is ſaid, of 200,000 men. But he found Edward ſo ſurrounded with moraſſes, and ſecured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable deſtruction, he ſaw it was impoſſible to attack the Engliſh camp. He had no other reſource than to ſend his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field; which being rejected, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and diſperſe them into their ſeveral provinces.

JOHN de Vienne, the governor of Calais, now perceived the indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſurrendering the fortreſs. He accordingly appeared on the walls, and made ſignal to the Engliſh centinels that he deſired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was ſent to him by Edward. "Brave knight, cried the governor, I have been entruſted by my ſovereign with the command of this town; it is almoſt a year ſince you beſieged me; and I have endeavoured, as well as thoſe under me, to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our preſent condition; we have no hopes of relief; we are periſhing with hunger; I am willing therefore to ſurrender, and deſire, as the ſole condition, to enſure the lives and liberties of thoſe brave men, who have ſo long ſhared with me every danger and fatigue.

MANNY replied, that he was well acquainted with the intention of his maſter, who was highly enraged at the townſmen of Calais for the obſtinate reſiſtance they had made; that he was determined to make them ſuffer ſeverely for the many evils they had brought upon him and his ſubjects; and that he was ſure he would grant them no other terms than their ſurrendering at diſcretion. "Conſider, cried Vienne, that this

this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled. If any Engliſh knight had been in my ſituation, your king would have expected the ſame conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their ſovereign what merits the eſteem of every prince; much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that, if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect, that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

MANNY was ſtruck with the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments, and repreſented to the king the danger of repriſals, if he ſhould give ſuch treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at laſt perſuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded. He only inſiſted, that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould be ſent to him to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper; that they ſhould come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on this condition he promiſed to ſpare the lives of the remainder.

WHEN this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it ſtruck the inhabitants with new conſternation. To ſacrifice ſix of their fellow-citizens to certain deſtruction, for ſignalizing their valour in a common cauſe, appeared to them even more ſevere than that general puniſhment, with which they were before threatened; and they found themſelves incapable of coming to any reſolution in ſo cruel and diſtreſsful a ſituation. At laſt one of the principal inhabitants, called Euſtace de St. Pierre, whoſe name deſerves to be recorded, ſtepped forth, and declared himſelf willing to encounter death for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth preſented themſelves to the ſame fate; and the whole number was ſoon compleated. Theſe ſix heroic burgeſſes appeared before Edward in the guiſe of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of the city, and were ordered to be led to execution. It is ſurpriſing, that ſo generous a prince ſhould ever have entertained ſuch a barbarous purpoſe againſt ſuch men; and ſtill more that he ſhould ſeriouſly perſiſt in the reſolution of executing it. But the entreaties of his queen ſaved his memory from that infamy. She threw herſelf on her knees before him, and with tears in her eyes begged the lives of theſe citizens. Having obtained her requeſt, ſhe carried them into her tent, ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them, and after making them a preſent of money and cloaths, diſmiſſed them in ſafety.

BEFORE the queen's arrival in the camp before Calais, ſhe had performed an act of gallantry in England, that would have done honour even to the greateſt captains of the age. The Scots had lately recalled their king, David Bruce, from France, and had invaded England with an army of 50,000 men; they had even extended their ravages to the neighbourhood of Durham; but being there met, at a place called Neville's-croſs, by queen Philippa at the head of 12,000 men, they were not only defeated with the loſs of 15,000 of their troops, but their king himſelf was actually taken priſoner. He was detained in cuſtody for the ſpace of eleven years, and then reſtored to his freedom in conſequence of a treaty, that was concluded between the two nations.

EDWARD did not renew his attempts againſt France with any kind of ſpirit till 1356, when the prince of Wales made an incurſion into that kingdom with an army of 12,000 men, and coming up with king John, ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip, who had aſſembled an army of 60,000 men, at Maupertuis, near Poitiers, he put the enemy to a total rout; took king John himſelf, and Philip his fourth ſon, priſoners, and killed about 6000 of his men; among whom were the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, and fifty of the greateſt noblemen of the kingdom. The glory, which the prince of Wales gained by this victory, was only exceeded by the fame he acquired by his generous treatment of the captive monarch, to whom he behaved with ſuch profound reſpect and deference, as extorted tears of joy and admiration from all the French priſoners. The example of prince Edward was followed by the king, his father, who was determined, indeed, to make the moſt of this incident, and therefore ordered the royal captive to be brought over to England; but he treated him, nevertheleſs, with the greateſt humanity and politeneſs, and committed him, as a kind of priſoner at large, to the palace of the Savoy.

IN a little time after, he perſuaded him to agree to a treaty, by which Edward was to be reſtored to all the provinces, which had been poſſeſſed by Henry II. and his two ſons; and which were to be annexed to the crown of England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the Engliſh monarch.

BUT this treaty was more eaſily made in England than it was executed in France. For Charles, the Dauphin, a prudent and ſagacious prince, who, during his father's captivity, had aſſumed the reins of government, abſolutely refuſed to agree to a meaſure, that would have diſmembered the monarchy; upon which Edward invaded France with an army of 100,000 men;

men; but the Dauphin took ſuch excellent precautions for the ſecurity of the kingdom, that Edward, having in vain attempted to reduce the city of Rheims, and ravaged the country to the very gates of Paris; and finding it impoſſible to draw the Dauphin from that place, in which he had taken his ſtation, was obliged to agree to a peace, which was concluded at the village of Bretigni. The principal conditions of this peace were, that John ſhould pay, as his ranſom, three millions of crowns of gold; about 1,500,000 pounds of our preſent money; that Edward ſhould for ever reſign all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, Xaintogne, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limouſin, Querey, Rouvergue, l'Angoumais, Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and Ponthieu, without being obliged to perform any homage to the French monarch. It would be tedious to enumerate the other articles of this treaty, which was ſigned on the 8th of May, 1360.

In conſequence of this agreement, king John was ſet at liberty, after having been a priſoner for upwards of four years; and that monarch performed all the articles, ſo far as depended upon him, with the utmoſt punctuality. He even came over to England for that purpoſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his courtiers, and he ſoon after ſickened and died in the Savoy, the place of his former confinement. He expired on the 8th of April, 1364. It was a remarkable and an admirable expreſſion he uſed to his miniſters, when they were endeavouring to diſſuade him from keeping his word with Edward—"If truth, ſaid he, were baniſhed from all the reſt of the world, it ought ſtill to be found in the breaſt of kings." Few princes now-a-days are ſo very ſcrupulous.

Even in that age, John's ſon and immediate ſucceſſor, Charles V. was not ſo exact in obſerving the articles of the treaty of Bretigni; for, without provocation, he attacked the Engliſh provinces in France, and reduced moſt of them under his ſubjection; and all this he performed by means of his generals, without ſtirring himſelf once out of his palace; ſo that in 1370, Edward was obliged to agree to a truce, after having loſt almoſt all his ancient poſſeſſions, except Bayonne and Bourdeaux; and all his conqueſts, except Calais.

We ſhall now mention a few other tranſactions of this reign, that are not ſo immediately connected with the hiſtory of England. Edward eſpouſed the cauſe of his ſon-in-law, John, count of Montfort, againſt that of Charles of Blois, nephew to the French king, who, both of them, laid claim to the dukedom of Brittany; and though he was not ſo fortunate as to

put an end to the war in perſon, when he went over to Brittany in 1342, he had yet the ſatisfaction to ſee it concluded agreeably to his wiſhes; for Charles loſt at once both the dukedom and his life in a battle that was fought at Auray in 1364, in conſequence of which young Montfort, ſon to the former, and nephew to Edward, took poſſeſſion of the dutchy. The Black Prince, too, in 1367, undertook an expedition into Spain, in order to reſtore Peter the Cruel to the throne of Caſtile, from which he had been expelled by his natural brother, Henry de Tranſtamare; and he finiſhed this enterpriſe with his uſual glory and good fortune.

THE prince ſurvived this expedition about nine years, during which, however, nothing very material happened. He had been long in a very declining ſtate of health; and he died on the 8th of June, 1376, leaving behind him a character diſtinguiſhed by every great and amiable virtue. His valour and military talents formed the ſmalleſt part of his merit: his generoſity, humanity, affability, and moderation gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a luſtre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which nowiſe infected him with its vices, but on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory.

THE prince of Wales eſpouſed his couſin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She had been formerly married to ſir Thomas Holland, by whom ſhe had children. She likewiſe bore two ſons to Edward, viz. Edward, who died at ſeven years of age, and Richard, who ſucceeded his grandfather on the throne.

THE king ſurvived his beloved ſon only about a twelvemonth. He died at his palace of Sheene, now called Richmond, on the 21ſt day of June, 1377, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign. And this great monarch, who had been ſo much courted during his life-time, had the cruel mortification, before he expired, to ſee himſelf abandoned by all the world. Alice Pierce, his favourite miſtreſs, when ſhe ſaw his end approaching, ſeized the moſt precious things ſhe could lay her hands on; and tearing the ring from his finger, went off. His courtiers, and even his chaplains, treated him with the ſame indifference and neglect.

EDWARD III. was certainly one of the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed princes that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England, whether we conſider him as a warrior or lawgiver, as a monarch or a man. He was tall, majeſtic, finely ſhaped, with a piercing eye and aquiline noſe; and he excelled all his contemporaries in feats of arms and perſonal addreſs. Nor were the qualities of his mind inferior to thoſe of his body. He was brave,

brave, active, and enterpriſing, ſhrewd, ſenſible, and ſagacious; ſevere, but impartial in the execution of juſtice; liberal, not profuſe in his expences; and what contributed, in a peculiar manner, to endear his memory to the Engliſh, it was in his reign that they firſt began to acquire over France, their rival and national enemy, that ſuperiority in warlike achievements, which, almoſt without interruption, they have ever ſince maintained.

EDWARD had by his queen Philippa, beſides the Black Prince, ſix ſons and five daughters, viz. William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy; Lionel, duke of Clarence; John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, from whom ſprung that branch, which afterwards mounted the throne; Edmund, duke of York; William of Windſor, who died young; and Thomas, duke of Glouceſter. His daughters were, Iſabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford; Joan, betrothed to the king of Caſtile, but died at Bourdeaux in her way to Spain; Blanche, who died in her childhood; Mary, eſpouſed to John de Mountfort, duke of Brittany; and Margaret, wife of John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke.

IT was in this reign that the order of the Garter was inſtituted. Hiſtorians are not agreed as to the particular occaſion of eſtabliſhing this celebrated order of knighthood. Some think it took its riſe from an affair of gallantry. They ſay, that Edward's miſtreſs, the counteſs of Saliſbury, happening to drop her garter, while ſhe was dancing at a court-ball, the king picked it up, and obſerving ſome of his courtiers to ſmile, as if he had not obtained this favour merely by accident, he called out *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, that is, *Evil to him who evil thinks*; and declared, that many of thoſe, who now laughed at the garter, ſhould be proud to have the honour of wearing it; that in order to make good his word, and perpetuate the memory of this event, he inſtituted the order of the Garter; retaining the words above-mentioned for the motto, and chuſing the garter for the badge of the order. Others ſuppoſe it owed its origin to an affair of a military nature. They pretend, that Edward having revived the order of the Round Table, originally eſtabliſhed by king Arthur, ſuch numbers of foreign warriors crouded to his court, as excited the jealouſy of the French king, with whom he was then at war; and who, in order to counterbalance the advantage accruing to his adverſary from this circumſtance, inſtituted an order of his own, which ſoon procured him the like number of warriors: but that that monarch, abuſing the confidence repoſed in him, and violating the laws of hoſpitality, ſeized ſeveral lords of the Engliſh party who, came, among others, to aſſiſt

at the feſtival. That Edward, informed of this circumſtance, conſcious of the rectitude of his own intentions, and provoked at the perfidious conduct of his rival, cried out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, and converted the Round Table into the order of the Garter. That he choſe this badge in particular, either becauſe in the battle of Crecy he had given Garter for the word; or becauſe, on that occaſion, he had ordered his garter to be fixed to the end of a lance, as the ſignal of engaging; or, according to others, becauſe Richard I. at the ſiege of Acre in Paleſtine, intending to aſſault the place, diſtributed, among ſome of his principal officers, certain leathern ſtrings, to be tied about their legs, the better to diſtinguiſh them from the enemy; or finally (for all theſe reaſons are aſſigned by different authors) for no other cauſe than this, that blue, which is the colour of the garter, has always been deemed the emblem of fidelity and friendſhip.

It was towards the latter end of this reign, that John Wickliffe began to declaim in his ſermons againſt the doctrine of the real preſence, the ſupremacy of the church of Rome, and the merit of monaſtic vows. He maintained, that the ſcriptures were the ſole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the ſtate, and ſhould be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to poſſeſs no eſtates; that the begging friars were a nuiſance, and ought not to be ſupported; and that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety. He had the good fortune, in a little time, to make a great number of proſelytes; and he was particularly favoured by the duke of Lancaſter, king Edward's ſon. But notwithſtanding the protection of this powerful patron, he was cited to appear before the biſhop of London; and his tenets were ſolemnly condemned in an aſſembly held at Oxford. He eſcaped, however, the malice of his enemies; and died peaceably, in 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth in the county of Leiceſter. He ſeems to have been a man of parts and learning; and has the honour of being the firſt perſon in Europe who publickly called in queſtion thoſe doctrines, which had univerſally paſſed for certain and undiſputed during ſo many ages. His followers were called Wickliffites, and ſometimes Lollards.

The moſt remarkable law paſſed in this reign was that which limited the caſes of high treaſon to three principal heads, viz. the conſpiring againſt the life of the king, the levying war againſt his perſon, and the adhering to his enemies; but the bounds of this ſtatute have been ſince very much enlarged.

The magnificent caſtle of Windſor was built by Edward, and

and his method of conducting the work may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the condition of the people in that age. Inſtead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he aſſeſſed every county in England to ſend him a certain number of maſons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had being levying an army.

In 1349 England was viſited with a terrible plague, which likewiſe invaded the other kingdoms of Europe, and is ſuppoſed to have carried off near a third of the inhabitants in every country it attacked. It was probably more fatal in populous cities than in the country; and about 50,000 ſouls are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London alone.

The ſpirit of chivalry and gallantry ſeems to have been carried to a greater height during this period than in any age which either preceded or followed it. We ſhall juſt mention one ſingular inſtance to this purpoſe. A ſolemn duel of thirty knights againſt thirty was fought between Bembrough, an Engliſhman, and Beaumanoir, a Breton. The knights of the two nations came into the field; and before the combat began, Beaumanoir called out, that it would be ſeen that day *who had the faireſt miſtreſſes*. After a bloody combat the Bretons prevailed, and gained, for their prize, full liberty to boaſt of their miſtreſſes beauty. It is remarkable that two of the greateſt Engliſh generals drew their ſwords in this ridiculous conteſt. The women not only inſtigated the champions to thoſe rough, if not bloody frays; but alſo frequented the tournaments during all the reign of Edward, whoſe turn for gallantry encouraged this practice.

The firſt toll we read of in England, for mending the highways, was impoſed in this reign. It was that for repairing the road between St. Giles's and Temple-bar.

It was not till the middle of this century that the Engliſh began to extend their navigation even to the Baltic; nor till the middle of the ſubſequent, that they ſailed to the Mediterranean. *A. D.* 1377.

Luxury was complained of in that age, as well as in others of more refinement, and attempts were made by parliament to reſtrain it. No man under a hundred a year was allowed to wear gold, ſilver, or ſilk in his cloaths. Servants alſo were prohibited from eating fleſh meat, or fiſh, above once a day. By another law it was ordained, that no one ſhould be allowed, either for dinner or ſupper, above three diſhes in each courſe, and not above two courſes; and it was expreſsly declared, that *ſouſed* meat is to count as one of theſe diſhes. It was eaſy to foreſee, that ſuch ridiculous laws could never be executed.

CHAP. XVI.

RICHARD II.

A. D. 1377. RICHARD II. ſon of the Black Prince of Wales, was only in the eleventh year of his age, when he ſucceeded his grandfather on the throne of England. As Edward had neglected to appoint a regency for conducting the affairs of government during the minority, the parliament now ſupplied this defect; and they named a council of nine perſons, three prelates and ſix laymen, for managing all the public tranſactions: but the chief authority was nevertheleſs engroſſed by the king's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter.

THE nation, at the time of Richard's acceſſion, was engaged in three very dangerous and expenſive wars; one againſt France, another againſt Scotland, and a third againſt Caſtile, where the duke of Lancaſter was endeavouring to make good his title to the throne of that kingdom, to which he pretended a right, in conſequence of his having married a daughter of the late king, Peter the Cruel. The armaments for carrying on theſe various operations ſoon exhauſted the treaſury; and it now became neceſſary to fall upon ſome effectual method of repleniſhing it with caſh. A poll-tax, accordingly, or duty of three groats a head, was laid upon all perſons above fifteen years of age; an impoſition the more unequal, and conſequently the more unpopular, as it fell no heavier upon the richeſt peer than the pooreſt peaſant: nor was it long before this impolitic meaſure gave occaſion to one of the moſt dangerous inſurrections that ever happened in England.

THE firſt diſturbance was raiſed by a blackſmith in a village of Eſſex. The tax-gatherers came to this man's ſhop, while he was at work, and demanded payment
A. D. 1381. for his daughter, whom he aſſerted to be below the age aſſigned by the ſtatute. One of theſe fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the ſame time laid hold of the maid; which the father reſenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The byſtanders applauded the action, and exclaimed, that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to aſſert their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms; and increaſing every day in their numbers, they ſoon amounted to one hundred thouſand men, who aſſembled on Black-heath, under their principal

principal leaders, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. As their intention was to reduce all men to a level *, they murdered every gentleman that fell in their way; expreſſed a particular animoſity againſt the lawyers and attornies; and the king's mother happening to paſs through the midſt of them, in her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, ſome of the moſt inſolent among them, in order to ſhew their purpoſe of deſtroying all rank and diſtinction, forced kiſſes from her, though they committed no farther violence upon her perſon.

A PARTY of the inſurgents had quartered themſelves at Mile-end; and the king, not thinking himſelf perfectly ſafe even in the Tower, where he had taken refuge, was obliged to go out, and aſk their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of ſlavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns without toll or impoſt, and a fixed rent on lands inſtead of the ſervices due by villainage. Theſe requeſts, however juſt and reaſonable according to our preſent manners, were at that time deemed highly extravagant. The king, however, was obliged to comply with them; and this body of the rebels immediately diſperſed, and returned to their ſeveral homes.

MEANWHILE, another body of them had broken into the Tower, where they murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with ſir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction. The king, paſſing along Smithfield, very ſlenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of theſe rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he ſhould give them a ſignal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himſelf, whom they were to detain a priſoner, feared not to come into the midſt of the royal retinue. He there behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his inſolence, drew his ſword, and ſtruck him ſo violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himſelf, had undoubtedly periſhed on the ſpot, had it not been for an extraordinary preſence of mind, which Richard, though not quite ſixteen years of age, diſcovered on the occaſion. He ordered his company to ſtop, and advancing alone towards the en-

* The two following verſes were at that time in the mouths of all the common people:

When Adam delv'd and Eve ſpan,
Where was then a Gentleman?

raged multitude, he cried out to them, "What is the meaning of this tumult, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have loſt your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his preſence, implicitly followed him. He led them into the fields, to prevent any diſorder which might have ariſen from their continuing in the city; and having there granted them the ſame charter that had been given to their companions, (both of which, however, were afterwards revoked) they quietly departed to their habitations.

But Richard had much leſs to fear from the inſurrections of the common people, than from the combinations and conſpiracies of the great; and for theſe laſt, it muſt be owned, he gave but too much occaſion by his unaccountable attachment to favourites, and his total incapacity for diſcharging the duties of his high ſtation. His two principal favourites were Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he created marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland, and even transferred to him, for life, the entire ſovereignty of that iſland, and Michael de la Pole, ſon to a merchant in London, who was made earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England. The firſt was a young man of a noble family, and agreeable figure, but of an extremely diſſolute and abandoned life. The latter appears to have been a perſon of abilities, and not unworthy of the high ſtation to which he had attained. Both of them, however, were equally obnoxious to the public on account of the unbounded influence they had acquired over the king. The barons, therefore, obliged Richard to ſummon a parliament, where Suffolk was tried, and deprived of his office. They even ventured, in a little time after, to riſe up in arms; and they drove the duke of Ireland out of the kingdom. They likewiſe compelled the king to reſign the ſovereign power into the hands of fourteen commiſſioners, all of whom, except the archbiſhop of York, were of their own party; and when Richard obtained, from the two chief juſtices, ſir Robert Treſilian and ſir Nicholas Brembre, and from ſome of the inferior judges, a ſolemn deciſion, declaring this commiſſion illegal, and extending the royal prerogative beyond its uſual bounds, the barons called the judges to a ſevere account, condemned Treſilian and Brembre to death, and baniſhed their aſſociates to Ireland.

A. D. 1388.

Affairs, however, continued but a ſhort time in this ſituation; for Richard, who was now in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that, as he had at length attained the full age, which intitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and houſehold, he

A. D. 1389.

he was reſolved to exerciſe his right of ſovereignty; and he accordingly annulled the commiſſion he had granted, reſumed into his own hands the ſupreme power, and in 1397 (for nothing material happened in the interval) he cauſed the duke of Glouceſter, who was plotting againſt the government, to be ſuddenly arreſted, and conveyed to Calais, where he was baſely ſmothered to death. Not ſatisfied with this ſacrifice, he proceeded to take vengeance on all the reſt of his enemies. Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, was brought to the block; his brother, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, was deprived of his ſee; and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was doomed to perpetual exile in the iſle of Man.

But the puniſhment he inflicted on the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, though not more ſevere, was followed by conſequences which he little apprehended, and probably led the way to his own depoſition and death. The former of theſe noblemen appeared in parliament, and accuſed the latter of having ſpoken ſeditious words againſt his majeſty in a private converſation. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted: the liſts for this ſtrange deciſion of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king: all the nobility of England bandied into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or the other: the whole nation with anxious ſuſpence awaited the iſſue: but when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutered for the combat, the king interpoſed, and prevented the duel, ordering the two dukes at the ſame time immediately to leave the kingdom. Norfolk he baniſhed for life, but Hereford only for ten years. The former retired to Venice, where he ſoon after ſickened and died. The behaviour of the latter was ſo very ſubmiſſive, (for Hereford was a man of great command of temper) that Richard ſhortened his baniſhment to the ſpace of ſix years, and he alſo granted him letters patent, by which he empowered him, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed to any inheritance during his abſence, to enter immediately on the poſſeſſion of it, and to poſtpone the doing homage till his return. Theſe letters, however, he in a little time revoked; and upon the death of the duke of Lancaſter, Hereford's father, he retained in his own hands that extenſive eſtate.

Hereford, who had now aſſumed the title of duke of Lancaſter, though extremely moderate in outward appearance, poſſeſſed at the ſame time too much real ſpirit, patiently to put up with ſuch a complication of injuries. His original baniſhment he had always conſidered as a grievous wrong; the ſhortening of it for four years was but a poor alleviation;

and the withholding from him his father's eſtate, not only in oppoſition to the laws of the land, but in direct violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements; theſe and a variety of other cauſes concurred to fill him with the higheſt reſentment; and finding it impoſſible to procure redreſs by gentle means, he reſolved to do himſelf right by force of arms. With this view he embarked at Nantz in Brittany, accompanied only by about ſixty perſons, and ſetting ſail for England with a fair wind, he arrived ſafely at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Whether, from the firſt moment of his landing, he began to entertain the ambitious hope of making himſelf maſter of the throne, is a matter that could be known only to his own conſcience. Certain it is, that he did not think proper openly to avow it. On the contrary, he took a ſolemn oath, that he had no other purpoſe in this expedition, than to recover poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him; and this declaration, joined to his great popularity, procured him ſuch a number of friends, that his army ſoon increaſed to 60,000 men. Richard himſelf was at that time abſent in Ireland, ſuppreſſing a rebellion which had there broken out; and his uncle the duke of York, who had been left regent of England, after trying in vain to make head againſt Lancaſter, was obliged to diſmiſs his forces, and retire to his own palace. Richard, however, was no ſooner informed of this invaſion, than he haſtened over to England with an army of 20,000 men; but being deſerted by his troops, he took refuge in the iſle of Angleſea, where he was ſoon after ſecured, and committed to Flint caſtle. There he was viſited by the duke of Lancaſter, who entered the fort in complete armour, ſave that his head was bare; and Richard received him with the ſalutation of, "Couſin of Lancaſter, you are welcome." The duke, with a low bow, replied, "My Lord the king, I am come ſooner than you appointed, becauſe your people ſay you have for one and twenty years governed with rigour and indiſcretion; ſo that they are very ill ſatisfied with your conduct; but, if it pleaſe God, I will help you to govern them better for the time to come." To this declaration the king made no other anſwer, but, "Fair couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes us likewiſe."

AFTER this, Richard was conveyed to London, and impriſoned in the Tower; and a parliament being aſſembled for the purpoſe, he was brought to a trial, and *A. D.* 1399. ſolemnly depoſed. The charges preferred againſt him were thirty-three in number, which it would exceed the limits of a work of this kind particularly to repeat. Suffice it to ſay, that he was accuſed of having devolved

devolved the whole ſovereign power upon a ſet of worthleſs favourites, who plundered and oppreſſed the people; of having violated, in a moſt arbitrary manner, the laws of the land; brought a great number of the nobility unjuſtly to the block; of having cruelly and treacherouſly put to death his uncle, the duke of Glouceſter; in a word, of having been guilty of almoſt every crime that conſtitutes the character of a tyrant. The ſame parliament that depoſed Richard, beſtowed the crown upon the duke of Lancaſter, who aſſumed the title of Henry IV. and was the firſt of that race of princes, known by the name of the Lancaſter family, who long maintained a violent and bloody conteſt with the York family for the poſſeſſion of the throne; a conteſt that was not finiſhed but by the marriage of Henry VII. with the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV.

RICHARD ſurvived his depoſition but a ſhort time. The manner of his death is variouſly related. Some ſay, that ſir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him unawares in Pomfret caſtle, where he was impriſoned, and murdered him with their halberts. But the moſt probable opinion is, that he was ſtarved to death by order of the new king; and after all ſubſiſtence was denied him, he prolonged his wretched life, it is ſaid, for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miſeries. This account is more conſiſtent with the ſtory, which ſays, that his body was expoſed in public, and that no marks of violence were obſerved upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

RICHARD II. was certainly a weak, vain, and contemptible prince, and altogether unqualified for managing the reins of empire. He was violent in his temper, profuſe in his expences, fond of idle ſhow and magnificence, devoted to favourites, and addicted to pleaſure; paſſions, all of them, the moſt inconſiſtent with a prudent œconomy, and conſequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government.

RICHARD was twice married; firſt to Anne of Luxemburgh, ſiſter to the emperor, Winceſlaus; and afterwards to Iſabella of France, daughter of Charles VI. By the former he had no children; with the latter his marriage was never conſummated, ſhe being only ten years of age at the time of her huſband's death.

THE Engliſh, during this reign, were engaged in a war with France, as well as with Scotland; but neither of them were attended with any remarkable event. A ſharp ſkirmiſh, indeed, was fought at Otterborne, between Douglas and Piercy,

Piercy, ſurnamed *Hotſpur*; in which the former was ſlain, and the latter taken priſoner.

THE greateſt novelty introduced into the civil government, during this reign, was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the firſt peer, that was advanced to the houſe of lords in this manner. Peerages were formerly merely territorial or official, that is, they were annexed to the government of a county, or a certain diſtrict of land.

RICHARD lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors. His houſhold conſiſted of 10,000 perſons: he had 300 in his kitchen; and all the other offices were furniſhed in proportion. It muſt be remarked, that this enormous train had tables ſupplied them at the king's expence. Such prodigality was probably the ſource of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reaſon of the public diſcontents.

CHAP. XVII.

HENRY IV.

A. D. 1399. THOUGH Richard II. died without iſſue, Henry IV. was by no means the true lineal heir to the crown; Mortimer earl of Marche had a preferable title: for Henry was only ſprung from John of Gaunt, the late duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of Edward III. whereas Mortimer was deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward, and conſequently ſtood before Henry in the order of ſucceſſion; but as he was then only a boy of ſeven years of age, his claim was overlooked upon the preſent occaſion.

THIS want, however, of hereditary right; a right, which the Engliſh had been long accuſtomed to recognize in the ſucceſſion of their princes; rendered the whole reign of Henry one continued ſcene of rebellions and inſurrections. All of theſe, indeed, he found means to ſuppreſs; but ſome of them, at the ſame time, were of ſo alarming a nature, as to make him apprehenſive for the ſecurity of his throne; and beſides, he was obliged to put to death ſuch a number of noblemen, as loſt him the popularity which he had formerly poſſeſſed, and which was one great cauſe of his being advanced to the ſovereign dignity.

THE firſt rebellion was raiſed in 1400, but was immediately

ately quelled; and the earls of Kent, Saliſbury, and Huntingdon, the lords Spencer, Lumley, and others, were brought to the block. The ſecond was excited, the year following, by Owen Glendour, or Glendourdy, deſcended from the ancient princes of Wales, who endeavoured to reſtore the independence of his country. Henry ſent a body of troops againſt him, and ſeveral battles, or rather ſkirmiſhes, were fought; in one of which, the young earl of Marche was taken priſoner by the Welſh; and Henry, who dreaded him, though only a boy, as a formidable rival, allowed him to continue in the hands of the enemy.

But the rebellion raiſed by the earl of Northumberland, was of a more ſerious and alarming nature than any of the reſt, and for ſome time threatened Henry with more imminent danger. This nobleman had a conſiderable ſhare in raiſing Henry to the throne, and, therefore, was the leſs likely to bear with patience any indignity which that monarch might offer him. He had lately taken the earl of Douglas, and ſome others of the Scottiſh nobility, priſoners, in a ſkirmiſh on the borders. Henry now ſent him a meſſage, commanding him not to ranſom his priſoners, as, by detaining them in England, he hoped he ſhould be able to make a more advantageous peace with the Scots. This order Northumberland conſidered not only as a groſs inſult, but likewiſe as a grievous injury, as, by the laws of war which prevailed in that age, the right of ranſoming priſoners was unalienably attached to thoſe that took them. Provoked, therefore, at this and at ſeveral other wrongs, whether real or imaginary, which he had lately received from the king, he now determined to exert his utmoſt efforts in overturning a throne, which he had formerly contributed to eſtabliſh. With this view he granted liberty to his priſoners, on condition that they would aſſiſt him in his intended enterprize. He likewiſe entered into a correſpondence with Glendour, and by his means engaged the Welſh in his intereſt. But when every thing was ready for commencing hoſtilities, Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces to thoſe of Glendour.

The king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he intended to act againſt the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Piercy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour: and the policy of one leader, and impatience

patience of the other, made them haſten to a general engagement. The evening before the battle, Piercy ſent a manifeſto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, ſet that prince at defiance, and in his father's name, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances, of which, he pretended, the nation had reaſon to complain. This declaration had no other effect than to inflame the animoſity between the two parties: the bravery of the leaders promiſed an obſtinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about 12,000 men, gave reaſon to expect a great effuſion of blood on both ſides, and a very doubtful iſſue to the combat.

THIS was perhaps one of the moſt fierce and keenly-diſputed battles to be met with in the Engliſh hiſtory. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight: his gallant ſon, the prince of Wales, whoſe military achievements were afterwards ſo renowned, and who here performed his noviciate arms, nobly imitated his father's example; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not make him quit the field. Piercy ſupported the fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival, amidſt the horror and confuſion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour, which are almoſt incredible. He ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould that day fall by his arm: he ſought him all over the field of battle; and as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his preſence every where, had accoutered ſeveral captains in the royal garb, the ſword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen that day on both ſides near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen; but the perſons of greateſt diſtinction were on the king's. The number of private men that periſhed is computed at ſix thouſand, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army. The earl of Worceſter, Northumberland's brother, and the earl of Douglas, were taken priſoners. The former was beheaded at Shrewſbury; the latter was treated with the courteſy due to his rank and merit.

NORTHUMBERLAND himſelf, having recovered from his ſickneſs, had levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he immediately diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. He there pretended, that his ſole intention

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in arming was to mediate between the parties; and Henry, either for want of legal proof to convict him, or perhaps thinking him already ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his ſon, not only admitted his apology, but even granted him a pardon. In a little time after, however, Northumberland raiſed another inſurrection; but being ſuddenly attacked by the ſheriff of Yorkſhire, both he and his aſſociate, lord Bardolf, were ſlain, and thus Henry was ſecured, for the future, againſt all apprehenſions of danger from that quarter.

THESE were all the military tranſactions of this reign; at leaſt theſe were all that are worthy of notice: for though Henry was engaged in a war both with France and Scotland, yet neither of them was attended with any event of importance. In 1407, indeed, Henry obtained an advantage over the Scots, which long kept that people in a ſtate of tranquillity. Robert III. king of Scotland, having loſt his eldeſt ſon, David, by the treachery of his brother, the duke of Albany, who ſtarved him to death in priſon, embarked his only ſurviving ſon, James, on board a ſhip, with a view of ſending him to the court of France; but the prince, who was then about nine years of age, being thrown, in the courſe of his voyage, upon the coaſt of England, was there ſeized, and detained in captivity, notwithſtanding the truce that ſubſiſted between the two nations. Henry, however, made ample amends for this breach of hoſpitality, by giving him an excellent education, which qualified him afterwards, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in ſome meaſure, the barbarous manners of his ſubjects.

THE diſturbances that happened during this reign were favourable to civil liberty. While the king was harraſſed by the inſurrections of the barons, he was obliged to court the good-will of the inferior ranks of people, and hence it was, that he allowed the houſe of commons to aſſume greater powers then ever they had exerciſed in any former period. They procured a law, enacting, that the king's expreſs orders, or even his moſt furious threats, ſhould be no apology to a judge for concurring in any iniquitous meaſure: they refuſed to grant ſupplies until they had received an anſwer to their petitions, that is, till the public grievances were redreſſed: they compelled the king to remove four perſons from his houſhold, even although he ſolemnly declared, that he knew of no crime of which theſe perſons had been guilty: when they granted ſupplies to the crown, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the

the houſe; and they propoſed, for the regulation of the go-government and houſhold, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the houſhold, to ſwear to the obſervance of them. In a word, the power of the houſe of commons, and conſequently the liberties of the people, received a very conſiderable increaſe during the reign of Henry.

THE imperfect title by which Henry poſſeſſed the crown, and the numerous inſurrections that had been raiſed againſt him, had rendered him ſo very ſuſpicious, that he became jealous even of his eldeſt ſon, whom he therefore excluded from all ſhare in the affairs of government; and the active ſpirit of the young prince, thus reſtrained from its proper exerciſe, broke out into a number of extravagancies, that were extremely inconſiſtent with his high ſtation. It is even ſaid, that when heated with wine, he ſcrupled not to accompany his riotous aſſociates in attacking the paſſengers in the ſtreets and highways, and robbing them of their property; though amidſt all his apparent profligacy, he failed not ſometimes to give ſuch ſtriking proofs of his generoſity, ſpirit, and magnanimity, as afforded no very ill-grounded hopes of his ſpeedy reformation, and that he would one day turn out to be a moſt excellent ſovereign. An incident, which happened at this time, tended much to confirm the people in theſe favourable ſentiments. One of the prince's riotous companions having been indicted before the chief-juſtice, Gaſcoigne, for ſome crime he had committed, Henry was not aſhamed to appear with him in court, in order, if poſſible, to ſcreen him from juſtice; but finding, that, notwithſtanding all the intereſt he could make, judgment was given againſt him, he was ſo highly exaſperated at this circumſtance, that he even proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike the chief-juſtice on the bench. Gaſcoigne behaved on this delicate occaſion with that manly ſpirit which became his high ſtation. He ordered the prince to be forthwith led to priſon for the unpardonable inſolence, of which he had been guilty; and the other, who by this time ſeems to have been ſenſible of his fault, very quietly ſubmitted to the ſentence paſſed againſt him. When this tranſaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming in a tranſport of joy—"Happy is the king who has a magiſtrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon ſuch an offender; and ſtill more happy in having a ſon, who is willing to ſubmit to ſuch a chaſtiſement!"

BUT Henry was not ſatisfied with making this reparation to the violated laws of his country; he wiſhed likewiſe to remove

move from the breaſt of his father thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions, which he knew that prince had for a long time harboured. With this view, he repaired to court, and having obtained an audience of the king, he threw himſelf on his knees before him, and addreſſed him in the following terms: "I underſtand, my liege, that you ſuſpect me of harbouring deſigns againſt your crown and perſon. I have, indeed, been guilty of exceſſes, for which I have juſtly merited your diſpleaſure; but I take heaven to witneſs, that I never entertained a thought repugnant to that duty and veneration I owe your majeſty. Thoſe who accuſe me of ſuch intentions, ſeek only to interrupt your repoſe, and alienate your affections from your ſon and ſucceſſor. I am therefore come hither to beg you will inquire into my conduct; and if I be found guilty, I deſire I may be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. This examination I demand, as well for the ſatisfaction of your majeſty, as the vindication of my own character." The king was ſo pleaſed with the frankneſs and magnanimity of this addreſs, that he embraced the prince with great tenderneſs, declaring that his ſuſpicions were already effaced, and that he would never, for the future, entertain a thought to the prejudice of his loyalty and honour. Henry did not long ſurvive this interview. He was ſubject to fits, which deprived him, for the time, of his ſenſes; and this bodily malady, co-operating with the natural anxiety of his mind, brought him at laſt to his grave in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

HENRY was a prince of the middle ſtature, well proportioned, and perfect in all the exerciſes of arms and chivalry. His countenance, like his diſpoſition, was ſerious and ſedate: he was equally proof againſt the ſmiles and frowns of fortune, neither elated with proſperity, nor dejected with adverſity. His perſonal courage and military proweſs were unqueſtioned; and had he poſſeſſed the crown by a juſt title, and, of conſequence, been free from the numerous inſurrections to which he was expoſed, he would probably have paſſed his life with as much honour to himſelf, and as much advantage to the nation, as any other monarch that ever filled the Engliſh throne. But the means, by which he attained that high dignity, were altogether unjuſtifiable; and the depoſition and murder of his lawful ſovereign and near relation muſt ever remain an indelible ſtain in the memory of this prince.

HENRY was twice married; firſt to Mary de Bohun, daughter and heir of the earl of Hereford: ſhe bore him four ſons, Henry, his ſucceſſor on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Glouceſter; and

two

two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to Eric, king of Denmark. His ſecond wife was Jane, daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany: he married her after he was king; but ſhe brought him no iſſue.

THE opinions of Wickliffe ſtill continued to make a progreſs in the kingdom; and William Sawtree, rector of St. Oſithes in London, was condemned and burned for this kind of hereſy. He was the firſt perſon that ſuffered in England on account of religion.

WILLIAM of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Robert Knolles, and ſir Richard Whittington, lord mayor of London, diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their works of charity, and their public foundations.

GEOFFREY Chaucer and John Gower rendered themſelves famous for their poetry, and are juſtly conſidered as the firſt reformers of the Engliſh language.

BY an act of the fifth of this reign, it is made felony to cut out any perſon's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes, which, the act ſays, were very frequent. This ſavage ſpirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though perhaps it was increaſed by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

CHAP. XVIII.

HENRY V.

A. D. 1413. THE hopes of the people with regard to young Henry were not diſappointed. He had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he reſolved to abandon his vicious courſes, and to act ſuitably to his new ſtation. With this view, he called together his former companions, and acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted all of them to follow his example, but ſtrictly forbad them, till they had given proofs of their ſincerity in this particular, to appear in his preſence; and he then diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. The next object that engaged his attention, was the choice of his miniſtry, and this he took care to form, not of the panders to his former pleaſures, but of ſuch ſage and experienced counſellors as had ſerved his father with ſo much fidelity. Even the chief juſtice, Gaſcoigne, was continued in his office. Inſtead of being blamed, he was highly commended, for having dared to execute the laws

laws upon the heir apparent to the crown; and he was adviſed by Henry ſtill to perſevere in the ſame impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

As the principles of the Lollards, or Wickliffites, had for ſome time been gaining ground in the kingdom, and were now ſuppoſed to be dangerous to the civil government, it was thought neceſſary to deviſe ſome method of putting an effectual ſtop to their further progreſs. Accordingly, ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman of great merit and popularity, and one of the chief of theſe ſectaries, was taken into cuſtody. Henry at firſt endeavoured to reclaim him by gentle means; but finding that impoſſible, he delivered him over to the eccleſiaſtical courts, which condemned him to the flames. Cobham, however, eſcaped from the Tower, where he was confined, and attempted to raiſe an inſurrection; but failing in that attempt, and being afterwards retaken, he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burned for hereſy. He was the firſt among the Engliſh nobility, who ſuffered upon a religious account.

THE next undertaking, in which Henry was engaged, was much better ſuited to his genius, and was attended with much more glory and renown, than the puniſhment of heretics. This was no other than the conqueſt of France, which he finally accompliſhed, though he ſeems not, at firſt, to have carried his views ſo far as the entire reduction of that kingdom. He contented himſelf, in the beginning, with demanding from the French king the reſtitution of all thoſe provinces, which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed in France; and upon his meeting with a refuſal to this requeſt, he renewed the claim which Edward had laid to the French crown. Nor was it long before he began to ſupport his claim by force of arms. For on the 14th of Auguſt, 1415, he landed at Harfleur, with an army of 30,000 men; and having, after a ſhort ſiege, reduced that place, he peopled it with an Engliſh colony. His troops, however, were ſo much weakened by the fatigues of this ſiege, and by the unuſual heat of the climate, that they dwindled down, in a little time, to about half their original number; and Henry thinking this handful of men by far too ſmall to penetrate into the heart of France, reſolved to return to England.

HE accordingly ſet out on his march for Calais; but when he had paſſed the river Ternois at Blangi, he was ſurpriſed to find the French army, amounting to 60,000, ſome ſay to 100,000 men, drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and ſo poſted that it was impoſſible for him to proceed any farther without coming to an engagement. In this deſperate extremity,

mity, he offered to reſtore Harfleur, provided they would allow him to continue his march; and this offer being rejected, he began ſeriouſly to prepare for a battle, notwithſtanding the great inequality of numbers. Such, indeed, was the ſuperiority of the French in this reſpect, that when David Gam, a Welſh captain, was ſent out to reconnoitre them, he is ſaid to have brought back word, in the homely ſtile of his country, that there was enough to be killed, enough to be taken priſoners, and enough to run away. Henry was now exactly in the ſame ſituation as Edward III. and the Black Prince at the battles of Crecy and Poitiers; and he doubted not but an exertion of the ſame courage and conduct would in the end have the good fortune to be crowned with the ſame ſucceſs. Nor was he diſappointed in his expectations. He drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which prevented his being flanked by the enemy; and finding that the French were backward in beginning the battle, he boldly advanced againſt them, and gave them the firſt charge. This immediately brought on a general engagement. The French archers on horſeback and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, attacked the Engliſh archers, who had fixed palliſadoes in their front to break the impreſſion of the enemy, and who ſafely plyed them from behind that defence with ſhowers of arrows, which nothing could reſiſt. The clay ſoil, moiſtened by ſome rain, which had fallen, proved another obſtacle to the force of the French cavalry; the wounded men and horſes diſcompoſed their ranks; the narrow compaſs, in which they were pent, hindered them from recovering any order; the whole army was a ſcene of confuſion, terror, and diſmay; and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the Engliſh archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and ſeize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their preſent poſture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence; they hewed them in pieces without reſiſtance; and being ſeconded by the men at arms, who alſo puſhed on againſt the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, diſmounted, and overthrown.

AFTER all appearance of oppoſition was over, the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted ſucceſs to the open plain, they there ſaw the remains of the French rear-guard, which maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the ſame time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about 600 peaſants, had fallen upon the Engliſh baggage, and were doing execution upon the unarmed follow-

ers

ers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, ſeeing the enemy on all ſides of him, began to be apprehenſive of danger from his priſoners; and he thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but, on diſcovering the truth, he ſtopped the ſlaughter, and was ſtill able to ſave a great number. 10,000 French are ſaid to have been killed in this battle; 14,000 were made priſoners; whereas the loſs of the Engliſh in the whole, according to ſome writers, did not amount to above forty men; though others, with greater probability, make the number more conſiderable.

HENRY, however, was not ſo far elated with this important victory, as to think of improving the advantage he had gained; on the contrary, he continued his march towards Calais, and went over to England, as he originally intended; nor was it till after an interval of two years, that he renewed his attempts for obtaining poſſeſſion of the French crown. Indeed, he would not probably have renewed them even then, had it not been for the diſtracted ſtate, into which the affairs of France were at that time thrown. For Charles VI. the French king, had fallen into ſuch a ſtate of imbecility, as rendered him altogether incapable of managing the reins of government. The ſovereign power was alternately engroſſed by the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, both of whom were aſſaſſinated in their turn. The dauphin was only in the ſixteenth year of his age; and the queen, his mother, had conceived ſuch an inveterate averſion to him, that, in order to gratify this unnatural paſſion, ſhe was willing to ſee a ſtranger ſupplant him on the throne. *A. D.* 1417.

HENRY, therefore, thinking this a favourable opportunity for making good the claim he had formerly ſet up, invaded France with an army of 25,000 men; and being ſoon after reinforced by about 15,000 more, he reduced Falaiſe, Cherbourg, Evreaux, Caen, Pont de l'Arche, and Rouen; and in fact made himſelf maſter of the whole province of Normandy, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been wreſted from king John by Philip Auguſtus, and re-united to the crown of France. *A. D.* 1419.

In a word, the progreſs of his arms was ſo rapid and ſo irreſiſtible, that being favoured by the queen, and the faction of the duke of Burgundy, he compelled the enemy to agree to a treaty, which was ſigned at Troye, and by which it was ſtipulated, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine, daughter to the French king; that Charles, during his lifetime, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould

ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that that kingdom ſhould paſs to his heirs whatſoever; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France ſhould ſwear, that they would both ſupport the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent; that Henry ſhould unite his own troops to thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue Charles, who was called the pretended dauphin; and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace or truce with him but by common conſent and agreement.

In conſequence of this treaty, Henry eſpouſed the princeſs Catharine, was recogniſed regent by the ſtates of the kingdom, and was put into poſſeſſion of Paris, which he ſecured with a good garriſon. The Dauphin, indeed, ſtill continued to oppoſe him, and by the aſſiſtance of ſome Scottiſh troops under the earl of Buchan, he even gained an advantage over his forces at Baugee, where the duke of Clarence, Henry's brother, was ſlain. But notwithſtanding this circumſtance, the king would probably have maintained the deſtination, which his father-in-law had made in his favour, had he not been ſeized with a fiſtula, which the ſurgeons at that time had not ſkill enough to cure, and which put a period to his life, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. His father-in-law expired about two months after; and the death of theſe two princes produced an entire revolution in the ſtate of affairs in France.

Henry was in ſtature ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance was beautiful; his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes. He was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue, than almoſt any ſoldier in his army. Religious without ſuperſtition, juſt without rigour, and complaiſant with a becoming dignity, he was alike qualified to engage the affections, and command the eſteem of all around him. Not more tenacious of the prerogatives of his crown, than tender of the privileges of his people, he enjoyed, during his whole reign, the moſt uninterrupted popularity. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and the field; and the boldneſs of his enterpriſes was no leſs remarkable than his perſonal valour in conducting them.

By his queen Catharine he left only one ſon, whoſe misfortunes, in the courſe of his life, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father. Henry's widow, ſoon after his death,

married a Welſh gentleman, called ſir Owen Tudor, and ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of Wales. She bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper: of whom the eldeſt was created earl of Richmond; the ſecond, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

CHAP. XIX.

HENRY VI.

HENRY VI. commonly ſurnamed of Windſor, from the place of his birth, was but nine months old when he ſucceeded his father on the throne of England, and upon the death of his grandfather, Charles VI. king of France, he was likewiſe acknowledged as lawful ſovereign of that kingdom. In order to manage the affairs of government during his minority, which muſt neceſſarily be long, the duke of Bedford, his uncle, was appointed protector or guardian of the realm; and in the abſence of that prince, Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, his other uncle, was inveſted with the ſame authority; while the perſon and education of the young king was committed to Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, his great uncle, the legitimated ſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter. *A. D.* 1422.

THE duke of Bedford had been left by his brother Henry, regent of France; and as he was a prince of great military talents, he ſeemed now to be in a fair way of making an entire conqueſt of that kingdom. For though the dauphin, upon the death of his father, had aſſumed the title of king of France, by the name of Charles VII. he was altogether unable to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh arms. His forces were defeated, firſt at Crevant, then at Verneuil, and afterwards in the battle of Herrings. In a word, he was diſpoſſeſſed of ſo many fortreſſes, that he was almoſt driven to the other ſide of the Loire; and had he been ſtripped of the city of Orleans, which the Engliſh had held inveſted for a conſiderable time, he would probably have been obliged to abandon the kingdom. But this place, after having been cloſely beſieged for the ſpace of ſix months, was ſuddenly relieved by one of thoſe unexpected ſtrokes of fortune, that ſometimes have a greater ſhare in determining the fate of nations, than the beſt concerted and moſt vigorouſly executed plans.

IN the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the bor-

ders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-ſeven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was ſervant in a ſmall Inn, and who in that ſtation had been accuſtomed to tend the horſes of the gueſts, and to ride them without a ſaddle to the watering-place. Her mind, which was naturally of an enthuſiaſtic turn, was now ſeized with the wild but generous deſire of bringing relief to her diſtreſſed ſovereign; and with this view ſhe came to Chinon, where Charles reſided, and told him, that ſhe was expreſsly ſent by heaven, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and afterwards to conduct him to Rheims, and cauſe him to be crowned in that city. The king, at firſt, as well as his courtiers, took her for a mere enthuſiaſt; but as the girl ſtill perſiſted in her applications, and aſſerted the truth of her heavenly miſſion, he began to conſider, that ſhe might be of ſome ſervice to his cauſe. He therefore affected to believe her; though ſuch, indeed, was the ignorance of the age, that it is not impoſſible that he might believe her in reality, eſpecially as her pretenſions were declared to be well-founded by an aſſembly of Divines, and by the parliament of the kingdom. Certain is is, that both he and his miniſters endeavoured to perſuade the public, that ſhe was really inſpired. They ſaid, that upon her firſt admiſſion to the royal preſence, ſhe immediately knew the king, though ſhe had never ſeen him before, and though he purpoſely kept himſelf in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aſide every thing in his dreſs and apparel which might diſtinguiſh him from others; that ſhe revealed to him a ſecret, which was known to himſelf alone, and which nothing but a heavenly inſpiration could have diſcovered to her; and that ſhe demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen it, ſhe deſcribed by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected.

THE minds of the people being thus prepared for the reception of ſomething ſupernatural, Joan's requeſts were at laſt complied with. She was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horſeback, and being entruſted with the command of a ſtrong body of forces, ſhe penetrated boldly through the Engliſh camp, entered Orleans in triumph; and driving the enemy, firſt from one redoubt, and then from another, ſhe at laſt compelled them to raiſe the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation. In theſe different attacks the Engliſh are ſaid to have loſt about 6000 men; and in all of them the ſucceſs was, in a great meaſure, owing to the perſonal bravery of the maid herſelf. In one of them the French were at firſt repulſed, and the maid

was

was left almoſt alone: ſhe was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but diſplaying a ſacred ſtandard, which ſhe held in her hand, and animating them with her countenance, her geſtures, her exhortations, ſhe led them back to the charge, and overpowered the Engliſh in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort, ſhe was wounded in the neck with an arrow; ſhe retreated a moment behind the aſſailants; ſhe pulled out the arrow with her own hands; ſhe had the wound quickly dreſſed; and ſhe haſtened back to the troops, and planted her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

Nor was her intrepidity leſs remarkable in the ſiege of Jergau, which was ſoon after inveſted. In leading the attack upon this place, ſhe deſcended into the foſſée, and ſhe there received a blow on the head with a ſtone, by which ſhe was confounded, and beaten to the ground; but ſhe ſoon recovered herſelf, and renewed the aſſault with ſo much vigour, that the town was obliged to ſurrender. In a word, ſhe overwhelmed the Engliſh with the number and rapidity of her conqueſts. She drove them from Troye, Chalons, Laon, Soiſſons, and Provins, defeated them at Patay, and ſeveral other places; took Suffolk, Talbot, and Scales, their generals, priſoners; and having conducted Charles to Rheims, ſhe cauſed him, agreeably to her promiſe, to be crowned in that city.

Joan having completed both parts of her prophecy, would willingly have retired from the army, and returned to her former ſituation; but ſhe was perſuaded by the French miniſters ſtill to continue her military exertions, until ſhe had driven the Engliſh entirely out of the kingdom. In purſuance of this advice, ſhe threw herſelf into the town of Compeigne, which was then cloſely inveſted; but being taken priſoner while ſhe was heading a ſally, ſhe was carried to Rouen, and there tried by an aſſembly of French divines, who condemned her to be burned as a witch; and this infamous ſentence was accordingly executed in the market-place of Rouen on the 14th of June, 1431. This act of cruelty (for ſuch it certainly was) is almoſt the only ſtain in the character of the duke of Bedford.

That prince, indeed, was now in a moſt delicate and dangerous ſituation; for though he had thus freed himſelf from the perſonal oppoſition of the Maid of Orleans, he could not ſo eaſily overcome the ſpirit ſhe had raiſed. He could not deprive the French of that ardour and elevation of mind, with which ſhe had inſpired them, and which now gave them the ſame ſuperiority over the Engliſh, which theſe laſt had formerly poſſeſſed over the French. He did every thing, however, that could be expected from the moſt accompliſhed

general and the moſt conſummate politician. He held all the Engliſh garriſons in a poſture of defence; he reſtrained the natives from breaking out into inſurrections; he carried over young Henry to Paris, where he was ſolemnly *A. D.* 1430. crowned king of France in the church of Notre Dame; he reinforced his army with freſh levies from England and Ireland; and he renewed the alliance with the duke of Burgundy, whoſe friendſhip was of ſo much importance. But that prince having ſoon after abandoned the Engliſh intereſt, and concluded a treaty with Charles at Arras, and the inhabitants of Paris returning to their allegiance under their natural ſovereign; the Engliſh, from that moment, loſt ground every day; and, to complete their *A. D.* 1435. misfortunes, the duke of Bedford, the regent, died, a prince of ſo much merit and popularity, that it was hardly poſſible to find in the whole kingdom a man who was properly qualified to ſupply his place. And that this was really the caſe appeared but too evidently from the events that enſued. He was ſucceeded by Richard, duke of York, who was ſoon after followed by the earl of Warwick, and this laſt, in his turn, by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; but, during the government of all theſe regents, particularly of Somerſet, the intereſt of the Engliſh ſtill continued to decline, till at laſt they were fairly driven from almoſt all the territories they had formerly held in France. Normandy was loſt in 1450, and Guienne in 1451, after this laſt province had been ſubject to England for upwards of three hundred years. An attempt, indeed, was made to recover Guienne. Lord Talbot, the old earl of Shrewſbury, was ſent into it with a body of 8000 men. He made himſelf maſter of Bourdeaux, Fronſac, and a few other places; but having been defeated and killed in a battle which was fought near Caſtillon, the Engliſh were again expelled the province, *A. D.* 1453. and, in fact, were deprived of all their other poſſeſſions in France, except Calais, Guiſnes, and their dependencies.

FROM this time forward the tranſactions of Henry's reign were entirely confined to his hereditary kingdom of England. In proportion as he advanced in years, his character became more fully known. Of the moſt harmleſs, ſimple, inoffenſive manners, but of the moſt ſlender capacity, he was fitted, both by the ſoftneſs of his temper, and the weakneſs of his underſtanding, to be perpetually governed by thoſe about him; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of chuſing him a queen; and Margaret

Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, was pitched upon for this purpoſe. She was a princeſs of exquiſite beauty, of a bold and daring genius, of an extenſive capacity and ſolid underſtanding; and, beſides, was endued with ſuch a maſculine bravery and intrepidity, as would have done honour to the greateſt captains of the age. Having firſt obtained an entire aſcendant over the weak mind of her huſband, ſhe took upon herſelf the adminiſtration of affairs, entered into cloſe connections with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the dukes of Somerſet, Suffolk, and Buckingham, to whom ſhe had been indebted for her elevation to the throne, and who were all of them mortal enemies to the king's uncle, Humphrey, the good duke of Glouceſter. The firſt efforts of their malice were directed againſt his wife. Her they accuſed of witchcraft, and (ſuch was the ignorance of the age) found her guilty of the crime; and they accordingly condemned her to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment.

Not ſatisfied with this, they proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the duke himſelf; and ſeizing him on the groundleſs pretence of his having formed a deſign againſt the life of his ſovereign, they ſecretly cauſed him to be made away with in priſon. Several other perſons were likewiſe accuſed as his accomplices, and were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were hanged, and cut down; but juſt as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life: the moſt barbarous kind of mercy that can poſſibly be imagined!

The triumph, however, of the queen and her party was but of ſhort duration. True it is, that Suffolk was advanced to the dignity of prime miniſter; and upon his falling a ſacrifice to popular fury, his place was ſupplied by the duke of Somerſet, a man, if poſſible, ſtill more odious to the Engliſh nation, becauſe, during his regency chiefly, they had loſt all their poſſeſſions in France. By theſe indeed, and by various other means, the indignation of the people was at laſt raiſed to ſuch a pitch, that it broke out into an open inſurrection under one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who aſſumed the name of John Mortimer; a circumſtance that revived the pretenſions of the York family.

In order to underſtand theſe pretenſions it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Richard, the preſent duke of York, was ſon to that Richard, earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded for rebellion in 1415, and grandſon to Edmund de Langley, duke of York, the fifth ſon of Edward III. He was likewiſe, by the mother's ſide, ſole heir of the houſe of Mortimer, or Marche,

which houſe deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. and elder brother to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, from whom the preſent king was ſprung. Thus, in right of his father, he was firſt prince of the blood; in right of his mother he was true lineal heir to the crown.

It was commonly ſuppoſed, that the duke of York had encouraged the inſurrection of Cade, eſpecially as the chief ſucceſs which that demagogue had met with was owing to the influence of the name he had aſſumed; for though by means of this impoſture, he aſſembled a body of 2000 men, with which he defeated the royal forces, and even advanced to London, yet his real character being there known, and his followers venturing at the ſame time to commit ſome irregularities, the citizens fell upon them, and put them to the rout, and a price being ſet upon Cade's head, he was ſoon after diſcovered, and ſlain in the wolds of Kent.

The duke of York, however, finding that his pretenſions were viewed with a favourable eye by the public at large, began to entertain ſome ſecret wiſhes of attaining to the throne; and an accident, which happened at this time, furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for taking the firſt ſtep towards the acquiſition of that high dignity. The king was ſeized with a diſtemper, which ſo far encreaſed his natural imbecility, as to render him incapable of even maintaining the appearance of royalty. The queen, therefore, and the miniſters were obliged to yield to the inclinations of the people, which plainly pointed out the duke of York as the moſt proper perſon to be appointed lieutenant or protector of the kingdom; and with this high office he was accordingly inveſted. But the king recovering, or pretending to recover, from his late indiſpoſition, annulled the protectorſhip, and reſumed into his own hands the reins of government; and the duke fearing that his enemies, not ſatisfied with ſtripping him of his power, might perhaps proceed to ſome violence againſt his perſon, aſſembled a body of troops, with which he attacked and defeated the royal army at St. Alban's, took king Henry priſoner, and cauſed himſelf to be reſtored to the protectorſhip, not thinking it ſafe to raiſe his claims any higher. This was the firſt blood ſpilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finiſhed in leſs than a courſe of thirty years, which was ſignalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a ſcene of extraordinary fierceneſs and cruelty, is computed to have coſt the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almoſt entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England.

Matters continued in this ſituation for the ſpace of four years, at the end of which the queen having aſſembled an army,

my, marched againſt the duke; and, after loſing two battles, the firſt at Bloreheath, the ſecond at Northampton, ſhe attacked the Yorkiſts at Wakefield, killed the protector and his ſecond ſon, the young earl of Rutland, *A. D.* 1460. who was then but ſeventeen years of age, and ordered their heads, together with that of the earl of Saliſbury, to be fixed on the gates of York. A paper crown was placed upon the head of the duke, in deriſion of his pretended title.

THE death, however, of this prince did not put an end to the quarrel. For Edward, earl of Marche, his eldeſt ſon, who had now ſucceeded in the title of York, and Richard Nevil, the brave earl of Warwick, aſſembled the remains of the ſcattered army, with which they routed the royal forces at Mortimer's-croſs; but this advantage was ſoon counterbalanced by a defeat they ſuſtained in a ſecond battle which was fought at St. Alban's, where the Yorkiſts are ſaid to have loſt above 2000 men, and the king fell again into the hands of his own party. Nevertheleſs, Edward, having obliged the queen to retreat into the northern counties, directed his march towards London, being fully determined, without farther ceremony, to aſſume the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority.

BUT as a national aſſent, or the appearance of it, ſtill ſeemed neceſſary to precede this bold meaſure, and as the aſſembling of a parliament might occaſion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniences, he ventured to proceed in a leſs regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw any obſtacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to aſſemble in St. John's fields; great numbers of people ſurrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the rival family; and the people were than aſked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for king? They unanimouſly exclaimed againſt the propoſal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York? They expreſſed their aſſent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of biſhops, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction were next aſſembled at Baynard's Caſtle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king, on the ſubſequent *A. D.* 1461. day, which was the 5th of March, was proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. a monarch, who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the moſt ſplendid proſpects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the ſource of civil wars; but was almoſt entirely indifferent to Henry himſelf, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing his authority, and who, provided he perſonally met with good uſage, was equally eaſy, as he was equally enſlaved in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. By his queen he had one ſon, who was in the ninth year of his age when his father was depoſed.

In 1453 Conſtantinople was taken by Mahomet II. who inveſted it with an army of 400,000 men, and, after a ſiege of fifty-four days, reduced it by aſſault. This put an end to the Grecian or Eaſtern empire.

CHAP. XX.

EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461. THOUGH Edward had got poſſeſſion of the crown, he was far from being able to enjoy it in tranquillity. Margaret had not been idle in the northern counties: ſhe had there aſſembled an army of 60,000 men, with which ſhe now began to advance towards the ſouth: but being met at Touhon by the young king and the earl of Warwick, at the head of 40,000 men, the two armies came to an engagement, when, after a fierce and bloody battle, in which there are ſaid to have fallen above 36,000 men, Edward obtained a complete victory, Margaret and her huſband being both of them obliged to fly into Scotland. There they met with a very favourable reception; and having purchaſed the friendſhip of the Scottiſh king, James III. who was then a minor, by delivering up to him Berwick, they likewiſe obtained a good body of troops, which having reinforced with a party of French, the queen entered Northumberland; but being encountered at Hexham by John Nevil, baron of Montacute, her army was put to flight, and ſhe and her huſband very narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the enemy.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family after this defeat, was ſingular. Margaret fled with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf; but was beſet, during the darkneſs of the night, by robbers, who ſtript her of her rings and

and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. The diviſion of this rich booty raiſed a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, ſhe took an opportunity of making her eſcape with her ſon into the thickeſt of the foreſt, where ſhe wandered for ſome time, overſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ſunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition ſhe ſaw a robber approach with his naked ſword; and finding no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the reſolution of truſting entirely for her protection to his faith and generoſity. She therefore advanced towards him, and preſenting to him the young prince, called out to him, *Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of your king's ſon.* The man, who, notwithſtanding his vicious courſe of life, had ſtill ſome ſentiments of humanity, was ſtruck with pity for her unhappy condition, and vowed not only to abſtain from all injury againſt her perſon, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice. He accordingly concealed her for ſome time in the foreſt, and at laſt conducted her to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape into Flanders. She paſſed thence into her father's court, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement.

HER huſband was not ſo fortunate or ſo dextrous in finding the means of eſcape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at laſt detected, and delivered up to Edward, who threw him into the Tower. The ſafety of his perſon was leſs owing to the generoſity of his enemies, than the contempt they entertained of his courage and underſtanding.

EDWARD might now, in all probability, have enjoyed his crown in perfect tranquillity, had he been ſo wiſe, in the choice of a wife, as to imitate the example of moſt ſovereigns, who conſult rather, in this particular, their views of ambition, than the gratification of their paſſions; and Edward himſelf ſeemed at firſt inclined to purſue the ſame courſe.

FOR this purpoſe he had ſent the earl of Warwick to Paris, to demand for him in marriage Bona of Savoy, ſiſter-in-law to the French king. His propoſals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms, and the bringing over the princeſs to England; when the whole negociation was rendered abortive by an imprudent meaſure, which Edward had, in the mean time, embraced. This was his marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, widow of ſir John Gray of Groby, and daughter to Jaqueline de Luxembourg, dutcheſs dowager of Bedford, and of ſir Richard Woodville, afterwards created earl Rivers, and conſtable of England. This ſudden and ill-adviſed

match is ſaid to have been owing to the following circumſtance. Sir John Gray having fallen in the ſecond battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the ſide of Lancaſter, and his eſtate having, for that reaſon, been forfeited, his widow, with her children, had gone to live with her father, at his ſeat of Grafton in Northamptonſhire. Thither Edward happened one day to come, in order to pay a viſit to the dutcheſs of Bedford; and as this ſeemed to be a proper opportunity for obtaining ſome favour from ſo gallant a monarch, the young widow flung herſelf at his feet, and, with many tears, beſought him to take pity on her and her diſtreſſed children. The king was ſtrongly affected at the ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction: he raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of his protection; and, in a little time, he was ſo captivated with her amiable perſon, and her other numerous accompliſhments, that finding it impoſſible to conquer his paſſion, or to gratify it in an unlawful manner, he reſolved to make her the partner of his bed and throne. The nuptials, accordingly, were privately celebrated at Grafton, and in a few days after were notified to the public.

But it was not merely his marriage with this lady that gave ſo much offence to the nation: his extreme partiality to all her relations, whom he loaded with honours, and riches, and dignities, tended ſtill more powerfully to the ſame purpoſe. The earl of Warwick, in particular, was highly incenſed when he heard of this match, and when he was ordered to break off the treaty for the French alliance. He determined to be revenged for the affront put upon him; and with this view he entered into an aſſociation with the marquis of Montague, and the archbiſhop of York, his brothers, and with the duke of Clarence, his own ſon-in-law, and brother to king Edward.

It is difficult, however, to ſay what were the firſt meaſures, which theſe confederates embraced. There is no part, indeed, of the Engliſh hiſtory ſo obſcure, as that of the war between the *two roſes*; for ſo the war between the houſes of York and Lancaſter was called, the former having aſſumed the *White Roſe*, and the latter the *Red*, as badges of diſtinction. Hiſtorians have fallen into the groſſeſt miſtakes at this very period in particular. They ſay, that, in 1469, Edward was taken priſoner by Clarence, and was committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of York; but being allowed to take the diverſion of hunting by that prelate, he made his eſcape, and afterwards chaced the rebels out of the kingdom. But that all this ſtory is falſe appears evidently from Rymer, one of the beſt authorities of the age. It is certain, that, in 1470,

Warwick and Clarence raiſed troops in their own name, and iſſued a declaration againſt the government; but not being joined by the other confederates, they were obliged to diſſolve their army, and to fly into France. This diſappointment, however, did not entirely ruin their ſcheme. They returned towards the latter end of the ſame year, and having aſſembled an army 60,000 ſtrong, they compelled king Edward to fly into Holland, and reſtore Henry to the throne. They then ſummoned a parliament, in which Edward was declared an uſurper; he and his adherents were attainted, and all their poſſeſſions confiſcated.

THIS triumph of the Lancaſtrians, however, was but of very ſhort duration. King Edward ſet ſail for England in the ſpring of the enſuing year, and *A. D.* 1471. landing at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, with a body of 2000 men, he was ſoon able to levy an army, with which he encountered Warwick at Barnet, when, after a fierce and bloody diſpute, the Lancaſtrians were entirely defeated; Warwick himſelf, and his brother, the marquis of Montague, were killed in the action; Henry was again taken priſoner, and thrown into the tower, and Edward once more re-aſcended the throne.

QUEEN Margaret, with her ſon, a promiſing youth of about eighteen years of age, returned to England the very ſame day on which the battle of Barnet was fought, when hearing of the iſſue of that engagement, ſhe began to deſpair of ever being able to retrieve the ruined affairs of her family, and ſhe therefore took refuge in the abbey of Beaulieu; but being ſtrongly importuned by the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, the lords Wenlock, St. John, and others, to try once more her fortune in the field, ſhe aſſembled an army, with which ſhe advanced to Tewkſbury. She was there met by Edward, who not only put her forces to flight, but even took herſelf and her ſon priſoners. The earl of Devonſhire and lord Wenlock were killed in the action; the duke of Somerſet, and about twenty other perſons of diſtinction, having taken ſhelter in a church, were ſurrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded; and the earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, fled into Brittany.

QUEEN Margaret and her ſon were brought into the royal preſence; and the king aſked the prince, in an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth, than of his preſent fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his juſt inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity,

ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there diſpatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the tower, and detained in that priſon till the year 1475, when ſhe recovered her liberty, at the interceſſion of Lewis, king of France, who engaged to pay 50,000 crowns for her ranſom. As to king Henry himſelf, he died in the tower immediately after the battle of Tewkſbury. His death was ſudden, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, violent: the common opinion was, that the duke of Glouceſter killed him with his own hands. Though Clarence had lately adhered to his brother's intereſt, and even, the more effectually to ſerve him, had deſerted and betrayed his father-in-law, the earl of Warwick, he had not, for all that, been able to recover the good opinion of Edward, who ſtill retained an animoſity againſt him on account of his former diſloyal conduct. Add to this, that he had likewiſe had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of his ſiſter-in-law, queen Elizabeth, and of his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who, as he aſpired to the crown after the death of king Edward, was extremely deſirous of getting rid of a man, who might prevent his attaining to that high dignity. A combination was therefore formed between theſe powerful enemies for effecting the ruin of Clarence; and in order to pave the way to it, they began by attacking his friends and dependants, hoping that his indignation at ſuch unprovoked malice would betray him into meaſures, of which they might take advantage.

THE firſt perſon that fell a victim to their helliſh machinations, was Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, a gentleman intimately connected with the duke. The king, hunting one day in Burdet's park, happened to kill a white hart, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loſs, broke out into a paſſion, and exclaimed, that he wiſhed the horns of the deer were in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the king to commit ſuch an outrage. For this very innocent and natural expreſſion, which, however, was conſtrued into a treaſonable one, Burdet was tried, and was actually condemned and executed. The ſame was the fate of one John Stacey, a clergyman, who was patronized by Clarence, and who, as he was deeper ſkilled in aſtronomy and the mathematics than was uſual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar. For this imaginary crime he was brought to a trial: many of the greateſt peers were ſo bigoted as to encourage the proſecu-

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tion againſt him; and in the end he was put to the torture; ſentence was paſſed upon him, and he was hanged at Tyburn.

CLARENCE, as his enemies had foreſeen and expected, exclaimed loudly againſt theſe proceedings. This was all that Edward wanted. He ſent the duke to the tower for uſing ſuch liberties with the meaſures of his government; he ſummoned a parliament, which brought him to a trial: he himſelf appeared as his chief accuſer; the lords, his proper judges, gave ſentence againſt him: both they and the commons petitioned for his execution: the king promiſed to comply with their requeſt; and the only favour he granted the duke was the choice of his death; in conſequence of which Clarence was drowned privately in a butt of malmeſey in the tower: a whimſical choice, which implies that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor.

EDWARD was engaged in two foreign wars, one againſt Scotland, the other againſt France; but neither of them was attended with any event of importance. In the former, indeed, he compelled the Scots to deliver up Berwick, which Henry VI. had put into their hands. The latter was terminated by the peace of Pequigni. The principal articles of this treaty were, that Lewis, king of France, ſhould immediately pay to Edward the ſum of 75,000 crowns; that he ſhould continue, for the future, during the term of their joint lives, to pay him an annuity of 50,000 crowns; and that the dauphin, when of age, ſhould marry Edward's eldeſt daughter. Lewis, however, was not very punctual in executing the articles of this agreement, upon which Edward began to prepare for a ſecond expedition into France, in order to compel him by force of arms; but juſt as he was upon the point of ſetting out on his new enterprize, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which put a period to his life, on the 9th of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. *A. D.* 1483.

EDWARD IV. was a prince of the moſt elegant perſon and inſinuating addreſs: his courage was greater than his prudence, and his good fortune greater than both: in times of proſperity, he devoted himſelf entirely to his pleaſures; in adverſe circumſtances, no man was capable of exerting greater ſpirit, vigour, and activity: in nine battles where he fought in perſon, he was victorious in all: but as he was of a cruel and vindictive diſpoſition, the laurels, which he gained in the field, were ſtained and diſgraced by the ſtreams of noble blood which he ſhed upon the ſcaffold.

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ONE inſtance of his wanton cruelty we had almoſt forgot to mention; and we therefore notice it here. A tradeſman of London, who kept ſhop at the ſign of the Crown, having ſaid, that he would make his ſon heir to the Crown; this harmleſs pleaſantry was interpreted to be ſpoken in deriſion of Edward's aſſumed title; and he was condemned and executed for the offence.

EDWARD had, by his queen Elizabeth, three ſons, and ſeven daughters, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; Richard, duke of York; George, who died in his infancy; Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. king of England; Mary, betrothed to the king of Denmark, but who died before marriage; Cicely, firſt married to John, viſcount Willes, and afterwards to ſir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Bridget, who took the veil; and Catharine, married to William Courtnay, earl of Devonſhire. His natural children were, Arthur Plantagenet, viſcount Liſle, born of Elizabeth Lacy; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas, lord Lumley; another Elizabeth, by Catharine Clavenger; and Iſabel Mylbery, married to a brother of lord Audley.

CHAP. XXI.

EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483. EDWARD IV. was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Edward V. who was only twelve years of age at the time of his acceſſion. His reign, indeed, was of but very ſhort duration. It laſted only between two and three months; and during all that time, his uncle, Richard, duke of Glouceſter, who had been appointed protector of the kingdom, was employing the moſt violent and ſanguinary means, in order to procure to himſelf not only the authority, but even the title of king, by making away with the young monarch, and alſo with his brother the duke of York.

THE firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to engage in his intereſt, Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, a man of ample poſſeſſions, of great alliances, and ſhining parts, but of a very profligate and abandoned character, and who, provided his ambitious views could be gratified, was extremely willing to ſecond Richard in all his enterprizes, however criminal.

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He next tried to ſecure the aſſiſtance of lord Haſtings, who enjoyed the office of chamberlain; but finding that nobleman ſteady in his attachment to the young king, he fell upon the following expedient in order to get rid of him. Haſtings had formed a connection with Jane Shore, a favourite miſtreſs of the late king; and upon this circumſtance Richard laid a plan for effecting his ruin. He ſummoned a council in the tower, and Haſtings, ſuſpecting no harm, repaired thither among the other counſellors. The protector was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders, with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the gayeſt and moſt jovial humour imaginable. He indulged himſelf in familiar converſation with thoſe who ſat next him. After ſome little time he withdrew, as if called away by other buſineſs; but ſoon returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he aſked the counſellors, what puniſhment thoſe deſerved that had plotted againſt *his* life, who was ſo nearly related to the king, and was intruſted with the adminiſtration of government? Haſtings replied, that they merited the puniſhment of traitors. "Theſe traitors," cried the protector, "are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his miſtreſs, with others, their aſſociates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft:" upon which he laid bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. But the counſellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all lord Haſtings, who was naturally anxious for the fate of a woman, to whom he had conceived a very ſtrong attachment. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid he, "if they be guilty of theſe crimes, they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment." "And do you anſwer me," exclaimed the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands?* You are the chief abettor of that witch, Shore: you are yourſelf a traitor: and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He ſtruck the table with his hand: armed men ruſhed in at the ſignal; and Haſtings was ſeized, and was hurried away, and inſtantly beheaded on a log of wood that lay in the tower. Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them, from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery, for the ſudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them; but the ſaying of a merchant was much talked of on the occaſion, who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy.

In order to carry on the farce of his accuſations, the protector ordered Jane Shore to be ſeized, and to be ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for her ſorcery and witchcraft; but not being able to produce any proofs of that imaginary crime, even in that ignorant age, he cauſed her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for her adulteries and lewdneſs; and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but unhappily views of intereſt, more than the maid's inclinations, had been conſulted in the match; and her mind, though naturally diſpoſed to virtue, had been unable to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who ſolicited her favours. But except in her infidelity to the marriage-bed, ſhe was not remarkable for any one vice; on the contrary, ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by every amiable virtue; and all the influence ſhe poſſeſſed at court was conſtantly employed in acts of charity and beneficence. She lived, however, not only to feel the bitterneſs of ſhame impoſed upon her by this cruel tyrant, but likewiſe to experience the ingratitude of courtiers, who ſuffered her to linger out the remainder of her days in the moſt extreme poverty.

On the very day on which Haſtings was executed, or rather murdered, the protector put to death, in the ſame ſummary manner, the earl of Rivers, the king's uncle, ſir Richard Gray, his maternal brother, and ſir John Vaughan. The queen was no ſooner informed of theſe violent proceedings, than ſhe took ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with her ſon, the duke of York, and all her other children; but being ſtrongly importuned to deliver up the duke, and even threatened with violence in caſe of refuſal, ſhe at laſt ſurrendered him, though with extreme reluctance, into the hands of the miniſters.

Richard having now got the two young princes into his power, carried them immediately to the tower, under pretence of preparing for the king's coronation, but, in reality, with a view of putting the finiſhing hand to his own ambitious project. For this purpoſe, he ſpread a report, to the diſgrace of his mother, who was ſtill alive, and was a princeſs of the moſt irreproachable virtue, that ſhe had admitted to her bed different lovers, who were the fathers of the late king and the duke of Clarence; that their reſemblance to thoſe gallants was a ſufficient proof of their ſpurious birth; and that he alone, of all her ſons, appeared, by his features and countenance, to be the lawful iſſue of the duke of York. And he further added, that king Edward, his brother, previous

vious to his nuptials with Elizabeth Woodville, had been privately married to Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury; and that the princes, his nephews, were therefore illegitimate. When he thought he had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the people by theſe falſe and ſcandalous reports, he employed Dr. Shaw, the mayor's brother, to preach on the ſubject in St. Paul's church, hoping that when he himſelf entered, the aſſembly would ſalute him king; but, to his great ſurprize, they obſerved a profound ſilence. He then ordered the duke of Buckingham to harangue the citizens (who were aſſembled by the mayor) in expectation, that, moved by his grace's eloquence, they would proclaim him king; but this attempt proved as unſucceſsful as the former. At laſt ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's ſervants, raiſed a feeble cry of *God ſave king Richard!* and this was immediately laid hold of as a general and national conſent.

HAVING now obtained what they called the ſanction of a popular election, they repaired to Baynard's, where the protector reſided, in order to make him a tender of the crown. When Richard was told, that a great multitude was in the court, he refuſed to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety; a circumſtance taken notice of by Buckingham, who obſerved to the citizens, that the prince was ignorant of the whole deſign. At laſt he was perſuaded to ſtep forth, but he ſtill kept at a diſtance, and aſked the meaning of their intruſion and importunity. Buckingham told him, that the nation was reſolved to have him for king. The protector declared his purpoſe of maintaining his loyalty to the preſent ſovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the ſame reſolution. He was told, that the people were determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they muſt look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be refuſed; he was prevailed on to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and lawful ſovereign.

THIS ridiculous farce was followed by a ſcene truly tragical; viz. the murder of the two young princes. Richard ſent orders to ſir Robert Brackenbury, conſtable of the tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refuſing to have any hand in the infamous office, Richard commanded him to reſign the government of the tower to ſir James Tyrrel, for one night only. This ruffian, chooſing three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Forreſt, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged, and ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bade them execute their commiſſion,

miſſion, while he himſelf ſtayed without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a ſound ſleep. After ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who cauſed them to be buried at the ſtair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of ſtones. Theſe circumſtances were all confeſſed by the actors in the reign of Henry VII. and they were never puniſhed for the crime; probably becauſe Henry wiſhed to eſtabliſh it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning ſovereign ought to juſtify every action in thoſe who paid obedience to them. The bones of the princes were diſcovered in 1674, and were removed by order of Charles II. to Weſtminſter-Abbey, where they were interred among thoſe of the Engliſh monarchs. A monument was afterwards erected to their memory.

CHAP. XXII.

RICHARD III.

A. D. 1483. THE firſt acts of Richard's reign were the beſtowing of favours upon thoſe who had aſſiſted him in uſurping the crown. Thomas, lord Howard, was created duke of Norfolk; ſir Thomas Howard, his ſon, earl of Surrey; and lord Lovel was advanced to the dignity of a viſcount. But the perſon, that both merited and received the greateſt marks of diſtinction, was the duke of Buckingham, who was conſtituted conſtable of England, and inveſted with the poſſeſſion of the whole Hereford eſtate.

IT was impoſſible, however, that friendſhip could long remain inviolate between two men of ſuch corrupt minds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham. Hiſtorians are not agreed as to the firſt cauſe of their quarrel; but it is univerſally admitted, that ſoon after Richard's acceſſion, Buckingham began to form a deſign for depoſing the tyrant, and raiſing to the throne Henry, earl of Richmond, who was then in Bretagne. This young nobleman was the ſon of Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, by a ſpurious line, but legitimated by act of parliament; and as all the legitimate branches of the Lancaſtrian race were now extinct, Richmond was thus the ſole repreſentative of that royal family.

IN order to render this ſcheme the more agreeable to all parties, and conſequently to give it the better chance of ſucceeding,

ceeding, one of the chief articles of it was, that Richmond ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. by which means the titles of York and Lancaſter would be happily united. The project, however, had like to have been defeated by one of thoſe untoward accidents, to which all human affairs are liable. Richard diſcovered the plot, and ſummoned Buckingham to repair to court, when that nobleman, inſtead of obeying the order, aſſembled his forces; but being deſerted by his army, he took refuge in the houſe of an old ſervant of his own, named Banniſter, who betrayed him; after which he was carried to Shrewſbury, and there beheaded. The earl of Richmond had collected in foreign parts an army of 5000 men, with which he ſet ſail from St. Malo's, intending to ſecond the inſurrection of Buckingham; but meeting with a ſtorm at ſea, he was prevented from reaching the Engliſh coaſt till the rebellion was ſuppreſſed; and he therefore deſiſted, for the preſent, from the proſecution of the enterprize.

About two years afterwards, however, he procured a body of 2000 men from Charles VIII. of France, to whoſe court he had gone; *A. D.* 1485. and taking his departure from Harfleur, he landed, after a ſafe paſſage, at Milford-Haven, in Wales. He was inſtantly joined by a good body of Welſh forces under the command of ſir Thomas ap Rice. The lord Stanley too, and his brother, ſir William, raiſed an army of 7000 men, with which they propoſed to aſſiſt him, but did not chuſe to declare their intention at preſent, as lord Strange, Stanley's eldeſt ſon, was then in the hands of Richard, as an hoſtage. The king was no ſooner informed of this invaſion, than he ſet out in queſt of the enemy; and coming up with them, on the 22d of Auguſt, at Boſworth, near Leiceſter, a battle enſued, in which the victory was for ſome time doubtful; but lord Stanley declaring in favour of Richmond, turned the balance entirely againſt Richard. The intrepid tyrant, ſenſible of his danger, caſt his eye round the field, and deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, he drove againſt him with fury, in hopes, that either his death or Henry's would decide the controverſy between them. He killed with his own hands ſir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to the earl: he diſmounted ſir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himſelf, who declined not the combat; when ſir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the laſt moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and periſhed by a fate too mild and honourable for his numerous and deteſtable crimes. His men every where

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ſought for ſafety by flight. Richard's body was found in the field, covered with dead enemies, and all beſmeared with blood; it was thrown careleſly acroſs a horſe; was carried to Leiceſter, amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting ſpectators; and was privately interred in the Gray Friars church of that place; though Henry, out of reſpect to his family, ordered a monument to be erected over his grave.

THE character of this prince is but too evident from the hiſtory of his reign. He was one of the moſt cruel, treacherous, and blood-thirſty tyrants, that ever diſgraced the Engliſh throne. Nor were the members of his body leſs deformed than the qualities of his mind. His ſtature was ſmall, his aſpect cloudy, ſevere, and forbidding; one of his arms (as we have already obſerved) was withered, and one ſhoulder higher than the other; whence he acquired the ſurname of *Crook-back*. It muſt be owned, however, that he had great perſonal courage; poſſeſſed an uncommon degree of ſagacity and penetration; and cauſed juſtice to be exactly adminiſtered, except where his own intereſt was concerned.

RICHARD was married to Anne, ſecond daughter to Nevil, the great earl of Warwick: ſhe died in 1484, of poiſon, as is ſuppoſed, given her by her huſband. He had by her one ſon, named Edward, whom he created prince of Wales, and who died a little before his mother. He had likewiſe two illegitimate children, John of Glouceſter, and Catharine, married to William, earl of Huntingdon.

ONE of the moſt remarkable events that happened during the preceding reigns, was the diſcovery of Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, which, after having been long loſt, were accidentally found, in 1130, in the town of Amalfi, in Italy; and the ſtudy of theſe laws, which ſoon became general, contributed, more perhaps than any other circumſtance, to poliſh and refine the barbarous manners of the age. The art of printing too was invented about 1450, and that of making gunpowder about one hundred, ſome ſay two hundred years earlier. The firſt of theſe tended greatly to the improvement of learning, and the latter changed the whole art of war.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

HENRY VII.

THE earl of Richmond had no ſooner gained the victory on Boſworth-field, *A. D.* 1485. than he was ſaluted king of England by the whole army; and in order to beſtow ſome appearance of formality on this military election, ſir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in battle, and was found among the ſpoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Nor was it long before his coronation was performed in reality; and at this ceremony he introduced a novelty, which tended to encreaſe the ſplendour of the ſcene, and contributed, at the ſame time, to his perſonal ſafety. He inſtituted a body of fifty archers, called yeomen of the guard, to be in continual attendance upon him; and this band has been kept up by all his ſucceſſors, who have encreaſed the number to one hundred, beſides ſeventy ſupernumeraries; and when any one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up from among the ſeventy.

THERE raged at that time, in London and other parts of the kingdom, a ſpecies of malady unknown to any other age or nation, called the ſweating ſickneſs, which occaſioned the ſudden death of great numbers of perſons. In leſs than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the peſtilence had exerted its full fury for a few weeks, it was obſerved, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen, to be conſiderably abated.

IN order to execute the engagement, which Henry had come under in his treaty with the duke of Buckingham, previous to his mounting the throne, he now eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of King Edward IV. by which marriage the contending families of York and Lancaſter were happily reconciled, and an end was put to the civil wars and convulſions, which the oppoſite intereſts of theſe rival houſes had for a long time produced.

SUCH, however, is the inveterate nature of faction, that, when once it has taken deep root, it cannot be extirpated, even when the cauſes, which originally gave riſe to it, have been completely removed. The adherents of the York family ſeized every opportunity of diſturbing Henry in the poſſeſſion of the throne, and they even ſtirred up two ſpurious pretenders to diſpute with him that high dignity.

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THE firſt of theſe was one Lambert Simnel, a young ſtudent in the univerſity of Oxford, and ſon to a baker. As he was a youth of bright parts, and genteel addreſs, and reſembled extremely the young earl of Warwick (ſon to the late duke of Clarence) who was impriſoned in the tower, it was determined to make him perſonate that nobleman. For this purpoſe, one Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, a man of ſome ſubtlety, and ſtill more ambition, undertook to inſtruct him. When he was thought to be properly qualified for the part he was to act, he was carried over, by his tutor, to Ireland, where he was inſtantly recognized as earl of Warwick; and the people, who adored the memory of Clarence, who had been their lord lieutenant, not ſatisfied with this mark of their attachment to his ſuppoſed ſon, crowned him with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the virgin, and they publickly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. In the ardour of their zeal, they forgot the daughters of Edward IV. who plainly ſtood before Warwick in the order of ſucceſſion.

BUT Simnel's title was not acknowledged by the Iriſh alone: it was likewiſe recognized by Margaret of York, ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy, and ſiſter to Edward IV. a profeſſed enemy of the houſe of Lancaſter, who ſent him a body of 2000 Germans; and he was ſoon after joined by John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln (ſon to the earl of Suffolk, and to Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV.) as alſo by the lord Lovel, and ſeveral other noblemen.

FINDING himſelf now at the head of a conſiderable army, he paſſed over to England, and advanced into the heart of the country; but being encountered by the king's forces at Stoke, in Nottinghamſhire, his troops were entirely defeated; the earl of Lincoln, ſir Thomas Broughton, and Swart, commander of the Germans, periſhed in the field of battle. As Lovel was never heard of more, he was ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate. Simnel and his tutor were taken priſoners. The tutor being a prieſt, was not tried at law, and was only committed to cloſe cuſtody. Simnel was too contemptible to excite either the apprehenſion or reſentment of Henry. He was therefore pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

A. D. 1487.

THE next interruption to the public tranquillity aroſe from an inſurrection of the people in the north, who had never been perfectly reconciled to Henry's title and government, and who being now provoked at ſome heavy taxes impoſed upon them, took up arms, and having murdered the earl of Northumberland,

land, who endeavoured to enforce the collection of the duties, they placed ſir John Egremont at their head, and began to advance towards London. They were ſtopt, however, by the earl of Surrey, whom Henry had diſpatched with a ſmall body of forces in order to oppoſe them, intending himſelf to follow with a much larger army; but Surrey thinking he was more than a match for ſuch an ill-armed and undiſciplined a rabble, ſuddenly fell upon them, and put them to the rout. Sir John Egremont fled to the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who gave him protection. John Achamber, a ſeditious fellow, who had a capital hand in ſtirring up the mob, was taken and executed, as were a few of his accomplices. The reſt of the inſurgents were indulged with a pardon.

HENRY was reſtrained by his œconomy, or, more properly ſpeaking, by his parſimony, from engaging much in foreign expeditions; and the only enterpriſes, that deſerve that name, were conducted in ſuch a manner, as to tend rather to the repleniſhing than the emptying of his coffers. He tranſported a body of 6000 men into Brittany, in order to aſſiſt the duke in oppoſing the progreſs of the French king, who had invaded his country, with a view of making an entire conqueſt of it, and compelling Anne, his only child and heireſs, to accept of him for a huſband; and though it was ſo much his intereſt to prevent ſuch an addition to the French monarchy, yet this was all the aid he afforded for the purpoſe; and even this he could not be prevailed upon to give, but on ſuch hard conditions, as if he had been lending his troops to a neutral power for hire, inſtead of furniſhing them to a natural ally. And when he found that the Engliſh were enraged at the ambition, and alarmed at the power of the French monarch, he pretended to be actuated by the like ſentiments, and reſolved to make theſe paſſions of his people a handle for extorting money from them, as he had already ſqueezed it from foreigners. *A. D.* 1489.

WITH this view he began to prepare for an invaſion of France, not merely, as he ſaid, to check the growing grandeur of that monarchy, but with a ſerious and deliberate deſign to aſſert his claim to the French crown, to which he alledged he had a juſt title. His ſubjects, charmed with the magnanimity of theſe ſentiments, readily granted him the ſupplies he demanded; and this they did the rather, as he ſolemnly aſſured them, that if once he was landed in France, he would make the war maintain itſelf. Nor was it long before he convinced them, that theſe vaunts were well founded; though in a manner, indeed, extremely different from what they had at firſt been led to expect. For though he invaded

France

France with an army of 27,000 men, yet, without ever coming to a battle, without even waiting for the ſight of an enemy, without undertaking a ſingle military enterprize, except the ſiege of Boulogne, which, however, he did not reduce, he lent a willing ear to the firſt propoſals of peace that were made: and theſe, indeed, in a pecuniary view, were very advantageous. They were, that Henry ſhould receive from the French king the ſum of 745,000 crowns, near 400,000l. of our preſent money, and that both he and his heirs ſhould receive from the ſame prince an annual penſion of 25,000 crowns. Thus Henry, as remarked by lord Bacon, made profit upon his ſubjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. And the people agreed, that he had fulfilled his promiſe, when he ſaid to the parliament, that he would make the war maintain itſelf.

THE dutcheſs of Burgundy, who was rather irritated than diſcouraged by the bad ſucceſs of Simnel's adventure, reſolved to make one effort more for diſturbing the tranquillity of Henry's government; and with this view ſhe ſtirred up another pretender to his throne. The perſon ſhe now pitched upon was Perkin Warbeck, ſon of one Oſbeck, or Warbeck, a converted jew of Tournay, and of Catharine de la Farre, who having come over to England about ſome buſineſs in the reign of Edward IV. had there this child born to them, to whom they gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemiſh manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. The youth ſpoke the Engliſh language with great fluency, had an elegant ſhape, a beautiful countenance, a graceful air, and a courtly addreſs; in a word, was poſſeſſed of ſo many accompliſhments, that it ſeemed to be extremely eaſy to paſs him upon the world for Richard, duke of York, brother to Edward V. both of whom as we have already obſerved, were murdered in the tower, by order of their uncle, Richard III. It was now pretended however, that the aſſaſſins, after putting to death the elder brother, were ſtruck with ſuch remorſe for the crime they had committed, that they ſpared the life of the younger, and ſuffered him to eſcape.

THE dutcheſs took care to inſtruct Perkin in the part he was to act; and when ſhe thought he was properly qualified, in order to conceal her deſign from the world, ſhe ſent him into Portugal. There he continued a twelvemonth; at the end of which a war breaking out between Henry VII. and Charles VIII. of France, the latter invited Perkin to his court, where he was received as duke of York; but a peace being ſoon after concluded, Perkin was obliged to abandon that country. He now, therefore, repaired to the dutcheſs

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of Burgundy, and craving her protection and aſſiſtance, he offered to lay before her all the proofs of his royal birth. The dutcheſs, as had been originally preconcerted, affected to be entirely ignorant of his pretenſions; ſhe even put on the appearance of diſtruſt; ſeemed to examine every circumſtance with the moſt ſcrupulous nicety; aſked him a great many queſtions; pretended aſtoniſhment at his anſwers; and at laſt, after a long and ſevere ſcrutiny, burſt out into joy and admiration at his wonderful delivery, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the ſole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne.

In order to enable him to make good his pretenſions, ſhe furniſhed him with a body of troops, with which he made a deſcent, firſt in Kent, and afterwards in Ireland; but not ſucceeding in either of theſe enterprizes, he retired with a few followers into Scotland. There he met with a very favourable reception. James IV. who then governed that kingdom, ſeems even to have believed the ſtory of his birth, and gave him in marriage Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinſwoman of his own. He likewiſe aſſiſted him in making two invaſions into England; but both theſe attempts proving unſucceſsful, James ordered him to depart the kingdom, and concluded a peace with Henry.

Perkin, therefore, whoſe impoſture was now pretty generally known, was obliged to return to Ireland; but he had not continued long there when an incident happened in England that encouraged him once more to try his fortune in this country. The inhabitants of Cornwall, provoked at a heavy and oppreſſive tax, had riſen in arms; they had even advanced as far as Blackheath, where they fought a battle with the king's forces; but though they were defeated, and were moſt of them taken priſoners, they were all permitted to return home, except lord Audley, and two of their other leaders, who were immediately executed. This unuſual lenity, however, did not extinguiſh the diſcontents among them; they ſtill continued ripe for ſome freſh inſurrection; and Perkin hearing of this circumſtance, preſently came among them, and offered to conduct them to the redreſs of their wrongs, and the revenge of their injuries. He aſſembled a body of about 3000 of them, and was ſo much elated with this ſucceſs, that he aſſumed, for the firſt time, the title of king of England, under the appellation of Richard IV. He then laid ſiege to the city of Exeter; but hearing that Henry was advancing againſt him, he ſuddenly abandoned the enterprize, and took ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Beuley, in the New Foreſt.

He was perſuaded ſoon after, upon promiſe of pardon, to

leave that retreat, and was committed to cloſe cuſtody. He afterwards made his eſcape, and took refuge in the monaſtery of Shyne, the prior of which obtained for him a freſh pardon. He was then ſet in the ſtocks in Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and obliged, in both places, to read aloud to the people the confeſſion of his impoſture. After this, he was thrown into the Tower; but having entered into a conſpiracy with the earl of Warwick (who was confined in the ſame priſon) to effect his eſcape, by murdering the lieutenant, Perkin was hanged at Tyburn, and the earl beheaded.

A. D. 1499.

THE execution of this young prince, the laſt legitimate male of the line of Plantagenet, was the moſt unpopular act of Henry's reign; and he therefore endeavoured to leſſen the odium of it by ſharing with his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he ſaid, had ſcrupled to give his daughter Catharine in marriage to the prince of Wales, while there was any male branch of the houſe of York alive. But this, inſtead of allaying, ſerved ſtill further to inflame the reſentment of the public, who thus plainly perceived, that Warwick had fallen a ſacrifice, not to law and juſtice, but to the jealous politics of two ſubtle and crafty tyrants. As to the lady Catharine Gordon, Perkin Warbeck's widow, the king treated her with great generoſity; he ſoothed and comforted her in the midſt of her affliction; he placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen's perſon; and he aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed under his ſucceſſor.

WHETHER the king of Arragon had really refuſed to give his daughter Catharine to the prince of Wales, while Warwick was alive, certain it is, that the nuptials took place ſoon after the execution of that unfortunate youth. The prince of Wales was then only in his ſixteenth year; the princeſs Catharine in her eighteenth. The young prince, a few months after, ſickened and died, to the great regret of the nation. The king, deſirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and unwilling to reſtore Catharine's dowry, which was 200,000 ducats, obliged his ſecond Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the Infanta. The prince made all the oppoſition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the eſpouſals were at length, by means of the pope's diſpenſation, contracted between the parties: an event, which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences.

ABOUT the ſame time, the king's daughter, Margaret, was married to James, king of Scotland; a match, which laid the foundation

A. D. 1502.

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tion for the acceſſion of the Scottiſh line to the Engliſh crown, and in the end for the eſtabliſhment of the Brunſwick family upon the throne of Great Britain. When this marriage was deliberated on in the Engliſh council, ſome objected, that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry; "Scotland, in that event, will only become an acceſſion to England, as the leſſer kingdom muſt always become an appendage to the greater."

HENRY had been always remarkable for his avarice; and this propenſity, which was really his ruling paſſion, gradually grew upon him as he advanced in years, till at laſt it degenerated into the moſt ſhameleſs rapacity. He had two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, who were perfectly qualified to ſecond him in all his ſchemes for plundering and pillaging his ſubjects; and who, partly by the rigid execution of old and obſolete laws, partly by the perverſion and miſapplication of new and more ſalutary ones, ſo contrived to fill his coffers, that he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed in ready money the ſum of 1,800,000 pounds: a treaſure almoſt incredible, if we conſider the ſcarcity of money in thoſe times. It was nearly equal to three millions of our preſent money.

THE latter years of Henry's reign were not diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable event, except an accidental and even an involuntary viſit from Philip, king of Caſtile, who, in a voyage from the Low-countries to Spain, was driven, by ſtreſs of weather, upon the coaſt of England; and Henry laid hold of that opportunity to extort from Philip ſome important conceſſions, which he could not probably have otherwiſe obtained. His health had for ſome time been in a very declining ſtate; and he died of a conſumption on the 22d day of April, 1509, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

HENRY VII. was tall, ſtraight, and well-ſhaped, though ſlender; of a grave aſpect, and ſaturnine complexion; auſtere in his addreſs, and reſerved in converſation, except when he had a favourite point to gain, and then no man was ever more eloquent or perſuaſive. He loved peace without fearing war; though filled with continual ſuſpicions of his ſervants and miniſters, he diſcovered no timidity either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often ſevere in his puniſhments, he was commonly leſs actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. He poſſeſſed, in a peculiar manner, the art of turning all his domeſtic troubles, and all his foreign diſputes, to his own advantage; hence he acquired the appellation of the *Engliſh Solomon*, and was univerſally allowed to be the wiſeſt crowned head at that time in Europe. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that, with all his good quali-

ties, he was inſatiably covetous; and this paſſion he gratified always at the expence of his people's happineſs, ſometimes to the endangering of his own peace and tranquillity.

By his queen, Elizabeth, he had three ſons and four daughters, viz. Arthur, who died before him in the ſeventeenth year of his age; Henry, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Edward, who did not live to the years of diſcretion. Of his daughters, Elizabeth and Catharine died in their childhood; Margaret eſpouſed James IV. king of Scotland; and Mary, who had been betrothed to Charles, archduke of Auſtria, was married to Lewis XII. king of France; and, after his death, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Many ſalutary laws were enacted in this reign; but the moſt important one was that, by which the nobility and gentry were allowed to break the ancient entails, and alienate their eſtates; by which means the great fortunes of the barons were diminiſhed, and the property of the commons conſiderably increaſed.

Several ſtatutes were likewiſe made againſt engaging retainers, and giving them badges and liveries; a practice, by which they were, in a manner, inliſted under ſome great lord, and were kept in readineſs to aſſiſt him in all wars, inſurrections, riots, tumults, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of juſtice.

The king was extremely exact in inforcing the laws againſt this abuſe. There is a ſtory of his ſeverity in this particular; and it ſeems to merit praiſe, though it is commonly cited as an inſtance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deſerved confidence, having ſplendidly entertained him at his caſtle of Heningham, was deſirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal gueſt; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and ſplendid. "My lord," ſaid the king, "I have heard much of your hoſpitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are, no doubt, your menial ſervants." The earl ſmiled, and confeſſed, that his fortune was too narrow for ſuch magnificence. "They are moſt of them," ſubjoined he, "my retainers, who are come to do me ſervice at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majeſty's preſence." The king ſtarted a little, and ſaid, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I muſt not allow my laws to be broken in my ſight. My attorney muſt ſpeak with you." Oxford is ſaid to have paid no leſs than 14,000 marks, as a compoſition for his offence.

Henry

HENRY left ſeveral conſiderable monuments behind him. He built the chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey, which ſtill goes by his name, where he himſelf was interred, and which has ever ſince continued to be the burial place of all the Engliſh monarchs. He likewiſe rebuilt the palace of Shene, which had been conſumed by fire, and he gave it the name of Richmond, which it ſtill retains. He founded a chapel in Windſor, and ſeveral monaſteries of Dominicans and Franciſcans. He turned into an hoſpital the palace of the Savoy, built under Henry III. by Peter, earl of Savoy. And he expended 14,000 pounds in building a large veſſel, called the *Great Harry*, which was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. In former times, whenever the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or preſſing ſhips from the merchants.

IN 1492, Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe by birth, but engaged in the ſervice of Spain, diſcovered the Weſtern world, or America. A few years after, Vaſquez, a Portugueſe, paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. And in 1498, Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian, dwelling in Briſtol, ſet ſail for the Weſt, and diſcovered Newfoundland and North America, from whence he brought home ſome native Indians.

CHAP. XXIV.

HENRY VIII.

HENRY VII. was ſucceeded by his only ſurviving ſon, Henry VIII. who was then only in the eighteenth year of his age. The firſt act of his government was well calculated to enſure him popularity. It was the puniſhment of thoſe wicked miniſters, Empſom and Dudley, who, during his father's reign, had been guilty of ſuch cruel acts of extortion. They were, both of them, tried, condemned, and executed. He then ſummoned his council, in order to deliberate whether he ſhould conſummate his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, his elder brother's widow, to whom, upon the death of that prince, he had been betrothed by his father. The majority of the council declared roundly for the completion of the marriage; though this meaſure was ſtrongly oppoſed by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who affirmed, that ſuch a match could not be juſtified by any laws, human or divine. His opinion, however, was over-ruled; and the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. *A. D.* 1509.

As Henry now enjoyed the moſt perfect domeſtic tranquillity, he began to turn his attention towards foreign affairs, and he entered into a confederacy with pope Julius II. *A. D.* 1512. the Spaniards, and Venetians, againſt Lewis XII. of France; but the king of Spain deceived him, and employed the Engliſh forces in the conqueſt of Navarre. Henry, however, made another league with pope Leo X. the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand, king of Spain; but he was impoſed upon a ſecond time, and obliged to carry on the war ſingly in Picardy againſt France. This war was not attended with any event of importance. Henry, indeed, had the honour of entertaining in his pay the emperor Maximilian, who inliſted in his ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and accepted a hundred crowns a day, as one of his ſubjects and captains; and as vanity, in the early part of his life, was his ruling paſſion, this vain diſtinction, perhaps, gratified him more than the moſt ſolid advantages. He likewiſe took Terouane, Tournay, and ſome other places; and defeated the enemy in an engagement, called *the battle of the Spurs*, becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs in that action than of their ſwords or other military weapons. A concluſion, however, was put to theſe hoſtilities by a treaty of peace, which was made on the ſeventh of Auguſt of the enſuing year. The principal articles of it were, that *A. D.* 1514. Henry ſhould receive a million of crowns to indemnify him for his expences; and that his ſiſter Mary, though only ſixteen, ſhould eſpouſe the French monarch, who was in the fifty-third year of his age. The princeſs was accordingly ſent over to France, where the nuptials were ſolemnized and conſummated; but Lewis did not ſurvive that event above three months. His young widow, ſoon after, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom ſhe bore two daughters.

As the Scots had long maintained a ſtrict alliance with the French, they never failed to invade the northern counties of England, whenever the latter kingdom was engaged in a war againſt France. This was the caſe on the preſent occaſion, as indeed it had been on many others. The Scottiſh king, James IV. invaded England with an army of 50,000 men, and ravaged thoſe parts of Northumberland that lay neareſt the borders; but he was ſoon met at Flodden by the earl of Surrey, who, though only at the head of 26,000 men, bravely attacked the enemy, threw them into confuſion, killed their king, and obtained over them a complete victory.

As Henry's attention was wholly engroſſed by the parade of military expeditions, and by thoſe tilts and tournaments, which

which were the faſhionable paſtime of the age, he devolved the care of his civil affairs upon his miniſters and ſervants, and particularly on Thomas Wolſey, dean of Lincoln, who ſurpaſſed all the other courtiers in the favour and confidence of his royal maſter. This man, who afterwards roſe to ſuch a diſtinguiſhed rank, and cut ſuch a capital figure in the hiſtory of the times, was the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the Marquis of Dorſet's family as tutor to his children, and ſoon gained the friendſhip and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negociation, he acquitted himſelf to the king's ſatisfaction, and acquired the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct. That prince having given him a commiſſion to the emperor Maximilian, who then reſided at Bruſſels, was ſurpriſed, in leſs than three days after, to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him; and ſuppoſing that he delayed ſetting out upon his journey, he began to reprove him for his dilatory conduct. Wolſey informed him, that he had juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had ſucceſsfully fulfilled all his Majeſty's commands. "But, on ſecond thoughts," ſaid the king, "I found that ſomewhat was omitted in your orders; and have ſent a meſſenger after you, with fuller inſtructions." "I met the meſſenger," replied Wolſey, "on my return; but as I had reflected on the omiſſion, I ventured of myſelf to execute what, I knew, muſt be your Majeſty's intentions."

THE death of Henry, which happened ſoon after this incident, retarded, for a while, the advancement of Wolſey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion, which that monarch had entertained of him; but, upon the acceſſion of Henry VIII. he was introduced at court by Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who then held the office of chancellor, and who looked upon him as a proper perſon to be a rival to the earl of Surrey, who had eclipſed that prelate in the royal favour. In a little time, Wolſey ſupplanted both the earl and the biſhop. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleaſure, he took the lead in every jovial entertainment, and promoted all that frolic and diverſion, which he found ſo ſuitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character as a clergyman, were any reſtraints upon him, or engaged him to check, by any ill-timed ſeverity, the gaity, to which Henry was ſo much addicted.

BUT Henry was not ſatisfied with making Wolſey a partaker in his pleaſures; he likewiſe gave him a ſhare in all the

more ſerious and important concerns of government; and finding his political talents to be, in every reſpect, equal to his companionable qualities, he promoted him firſt to be a member of his council, and, in a little time after, to be his ſole and abſolute miniſter. By this rapid advancement and uncontrouled authority, the genius and character of Wolſey had full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expence; of extenſive capacity, but ſtill more unbounded enterprize; ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory; inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; leſs moved by injuries than by contempt: he was framed to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe with others, but exerted this ſuperiority of parts with ſuch oſtenſtation as expoſed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the great obſcurity and meanneſs of his original.

THIS circumſtance, however, tended only to rivet him ſtill faſter in Henry's good opinion, who continued to load him with freſh honours and dignities. He advanced him to the ſee of Lincoln, then to that of York; and by the intereſt of Francis I. of France, he was promoted to the rank of a cardinal. Henry afterwards declared him lord high chancellor, and obtained a commiſſion from the pope, nominating him legate *à latere*. Beſides the ſee of York (for he reſigned that of Lincoln) he poſſeſſed the biſhoprics of Durham and Wincheſter, and enjoyed, at very low leaſes, the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, as well as thoſe of Tournay in Flanders, and Badajox and Palencia in Caſtile. In a word, his income is ſaid to have been equal to that of the king, and he ſpent it in a no leſs royal manner. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants.

THAT he might have an opportunity of diſplaying his magnificence in foreign countries as well as his own, he perſuaded Henry to agree to an interview with the French king in the neighbourhood of Calais, which then belonged to the Engliſh. Thither accordingly the two monarchs repaired, and met in the fields near Ardres, but ſtill within the Engliſh pale; a compliment which Francis very readily paid to Henry, on account of the latter's having croſſed the ſea. Wolſey, to whom both kings had entruſted the regulation of the

the ceremonial, contrived this circumſtance, in order to do honour to his maſter. The nobility of France and England here vied with each other in the ſplendour of their dreſs and the pomp of their equipages; ſo that the place of interview was for a long time after known by the name of the *Field of Cloth of Gold*. The firſt meeting of the princes was attended with all thoſe ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſtruſt that uſually take place between rival ſovereigns; but Francis took care to put an end to a reſerve that reflected ſo much diſcredit both upon himſelf and Henry. Accompanied only by two gentlemen and a page, he one day rode directly into Guiſnes, where Henry reſided. The guards were ſurpriſed at the preſence of the monarch, who called out to them, "You are all my priſoners, carry me to your maſter." Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis, and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you have here played me the moſt agreeable trick in the world, and have ſhewed me the full confidence I may place in you; I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels, and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was twice the value of the collar. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants: and mutual confidence being thus eſtabliſhed between the monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time entirely in tournaments and feſtivals.

A DEFIANCE had been ſent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to anſwer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were gorgeouſly apparelled; and were both of them the moſt comely perſonages of their age, as well as the moſt expert in every military exerciſe. They carried away the prize at all trials of thoſe rough and dangerous paſtimes; and ſeveral horſes and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they thought proper. Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feaſted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an Engliſh archer embroidered on it: the words were, *Cui adhæreo*

hæreo præeſt; *He prevails whom I favour:* expreſſing his own ſituation, in holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In theſe entertainments, more than in any ſerious buſineſs, did the two kings paſs their time, till their departure.

A LITTLE before Henry's ſetting out for Calais, he received a viſit from the Emperor Charles V. who for that purpoſe came over to England; and he now returned the compliment to that monarch, by paying him a viſit at Gravelines, before his return to his own kingdom. It was upon this occaſion, that Charles inſpired Wolſey with the ambitious hopes of being one day able, by his intereſt, to aſcend the papal throne; hopes which, for a long time, kept the cardinal attached to the emperor's intereſt, but which that prince, however, never meant to gratify.

HITHERTO Wolſey had enjoyed a full and uninterrupted tide of proſperity; but two events were now faſt approaching, which ſerved, firſt gradually to undermine his power, and at laſt completely to effect his fall. Theſe were the reformation of religion, and the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. The firſt of theſe took its riſe in Germany. It is ſaid to have been owing to the following circumſtance. The right of ſelling indulgencies, by which the purchaſers were freed from the pains of purgatory, had formerly belonged to the Auguſtine friars; but theſe being ſuſpected of embezzling the money, that right was now transferred to the Dominican friars. Martin Luther, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, a monk of the former order, reſenting the indignity which was thus offered to him and his brethren, began to preach againſt the efficacy of indulgencies; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded to queſtion the authority even of the pope himſelf. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport theſe tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, diſcourſe, ſermons, conferences; and daily increaſed the number of his diſciples.

THE king of England was ſo far at firſt from encouraging this innovation in religion, that he endeavoured to ſupport the old eſtabliſhed doctrines by all that authority with which he was veſted. He even drew his pen on the occaſion, and he publiſhed a book againſt the principles of Luther; a work which procured him the title of *Defender* of the Faith: and this appellation has been ever ſince retained by all his ſucceſſors. It was not long, however, before Henry began to alter his opinion; and this change of ſentiment is allowed to have been owing,

owing, not to any conviction of his judgment, but to the reſentment which the king had conceived againſt the pope for refuſing to grant him the divorce he ſolicited from his queen, Catharine of Arragon.

VARIOUS reaſons are aſſigned, by different authors, for Henry's wiſhing to be divorced from his conſort. Some alledge, that he was troubled with ſcruples of conſcience for having married his brother's widow, with whom, however, he had cohabited eighteen years, and had had by her ſeveral children. Others pretend, that he was inſtigated to this meaſure by the advice of his favourite, Wolſey, who wanted to revenge himſelf on the emperor Charles V. queen Catharine's nephew, who had twice diſappointed him in his deſigns upon the papal chair. A third ſet think, that Henry, who was naturally fickle, was very much tired of being ſo long married to one woman; and, beſides, that he was deſirous of having male iſſue, all the children, whom queen Catharine had bore him, having died in their infancy, except one daughter. Perhaps all theſe motives concurred in determining Henry to this meaſure; and he was further actuated by a paſſion which he ſoon after conceived for Anne Boleyn, a young lady of the moſt amiable endowments. She was daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, and grand-daughter of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Ormond.

As no perſon at that time could grant a formal divorce except the pope, Henry applied himſelf to Clement VII. who then filled the papal chair; and it was generally ſuppoſed, that his holineſs would readily comply with his requeſt; the rather as he himſelf had been very ill uſed by the Emperor, who had ſeized his perſon, and thrown him into priſon, after having cauſed Rome to be ſacked by his forces. He gave him, it is true, ſome hopes of ſucceſs, and even adviſed him privately to marry another wife, promiſing that, when that ſtep ſhould be taken, he would ratify the meaſure: but his ſcruples to diſſolve a marriage of eighteen years continuance, concluded by virtue of a diſpenſation from a former pope, and bleſſed with ſeveral children, together with the fear of exaſperating ſtill farther ſo formidable an enemy as the emperor; theſe conſiderations induced him to alter his reſolutions.

HE granted, nevertheleſs, a commiſſion to cardinal Campeggio, an Italian, and to cardinal Wolſey, to hold a court in England, and to judge of the affair. Here the matter continued in ſuſpence for a conſiderable time, at the end of which Campeggio, who acted as the principal judge, prorogued the court, and the pope ſoon after evoked the cauſe to Rome. This was a ſtep which Henry little expected, and it therefore

filled him with ſuch indignation, that he threatened to break off all connection with the ſee of Rome. In the mean time, by the advice of Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus College, in Cambridge, he conſulted all the univerſities of Europe with regard to the validity of his marriage; and theſe learned bodies agreed in declaring, that it could not be juſtified by any laws human or divine. Encouraged by this deciſion in his favour, Henry privately eſpouſed Anne Boleyn, whom he had already created marchioneſs of Pembroke; and in a little time after, his marriage with Catharine of Arragon was annulled by Cranmer, now raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury.

THESE violent, or rather ſpirited proceedings, proved fatal to Wolſey. He had flattered Henry with the hopes of obtaining from the pope a diſſolution of his marriage; but not being able to procure that favour, the king now conceived againſt him the moſt violent animoſity, and reſolved to bring on his fall with a motion almoſt as precipitate as that with which he had raiſed him to his preſent grandeur. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to demand from him the great ſeal. He was then ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London; and which, though it really belonged to the ſee of York, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his plate and furniture were ſeized. Their riches and ſplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of ſilver; he had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold; there were found a thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to him: the reſt of his furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no ſmall inducement to this violent perſecution againſt him.

HENRY, indeed, at one time, ſeemed inclinable to relent, and he even diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of returning favour towards the cardinal; but Wolſey's enemies were too ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences of ever allowing him again to appear at court, to encourage the king to indulge him in ſuch a liberty: on the contrary, they took care, not only to keep up, but even inflame his reſentment againſt him; and Henry's mind being now completely alienated from his old favourite, he proceeded to the utmoſt extremities againſt him. He ordered the earl of Northumberland to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. Accordingly Wolſey, who then reſided at Cawood in Yorkſhire, began his journey for the metropolis, under the care of ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the tower, who had him in cuſtody. This laſt place, however, he was never able to reach. He was

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ſeized with a dyſentery on the road, and was obliged to ſtop at Leiceſter-abbey. When the abbot and monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and reverence, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never roſe more. A little before he expired, he addreſſed himſelf to ſir William Kingſton in the following terms: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him, on my behalf, to call to mind all matters that have paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially with regard to his buſineſs with the queen; and then will he know in his conſcience whether I have offended him. *A. D.* 1530.

"He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; but rather than he will miſs or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.

"I do aſſure you, that I have often kneeled before him, and ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head; for you can never put it out again."

Immediately after the diſſolution of the king's marriage, a parliament was aſſembled, and there ſeveral ſtatutes were made, by which it was enacted, that, for the future, no perſon ſhould appeal to the court of Rome in any cauſe whatſoever; but that all cauſes eccleſiaſtical ſhould be determined by the prelates within the realm: that neither firſt fruits, annates, or Peter's pence, ſhould be any longer paid into the apoſtolic chamber; nor palls, nor bulls for biſhoprics, nor diſpenſations of any kind, procured from the ſee of Rome: and that whoever dared to infringe theſe ſtatutes, ſhould be liable to the penalties of the act of *præmunire*.

The pope was highly enraged when he heard of theſe proceedings, and threatened Henry with the ſentence of excommunication, unleſs he would acknowledge his fault by taking back his wife, queen Catharine, and replacing every thing on its former footing. The French king, however, interpoſed his good offices; and, in an interview which he had with the pope at Marſeilles, he prevailed on his holineſs to ſuſpend the excommunication till ſuch time as he ſhould have exerted his influence with the Engliſh monarch, in order to make him

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ſubmit to the papal ſee. To bring him, if poſſible, to this temper of mind, Francis ſent John de Bellay, biſhop of Paris, to London; and that prelate executed his commiſſion with ſo much prudence, that Henry promiſed to ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it; for theſe being attached to the Emperor's intereſt, and conſequently to that of his aunt queen Catharine, could not be ſuppoſed to be impartial judges.

BELLAY, having carried this point, immediately ſet out for Rome, in order to perſuade the pope to agree to this condition. Clement very readily gave his conſent, but inſiſted that Henry ſhould ſign a written agreement to the ſame purpoſe; and he fixed a day for the return of the courier, who was diſpatched to England with this inſtrument: but the meſſenger not returning at the time appointed, and news being brought to Rome, that a farce had been acted before Henry in deriſion of the pope and cardinals, Clement in a rage entered the conſiſtory, and, by a precipitate ſentence, confirmed the marriage of Henry with Catharine, and declared that prince to be excommunicated, in caſe he refuſed to adhere to it.

THIS violent meaſure proved fatal to the intereſts of the Romiſh church; for though upon the arrival of the courier, which happened two days after the paſſing of the ſentence, the pope repented heartily of what he had done, he found it would be impoſſible to appeaſe king Henry, who now threw off all dependence on the ſee of Rome, and reſolved to aboliſh entirely the papal authority in England. With this view he aſſembled a parliament, which declared the king *ſupreme head on earth of the church of England*; gave him a right to the firſt fruits and tenths of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome; granted him a power of appointing biſhops by a *congé d' elire*, and, in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; ſubjected monaſteries to his viſitation and government; moderated the law for puniſhing heretics; deprived all perſons charged with treaſon of the privilege of ſanctuary; declared the king's marriage with Catharine unlawful; ratified the primate's ſentence annulling it; and confirmed and eſtabliſhed the marriage with queen Anne.

To enforce the execution of theſe ſtatutes, eſpecially of the firſt, Henry exacted from all his ſubjects an acknowledgment of his ſupremacy; and whoever refuſed to give him this mark of their ſubmiſſion, were ſure to feel the effects of his higheſt indignation. This was particularly the caſe with the learned and virtuous ſir Thomas More, late lord chancellor, and John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, who had been the king's tutor,

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and was juſt advanced to the dignity of a cardinal. The great character, which both of theſe men bore with the public, and which ſhould naturally have excited Henry's veneration, was probably the very reaſon that induced him to make them the firſt examples of his vengeance, and of the little indulgence which any one had to expect that dared to queſtion his newly-acquired title. For this offence, which, by a forced kind of reaſoning, was conſtrued into treaſon, both More and Fiſher were brought to the block. Fiſher was the firſt that ſuffered; and he ſupported himſelf, in theſe trying moments, with a courage and magnanimity that might naturally have been expected from the whole courſe of his paſt life. More diſcovered the ſame unſhaken fortitude; nay, he preſerved, to the very laſt, his wonted chearfulneſs, and even his pleaſantry. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking his forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard; "For," ſaid he, "it never committed treaſon." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cauſe, more free from weakneſs and ſuperſtition. But as the man followed his principles and ſenſe of duty, however miſguided, his conſtancy and integrity are not leſs the objects of admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

THE execution of More, and particularly of Fiſher, excited the higheſt reſentment in the breaſt of Paul III. who had now ſucceeded Clement VII. on the papal throne. He cited Henry to appear at Rome, within ninety days, in order to anſwer for his crimes; and no regard being paid to this ſummons, he iſſued againſt him the ſentence of excommunication, and cauſed it to be fixed up in all the uſual places. This event happened in a little time after the death of More and Fiſher; and it completely put an end to the ſuperiority of the pope over the church of England. It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe innovations could be all introduced without oppoſition. The laity indeed, in general, and even the ſecular clergy, approved of them moſt heartily; but the monks, who foreſaw their own ruin in the deſtruction of the papal power, raiſed a furious outcry againſt them: they even incited the populace to make three inſurrections; theſe, however, were eaſily ſuppreſſed, and ſome of the ringleaders ſeverely puniſhed. *A. D.* 1535.

IT is ſomewhat remarkable, that though Henry had broken his connection with the ſee of Rome, he was yet in every thing, except

except that of acknowledging the pope's ſovereignty, a moſt bigotted Catholic; and he even cauſed ſeveral proteſtants to be burned for embracing the new doctrines. In a little time, however, his ſentiments varied: indeed they were ſo continually changing, that it was difficult to ſay, at any particular period, what they really were. He firſt publiſhed a book, called *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, containing one ſet of tenets; and he inſiſted upon the whole nation's ſubſcribing to theſe opinions. Some time after, however, he altered his mind, and publiſhed another book, called *The Education of a Chriſtian Man*, containing a ſet of doctrines very different from the former. The king was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in his old, and he required the belief of the people to veer about at his ſignal. Changeable, however, as he might be in his theological ſentiments, he was always uniform in thoſe of a political nature. In both the above works he took particular care to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience, and he was no leſs careful to retain the nation in the practice.

HAPPY as Henry, for ſome time, undoubtedly was in the poſſeſſion of his new queen, Anne, he did not long perſevere in his attachment to her. Indeed he ſeems to have been incapable of entertaining a pure and delicate paſſion towards any woman. His love of the ſex deſerved another name: it was an appetite, and not a paſſion. He had lately fallen in love (as he called it) with a young lady, named Jane Seymour, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen, and who had acquired ſuch an entire aſcendant over him, that he determined to raiſe her to his bed and throne.

IN order to pave the way for this new marriage, he reſolved to get rid of his preſent conſort; and, with this view, he lent a willing ear to every malicious report that was propagated againſt her. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that in ſuch troubleſome times, and amidſt ſuch rapid and violent changes of religion, queen Anne, who was ſtrongly attached to the new doctrines, could be perfectly free from enemies. She was accuſed of a criminal commerce with Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, and with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber: ſhe was even charged with having committed inceſt with her own brother, the viſcount of Rocheford; and though no proof, nor any thing even approaching to a proof, could ever be produced againſt her, ſhe was declared guilty, and condemned to be either burned or beheaded, at the king's pleaſure. When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O Father, O Creator! thou who art

art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this fate." And then, turning to the judges, made the moſt pathetic declarations of her innocence.

SHE was too ſenſible, however, of Henry's cruel and unforgiving temper, to think of being able to divert him from the execution of the ſentence. She made, it is true, ſome feeble efforts for that purpoſe; but finding, as indeed ſhe had reaſon to expect, his ſavage mind to be altogether inflexible, ſhe began to prepare for ſuffering that death to which ſhe was doomed. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which ſhe owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement. From a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. "The executioner," ſaid ſhe to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very ſlender:" upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obſtinacy of queen Catharine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary. Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed, in theſe laſt moments, over the indignation which ſhe muſt naturally have felt at that unjuſt ſentence, by which ſhe ſuffered. She ſaid, that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced by the law: ſhe would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a cheſt of elm tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the tower.

NOTWITHSTANDING the venality of the peers, by whom ſhe was condemned, the nation at large conſidered her as innocent; and Henry himſelf made the beſt apology for her by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution. His impatience to gratify this new paſſion cauſed him to forget all regard

regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not ſoftened a moment by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affections. He was not even ſatisfied with her death, unleſs he wreaked his vengeance upon the innocent fruit of her womb. He procured a divorce from her a little before ſhe ſuffered; and thus endeavoured to baſtardize Elizabeth, the only child whom queen Anne bore him, in the ſame manner as he had formerly baſtardized Mary, the only child he had by queen Catharine.

HENRY having proceeded ſo far in delivering the church of England from its ſlaviſh ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, reſolved to render it entirely independent; and as he conſidered monkery as the chief ſupport of the papal power, he determined to put an end to that inſtitution. To this he was prompted not merely by his reſentment to the pope, but likewiſe by his avarice. The monks were poſſeſſed of very rich revenues, and theſe he was deſirous of bringing into his own coffers.

IN order to pave the way for this great innovation, he appointed a viſitation of the monaſteries, under the direction of Thomas Cromwell, who, from the low rank of a blackſmith's ſon at Putney, had riſen, by the intereſt of Wolſey, and the partiality of Henry, to be ſecretary of ſtate, vicar-general, or vicegerent in matters eccleſiaſtical, earl of Eſſex, lord privy-ſeal, lord chamberlain, maſter of the wards, and knight of the garter. This man, aſſiſted by ſome inferior commiſſioners, Layton, London, Price, Gage, and others, carried on a ſevere ſcrutiny into the conduct of the nuns and friars, and he is ſaid to have diſcovered among them the moſt ſhocking diſorders; whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs, the monks accomplices in their crimes, pious frauds every where practiſed to increaſe the devotion and liberality of the people, and cruel and inveterate factions maintained among the members of many of theſe communities.

THE reliques, that were found in ſome of the convents, were of a very ſingular nature; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin ſhewn in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of the ſhirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury; ſome reliques, an excellent preventive againſt rain; and others, a remedy to weeds in corn.

THERE were alſo diſcovered, in ſome of the monaſteries, impoſtures of a more artificial kind, and more likely to gain credit with the people. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, the monks had pretended to ſhew, during ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt, brought from Jeruſalem. This blood was not viſible

viſible to any in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to him. At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it into a phial, one ſide of which was thin and tranſparent chryſtal, the other thick and obſcure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, near exhauſted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

At Boxely, in Kent, there was a miraculous crucifix, which bore the appellation of the *Rod of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image, moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilſey, biſhop of Rocheſter, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's croſs, and ſhewed to the whole people the ſprings and wheels, by which it had been ſecretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was alſo brought to London, and cut in pieces; and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn one friar Foreſt, who was puniſhed for denying the king's ſupremacy, and for ſome pretended hereſies. A finger of St. Andrew's, covered with a thin plate of ſilver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; and as the king's commiſſioners refuſed to pay the debt, the people made themſelves merry with the poor creditor, on account of his pledge.

But of all the inſtruments of ancient ſuperſtition, no one was ſo zealouſly deſtroyed as the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This ſaint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account alſo the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberleſs were the miracles, which, they pretended, his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raiſed his body once a-year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his tranſlation, was a general holiday. Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which laſted fifteen days. Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that viſited his tomb; and a hundred thouſand pilgrims have been regiſtered at a time in Canterbury.

The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin: for it is to be obſerved, that the papiſts paid greater reſpect to the Virgin, than they did either to God or our Saviour. At God's altar,

altar, for inſtance, there were offered in one year three pounds two ſhillings and ſixpence; at the Virgin's, ſixty-three pounds five ſhillings and ſix-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and three-pence. But next year the diſproportion was ſtill greater. There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one ſhilling and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got for his ſhare nine hundred and fifty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and three-pence. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had beſtowed on the ſhrine a jewel, eſteemed the richeſt in chriſtendom.

IT is evident how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine, dedicated to St. Thomas. He made the ſaint himſelf be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office for his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the aſhes to be thrown into the air.

HAVING thus rendered the monaſteries at once the object of contempt and deteſtation, Henry found no great difficulty in reconciling the minds of the people to their entire abolition. He firſt attacked the leſſer convents, and about *A. D.* 1538. two years after he did the ſame with the greater. The whole number that he ſuppreſſed amounted to ſix hundred and forty-five, beſides ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. The annual revenues of theſe eſtabliſhments were valued at one hundred and ninety-three thouſand one hundred pounds; but it is difficult to ſay what they would amount to at preſent. The whole lands and poſſeſſions of England were then rated at four millions a-year; ſo that the revenues of the monaſteries did not amount to the twentieth part of the national income; a much leſs ſum than is commonly imagined. The king likewiſe found in the monaſteries, goods, chattels, and plate, to the value of a hundred thouſand pounds. Out of the ſpoils of theſe religious houſes, Henry erected ſix new biſhoprics, viz. Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter; of which the laſt five ſubſiſt at this day.

THOUGH Henry aboliſhed the authority of the pope, he ſeems only to have ſubſtituted his own in its place; he was determined to be pope in his own dominions. He boldly pretended to the ſame infallibility that was claimed by his holineſs; and whatever ſyſtem of opinions he embraced, (and he was embracing

embracing a new one almoſt every day) he expected that his ſubjects ſhould adopt the ſame to the very laſt tittle. He now publiſhed the heads of his belief, and he delivered them in a law, called the law of the ſix articles, and which the proteſtants afterwards, from its horrid conſequences, very juſtly denominated the bloody ſtatute. By this law it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied tranſubſtantiation, whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was neceſſary, whoever aſſerted that it was lawful for prieſts to marry, whoever alledged that vows of chaſtity might be broken, whoever maintained that private maſſes were unprofitable, or that auricular confeſſion was unneceſſary, ſhould be declared guilty of hereſy, and burned or hanged as the court ſhould determine.

This law was totally inconſiſtent with ſome of the ordinances formerly publiſhed by Henry, and which ſtill remained unrepealed; ſo that both proteſtants and papiſts were ſubject to the penalties of the various ſtatutes promulgated by that monarch: and it was no uncommon thing to ſee two perſons burning in the ſame flames for entertaining opinions that were directly oppoſite. The law of the ſix articles could not be ſaid to be a dead letter: it was ſoon after executed with the moſt unrelenting ſeverity, as was likewiſe that which aſſerted the king's ſupremacy; ſo that a foreigner, who was then in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged. Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter in London, was burned for denying the real preſence; and Dr. Barnes, who was inſtrumental in bringing him to his end, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment for admitting it only in a ſpiritual ſenſe. With Barnes ſuffered Jerome and Gerrard for the ſame crime. Theſe three were carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was alſo executed for his religion. The catholics, whoſe names were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powell, declared, that the moſt grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled to ſuch heretical miſcreants as now ſuffered with them.

But one of the moſt important parts of Henry's reign is the hiſtory of his marriages, which were more numerous, and more ſingular, than thoſe of almoſt any other crowned head that ever exiſted. His queen, Jane Seymour, had died in childbed, after bearing him a ſon; he therefore began to think of a fourth match. With this view he caſt his eyes towards the continent; and after ſome negociation, he fixed his mind upon Anne of Cleves, who had been repreſented to him as one of the moſt beautiful women of the age; but the firſt ſight he got of her, he was ſo diſguſted with her perſon, that he ſwore ſhe

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was a great Flanders mare, and that he never could bear her any affection. The marriage, however, was conſummated, but was diſſolved about five months after. Anne, nevertheleſs, continued to live in England till the day of her death.

It was impoſſible, it ſeems, for Henry long to remain a widower. He ſoon after married his fifth wife. This was Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and couſin-german to Anne Boleyn. As ſhe was a lady of great beauty, ſhe acquired an entire aſcendant over the mind of the king; and Henry appeared, for ſome time, to be tranſported with her charms. He even publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to heaven for the happineſs which the marriage ſtate afforded him; and he directed the biſhop of London to compoſe a form of prayer for that purpoſe. But the queen was very little deſerving of the affection which he bore her. She was accuſed and convicted of adultery. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper, confeſſed that they had often lain with her; and they were all three condemned and executed. Catharine owned, that ſhe had led a diſſolute life before marriage, but denied, on her ſalvation, that ſhe had ever defiled his majeſty's bed. She was condemned, however, by bill of attainder, and was beheaded on Tower-hill the 12th of February, 1542. The viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours, was executed at the ſame time; and as this woman was known to have been the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, people were the more confirmed in the favourable ſentiments they entertained of that unfortunate queen. To ſecure himſelf, as well as his ſucceſſors, from the like fatal accident for the future, Henry took care to have a law enacted, by which it was decreed, that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one, at the ſame time, from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others. It was alſo enacted, that if the king married any woman, who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute.

The king's averſion to Anne of Cleves, and his conſequent divorce from her, proved fatal to Cromwell, who had had a capital hand in bringing about the match. It was no doubt upon this account, though indeed under other pretences,

ces, that he was ſoon after brought to a trial; and as a proſecution by the crown in this reign was only another name for a condemnation, he was accordingly ſentenced to loſe his head, which he did on Tower-hill, notwithſtanding the endeavours he uſed to obtain a pardon. A little before he ſuffered, he wrote a letter to the king, imploring his forgiveneſs in the moſt ſuppliant terms. The concluſion of his letter ran in theſe words: "I, a moſt woful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highneſs's moſt miſerable priſoner and poor ſlave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "Moſt gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." But an inclination to mercy was none of Henry's virtues, and he was not likely to ſhew it to a man that had drawn him into a marriage with a woman he could not love.

WHAT had been foretold in jeſt, happened at length in reality. The lady, whom Henry pitched upon for his ſixth and laſt wife, was really a widow. Her name was Catharine Parr, the relict of lord Latimer. As ſhe was a woman of ſpirit, as well as beauty, ſhe was able to manage the king's temper with tolerable ſucceſs; though even ſhe, at one time, had almoſt fallen a victim to his unaccountable pride and arrogance. Henry pretended to greater infallibility than even the pope himſelf. His holineſs, it is probable, allows his confidents to talk pretty freely with him in private converſation; but this was a liberty which Henry would not indulge to any perſon whatever, not even to his own conſort. Catharine had been ſo imprudent as to expreſs her diſſent from the king in ſome theological queſtions; and Henry was ſo enraged at this ſuppoſed preſumption, that he ordered the chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment againſt her.

BY good luck, the paper containing theſe articles, fell into the hands of one of Catharine's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She at once ſaw the danger to which ſhe was expoſed, but deſpaired not of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, to ward off the blow that was thus aimed againſt her. She waited on the king, as ſhe was regularly wont to do; and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He immediately entered on his favourite topic, which was that of theology; and he ſeemed to challenge her to a diſpute on that ſubject. She gently declined the converſation; and remarked, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made

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ſubject to men. The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of man. It belonged to the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of the huſband; and as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſt with a huſband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo, by St. Mary," replied the king, "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was intitled to theſe praiſes; that though ſhe uſually declined not any converſation, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe well knew, that her conceptions could ſerve to no other purpoſe than to give him a little momentary amuſement; that ſhe found the converſation apt to languiſh when not revived by ſome oppoſition, and ſhe had ventured ſometimes to feign a contrariety of ſentiments, in order to give him the pleaſure of refuting her; and that ſhe alſo purpoſed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics, whence ſhe had obſerved, by frequent experience, that ſhe derived both profit and inſtruction. "And is it ſo, ſweetheart?" replied the king; "then we are friends again." Upon which he embraced her with great cordiality, aſſured her of his protection, and immediately gave orders for putting a ſtop to the proſecution.

THE laſt inſtance which Henry gave of that cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition, which had uniformly diſgraced the latter part of his reign, was in the trial and execution of the earl of Surrey, and in almoſt inflicting the ſame puniſhment upon his father, the duke of Norfolk, who was only ſaved by the ſingular circumſtance of Henry's dying the night before the day on which the duke was to have ſuffered. The king's health had, for ſome time, been in a very declining ſtate; but as it had been declared treaſon for any one to foretel his death, and as ſome perſons had even been capitally puniſhed for their temerity in this reſpect, he was almoſt ſuffered to approach the brink of the grave, before he was apprized of his real danger. At laſt, ſir Anthony Denny had the courage to diſcloſe to him the fatal ſecret; and Henry received the intimation with greater compoſure than could have been expected. He expreſſed his reſignation to the will of heaven, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but before that prelate arrived, he was ſpeechleſs, though he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes. Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: he ſqueezed the prelate's hand, and immediately

ately expired, after a reign of thirty ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

It is difficult to give a juſt ſummary of this prince's qualities. He was ſo different from himſelf in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his hiſtory is his beſt character and deſcription. In his youth, he was ſincere, open, gallant, and liberal; in his more advanced years, he became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and ſo cruel, that he ſeemed to delight in the blood of his ſubjects. His arrogance and preſumption rendered him a dupe to the flattery of his own courtiers, and to the artifice and intrigues of foreign princes. As he was but a ſecond ſon, and had originally no hopes of aſcending the throne, he applied to his ſtudies, in his earlier years, with great induſtry and ſucceſs; and had made conſiderable proficiency both in philoſophy and divinity. He was handſome in his perſon, but grew too corpulent in the latter part of his life.

HENRY left behind him two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth; and a ſon, named Edward. The firſt he had by Catharine of Arragon, the ſecond by Anne Boleyne, and the third by Jane Seymour. His other three wives brought him no children. As the parliament had inveſted him with a power of ſetling the ſucceſſion, he bequeathed the crown, firſt to his ſon and his iſſue; next to his two daughters and their iſſue; then to the heirs of his nieces, Frances and Eleanor, daughters of the duke of Suffolk, and of his ſiſter Mary, late queen of France; and laſtly to the next lawful heir; ſo that the children of his eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret, queen of Scotland, ſeemed to be excluded: and yet it was in conſequence of their right, that the princes of the Scottiſh line afterwards aſcended the throne of England.

HENRY was engaged in two wars with the Scots. In the battle of Flodden, which was fought during the firſt of them, the Scottiſh king, James IV. Henry's brother-in-law, was killed, and his army routed with great ſlaughter. In the battle of Solway, which happened during the ſecond war, the Scottiſh army behaved ſo ill, that they ſuffered themſelves to be beat by a mere handful of Engliſh; a diſaſter that affected their king, James V. ſo much, that it threw him into a deep melancholy, of which he ſoon after expired, leaving his crown to his infant daughter Mary, mother of James VI. who afterwards mounted the Engliſh throne.

IT was in the year 1538, that the firſt tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh was publiſhed by Tindal. The uſe of it, however, for ſome time, was not permitted to every individual. Henry would only allow a copy of it to be depoſited

in ſome pariſh churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs and his liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of virtue, not of ſtrife. And he ordered that no man ſhould read the Bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt, while he ſang maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful places, without advice from the learned." About a twelvemonth after, indeed, he granted permiſſion to every perſon to have a copy of the Bible: but this was a liberty of much leſs conſequence, than many people now-a-days will be apt to imagine; for the Engliſh, at that time, were ſo groſly ignorant, that very few of them had learned to read.

IT was not till the end of this reign, that any ſallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of theſe vegetables, that was uſed, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catharine, when ſhe wanted a ſallad, was obliged to diſpatch a meſſenger thither on purpoſe. The uſe of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

A law was made in this reign to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal. Beef and pork were ordered to be ſold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble to the ſtatute ſays, that theſe four ſpecies of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer people.

IN 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeſhire was let at a ſhilling, or about fifteen-pence of our preſent money. This is ten times cheaper than the uſual price at preſent. But commodities were only four times cheaper; a preſumption of the bad huſbandry in that age.

CARDINAL Wolſey founded in Oxford the firſt chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that univerſity into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The ſtudents divided themſelves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and ſometimes fought with as great animoſity as was formerly exerciſed by thoſe hoſtile nations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

EDWARD VI.

HENRY the Eighth was ſucceeded by his only ſon, Edward the Sixth, who was then *A. D.* 1547. only in the tenth year of his age. In order to conduct the affairs of the nation during his minority, Henry had appointed a regency, conſiſting of ſixteen executors, and twelve counſellors; who, in order to add the greater dignity to government, elected a protector, and beſtowed that office upon Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, uncle to the king, and one of the executors, and who was ſoon after created duke of Somerſet. They could not have pitched upon any one who was better qualified for completing the great work of the reformation, that had been happily begun, but not quite finiſhed, in the preceding reign.

SOMERSET was ſtrongly attached to the opinions of Luther, and he inſtilled the ſame principles into the mind of the young king, with whoſe education he was entruſted; and being aſſiſted by an aſſembly of divines, and particularly by Cranmer, upon whoſe advice he chiefly depended, he proceeded to reduce the national faith to ſuch a ſtandard, as appeared to him to be moſt conſiſtent with the doctrines delivered in the holy ſcriptures. He aboliſhed private maſſes, and reſtored the cup to the laity; removed all images out of churches; commanded the old maſs to be laid aſide, and a new one to be compiled; permitted prieſts to marry; and, in a word, eſtabliſhed the whole form of church government upon pretty nearly the ſame footing as we have it at preſent.

HAVING taken theſe ſteps for regulating the internal affairs of the kingdom, he began to caſt his eyes abroad; and the firſt object that engaged his attention was to conclude a marriage between the young king and the ſtill younger queen of Scotland, by which means, could the match have been effected, the whole iſland would have united into one great monarchy. With this view he made propoſals to the regency of Scotland upon what were generally deemed to be very fair and equitable terms; but the Scots, alarmed for the independency of their country, which, in caſe the marriage ſhould take place, they apprehended would only become a province to England, rejected the overture with the higheſt indignation.

SOMERSET, therefore, prepared to compel them to that by

force of arms, which he could not obtain by gentle means. For this purpoſe he invaded Scotland with an army of 18,000 men, and coming up with the enemy, who were double his number, at the town of Muſſelburg, he attacked them with great bravery, killed above 10,000 of them, took 1500 priſoners, and entirely diſcomfited the reſt. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood. At the ſame time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton invaded Scotland by the weſtern borders; and after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties. This war, however, was but of ſhort duration. The cauſe that gave riſe to it was very ſoon removed. The young queen was conveyed into France, and afterwards was eſpouſed to the dauphin. And as Somerſet had no other view in commencing hoſtilities againſt the Scots, than merely to compel them to beſtow their queen in marriage upon Edward, which he now found to be impoſſible, he readily liſtened to the firſt propoſals that were made to him for effecting an accommodation with that people.

THOUGH Somerſet had hitherto conducted the affairs of the nation in ſuch a manner as to give general ſatisfaction, and ſecure him from the attacks of open foes, he had not been able to eſcape the machinations of his ſecret enemies. Private cabals were already formed againſt him, particularly by his own brother lord Thomas Seymour, who having married queen Catharine Parr, the late king's widow, had been created a baron, and lord high admiral, and who, not content with theſe great preferments, aſpired to the ſole direction of affairs, and endeavoured to ſupplant his brother in the royal favour. The jealouſy between the two brothers was artfully fomented by Dudley, earl of Warwick (ſon of that Dudley who had been executed in the beginning of the preceding reign for the rapine, extortion, and perverſion of law, of which he had been guilty during the latter years of Henry the Seventh) a man of inſatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, who, at laſt, inflamed the quarrel to ſuch a degree, that the admiral was accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the government; and though this charge was never ſufficiently proved, he was yet condemned to loſe his head by bill of attainder; a ſentence which was accordingly executed on the 20th of March, 1549.

THE practice of converting arable land into paſture was, at this time, very prevalent in England, and tended greatly to inflame the ill humour of the people, who being highly provoked at this and ſeveral other grievances, took up arms in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Moſt of theſe tumults, indeed,

deed, were eaſily ſuppreſſed; but that in the county of Norfolk threatened at firſt to be attended with very ſerious conſequences. The people there aſſembled to the number of 20,000 men; and ſetting one Ket, a tanner, at their head, they propoſed to deſtroy the gentry, and to bring all men to a level. Ket erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called *The Oak of Reformation*; and ſummoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave ſuch decrees as might be expected from his character and ſituation. He repulſed the marquis of Northampton, who ventured to attack him; but being afterwards defeated by the earl of Warwick, he was hanged at Norwich caſtle, and nine of his followers ſuffered on the boughs of *The Oak of Reformation*.

THE war with Scotland was not the only one in which Somerſet was engaged. He was likewiſe obliged to defend our poſſeſſions on the continent againſt the hoſtile attempts of the French king, Henry III. who, taking advantage of the diſtractions that now prevailed in the Engliſh councils, reſolved to recover thoſe places which had been conquered from him by Henry VIII. With this view, he fell ſuddenly upon the Boulonois, took the caſtles of Sellacque, Blackneſs, and Ambleleuſe; but though he laid ſiege to the town of Boulogne, he could not reduce it.

THOUGH Somerſet had been able to weather the ſtorm that had been raiſed againſt him by his own brother, he was not equally ſucceſsful in counteracting the plots that were now formed againſt him by the other courtiers. The fact is, that moſt of theſe were become jealous of his overgrown power, and wiſhed to bring him back to a level with themſelves; and in theſe ſentiments they were ſtrongly encouraged by the earl of Warwick, lately created duke of Northumberland, who had conceived a mortal antipathy againſt the protector. In order, therefore, to get rid of a man, whom he conſidered as an obſtacle to the accompliſhment of his ambitious views, he cauſed Somerſet firſt to be deprived of the protectorſhip, and then ſubjected him to ſo many inſults, that the latter was tempted to enter into a plot againſt the life of his adverſary. Northumberland, having gained this point, cauſed Somerſet to be thrown into the Tower, to be brought to a trial, to be condemned as a felon for conſpiring the death of a privy counſellor; and though the king diſcovered an extreme reluctance to ſign the warrant for his uncle's execution, yet was he overcome by the importunities of Northumberland, and Somerſet was actually beheaded on Tower-Hill. *A. D.* 1552.

HAVING thus paved the way for the proſecution of his own ambitious projects, he repreſented to the young king,

that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and though Henry, by his will, had reſtored them to a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard: that they were the king's ſiſters by the half-blood only; and, even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: that the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the king's will; and being an alien, had loſt by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin, ſhe would, by her ſucceſſion, render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France; that the certain conſequence of his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the proteſtant religion, the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the uſurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion, which juſtice required, was alſo the moſt comformable to public intereſt; and there was not, in reality, any juſt ground for doubt or deliberation: that when theſe princeſſes were excluded by ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed, by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power, that his father enjoyed; and might leave the crown by letters patent.

THESE reaſonings made an impreſſion on the young prince; and, above all, his zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a Catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter, on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. He procured the title of duke of Suffolk, which was now extinct, for the marquis of Dorſet; and by this favour and ſeveral others which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded that nobleman to give his daughter, the lady Jane Gray, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by further alliances, he

he negociated a marriage between the lady Catharine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health. Edward had for ſome time been in a very declining way; and this naturally made Northumberland the more eager to carry his ſcheme into complete execution. He removed all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king; he himſelf attended him with the greateſt aſſiduity; he pretended the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare; and by all theſe artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final conſent to the projected ſettlement. Letters patent were accordingly drawn out, ſettling the crown on the lady Jane; and theſe letters were ſigned by all the judges and privy counſellors, though their compliance could not be obtained without the utmoſt difficulty.

FROM this time forward Edward's health declined every day; and no hopes could now be entertained of his recovering from his malady. To make the matter worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms returned more violently. He felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled; his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. *A. D.* 1553.

THIS prince was endowed with every qualification that could recommend him to the love and eſteem of his ſubjects; beauty of perſon, probity of mind, ſweetneſs of temper, an attachment to equity and juſtice; and he was bleſſed with ſuch a quick apprehenſion, that, young as he was at the time of his death, he had made conſiderable progreſs in moſt branches of learning. He was pretty well ſkilled in the Latin and French languages, and had even acquired ſome knowledge of the Greek, Spaniſh, and Italian.

KING Edward confirmed the grant, which his father had made, to the city of London, of Chriſt's and St. Bartholomew's hoſpitals; and he founded thoſe of Bridewell and St. Thomas, together with ſeveral ſchools. The duke of So-

merſet built the palace now called Somerſet-houſe in the Strand, which, upon the death of that nobleman, was forfeited to the crown, and upon the ſite of which a noble pile of buildings is now erected for public offices.

CHAP. XXVI.

MARY.

A. D. 1553. EDWARD the Sixth had no ſooner breathed his laſt, than Northumberland prepared to put the finiſhing hand to the ſcheme he had formed: but as he knew it would be impoſſible to do ſo without getting the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth into his power, he ſent them orders, in the king's name (whoſe death he thought proper to conceal) to come to court; and they accordingly ſet out on their journey for that purpoſe, when the princeſs Mary, who had arrived within a few miles of London, receiving intelligence of her brother's death, and Northumberland's deſigns, from the earl of Arundel, immediately withdrew to Framlingham-caſtle, in the county of Suffolk. She thence intended to make her eſcape into Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She reſolved, however, firſt to try how the people ſtood affected towards her. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England, commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council, by which ſhe notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

NORTHUMBERLAND now finding that all farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs, reſolved to proceed directly to the completion of his ſcheme. He accordingly repaired to Sion-houſe, where lady Jane reſided, and he approached her with all the reſpect uſually paid to ſovereigns. Jane was, in a great meaſure, ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurprize that ſhe received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable perſon, an engaging diſpoſition, and uncommon abilities; and being of an equal age with the late king, ſhe had received all her education with him, and ſeemed even to diſcover a much greater readineſs in acquiring every

every part of manly and polite literature. She had obtained an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, as well as modern tongues; paſſed moſt of her time in an application to learning, and expreſſed a great indifference for other occupations and amuſements, uſual with perſons of her ſex and ſtation.

ROGER Aſcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a viſit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe told him, that ſhe received more pleaſure from that author than the others could reap from all their ſport and paſtime. Her heart, full of this paſſion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderneſs towards her huſband, who was deſerving of her affections, had never opened itſelf to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her advancement to the throne was nowiſe agreeable to her. She even refuſed to accept of the preſent; pleaded the preferable title of the two princeſſes; expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending an enterprize ſo dangerous, not to ſay criminal; and deſired to remain in the private ſtation, in which ſhe was born. Overcome at laſt by the entreaties, rather than the arguments, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her huſband, ſhe ſubmitted to their will; and was prevailed on to relinquiſh her own judgment. Orders were then iſſued for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but theſe were executed only in London, and the neighbourhood. Even there the proclamation was heard, either with ſilent concern, or with evident marks of ſcorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was ſeverely puniſhed for this laſt offence.

MEANWHILE Mary, having aſſembled a large body of forces, began to advance towards the capital; and Northumberland was obliged to march out to meet her. But he could not depend upon the fidelity even of the handful of troops he had been able to collect; and he every where ſaw around him the moſt ſtriking proofs of the general diſſatisfaction of the people. As he went along, he could not help remarking theſe unpromiſing appearances, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to all his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one that cries, *God ſpead you.*"

UPON his arrival at St. Edmund's-bury, he found his army too weak to encounter the queen's; and he therefore wrote to the council to ſend him a reinforcement. The counſellors

laid hold of this opportunity to free themſelves from their confinement in the Tower, where they had hitherto been kept for the pretended purpoſe of attending the perſon of the Lady Jane, but with the real view of preventing them from taking any ſteps to diſturb the new government.

HAVING now regained their native liberty, they held a conſultation together, and immediately reſolved to ſhake off the uſurped authority of Northumberland, and to return to their allegiance under their lawful ſovereign. They accordingly iſſued orders for proclaiming the princeſs Mary queen of England. The lord mayor and aldermen of London heartily concurred with them in this meaſure. The people in general expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts of applauſe. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding reſiſtance fruitleſs, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more ſatisfaction than ſhe felt when the royal dignity was offered to her. And the meſſengers who were ſent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had deſpaired of ſucceſs, was deſerted by his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen with exterior marks of joy and ſatisfaction.

THE facility, however, with which he gave up his ambitious project, could not ſcreen him from the puniſhment he ſo well merited. He was immediately brought to a trial, and his guilt being incontrovertibly proved, he was condemned to loſe his head, which he accordingly did on Tower-hill on the 22d of Auguſt. Sentence was, at the ſame time, paſſed upon lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford, but without any preſent intention of putting it in execution; and they were therefore remanded back to the Tower. As to Suffolk, he was ſet at liberty, more from a contempt of his abilities, for he was a very weak man, than a conviction of his innocence, for he had certainly concurred with too great alacrity in all the ſteps that had been taken by Northumberland.

As the queen was a bigotted Roman catholic, ſhe was not eaſy till ſhe ſaw her own religion re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. She accordingly reſtored the deprived popiſh prelates to their reſpective ſees; threw a great many proteſtant biſhops into priſon; and granted a general liberty of conſcience till the meeting of parliament. And when that aſſembly convened on the 5th of October, an act was paſſed, forbidding the exerciſe of any other communion, beſides the Roman; the ſtatutes of Edward the ſixth in favour of the reformation were repealed; and the national religion was replaced upon the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the death of Henry the eighth.

THE

THE next object that engaged the queen's attention was the choice of a huſband; and ſhe firſt caſt her eyes upon Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who being an Engliſhman, and nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation. As he was a perſon of an elegant ſhape and genteel addreſs, he had viſibly made an impreſſion on the queen's heart, and hints were dropt him of her favourable ſentiments towards him. But Courtney neglected theſe overtures, and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter.

THE queen therefore turned her views towards cardinal Pole, who had lately arrived in England in the quality of pope's legate, as another perſon that might prove a proper conſort to her; and there were many reaſons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The near affinity of Pole to the royal family of England; his high character for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the higheſt dignity, on the death of Paul the third; the queen's affection for the counteſs of Saliſbury, his mother, who had once been her governeſs; the violent animoſity to which he had been expoſed on account of his attachment to the Romiſh communion; all theſe conſiderations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement, he was repreſented to her as unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the hurry of buſineſs. The queen therefore dropped all thoughts of that alliance; but as ſhe entertained a great regard for Pole's wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill intended to reap the benefit of his counſel in the adminiſtration of her government.

THE laſt perſon propoſed to Mary for a ſpouſe, and upon whom ſhe finally fixed her choice, was Philip the ſecond king of Spain, ſon of the emperor Charles the fifth; and after ſome ſhort negociation, the marriage articles were fully adjuſted. Theſe were drawn in ſuch a manner as to be as favourable as poſſible for England, and to prevent even the moſt diſtant apprehenſions of its ever becoming a province to Spain. It was ſtipulated, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of

this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

THESE articles, however, favourable as they were, could not allay the fears of ſome people for the independence of their country; and an inſurrection was ſoon after raiſed on this account by Sir Thomas Wiat and others. Wiat entered London at the head of 4000 men; but he was eaſily ſurrounded and taken; and Suffolk, who had joined in the conſpiracy, was once more ſeized, and thrown into the Tower.

A. D. 1554.

FOUR hundred perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered for this rebellion: four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wiat was condemned and executed. As it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accuſed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

LADY Jane Gray and her huſband were no doubt equally innocent; but the queen moſt cruelly made a handle of this commotion for executing the ſentence that had formerly been pronounced againſt them. Warning was accordingly given to Jane to prepare for death; a doom, which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes, to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered no wiſe unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who haraſſed her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion by the moſt irrefragable arguments, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the ſcriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance.

ON the day of her execution, her huſband, lord Guilford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much

much unbend their minds from that conſtancy, which their approaching end required of them. Their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold on Tower-hill; but the miniſtry, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart, and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports, which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle.

Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him a table-book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhew her favour.

On the ſcaffold, ſhe made a ſpeech to the ſpectators; in which, the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity, with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition, than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: that ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhew, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that ſhe had juſtly deſerved puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unavailing

unavailing inſtrument, of the ambition of others: and that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend any wiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner.

The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely end.

The queen having now ſtrengthened herſelf by her marriage with Philip, which was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence on the 25th day of July, aſſembled a parliament, in which cardinal Pole made a ſpeech, exhorting the two houſes to reconcile themſelves and the nation to the apoſtolic ſee. This advice was taken in very good part; the two houſes made an act, ſuppreſſing the proteſtant, and reeſtabliſhing the catholic religion; and the cardinal having gained this point, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church.

But the queen was not ſatisfied with the complete triumph of her own faith and of thoſe who profeſſed it, unleſs ſhe alſo wreaked her vengeance upon ſuch as adhered to the oppoſite doctrines. With this view ſhe cauſed the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics to be revived; and theſe were executed by her and her miniſters with ſuch unrelenting ſeverity, that, in the ſpace of three years, during which the perſecutions laſted, no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſuffered by fire; beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire, were five biſhops, viz. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Ridley, biſhop of London; Latimer, of Worceſter; Hooper, of Glouceſter; and Ferrar, of St. David's; twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

It is needleſs to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties that were inflicted upont he unhappy ſufferers during theſe perſecutions. The ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſo ſimilar in all thoſe martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itſelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occaſion, ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below

low infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. A few inſtances only may be worth preſerving, in order, if poſſible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid ſuch odious and ſuch fruitleſs barbarities.

THE perſecution was firſt recommended, and chiefly conducted by Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Bonner, biſhop of London, whoſe names have ever ſince been held in the utmoſt horror and deteſtation. The firſt perſon they attacked was Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Their plan was to begin with perſons of that character, whom, they hoped, terror would bend to ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude. But they found a courage and perſeverance in Rogers, which it may ſeem ſtrange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all ſects, do nevertheleſs furniſh many examples. Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under many powerful temptations to compliance. He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet, ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a prieſt, and could not poſſibly have a wife; thus adding inſult to cruelty. Rogers was burned in Smithfield.

HOOPER, biſhop of Glouceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of conſolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony, by his death, to that doctrine, which he had formerly preached among them. When he was led to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by a recantation; but he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment, to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its utmoſt ſeverity. The wind, which was violent, drove the flame of the reeds from his body: the faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily: all his lower parts were conſumed, before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to beat his breaſt: he was heard to pray, and to exhort the people; till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

SANDERS

SANDERS was burned at Coventry. A pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt; welcome everlaſting life." Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was puniſhed by fire in that place, ſurrounded by his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he rehearſed a pſalm in Engliſh. One of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, and bade him ſpeak Latin. Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

THE crime, for which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned, was their refuſal to acknowledge the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would ſtrike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the odious office on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe. He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refuſed to relinquiſh his religion; and that he might give him a ſpecimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt.

FERRAR, biſhop of St. David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not regarded. Ridley, late biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." The executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures. This immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age. Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames.

ONE Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been ſeduced by a prieſt into a diſpute, had unwarily denied the real preſence. Senſible of his danger, he immediately abſconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities, if he did not produce the young man to ſtand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the

the danger to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

THOMAS Hawkes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe, in which he ſuffered, ſo ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in that poſture he expired. This example, with many others of a like nature, encouraged multitudes, not only to ſuffer, but even to court and to aſpire to martyrdom.

THE tender ſex itſelf, as they commonly have a greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt undaunted courage in ſupporting the profeſſion of it, againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances, which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment, on account of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: but a magiſtrate, who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent.

BUT of all the executions, that of Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the one that moſt attracted the attention of the public. This prelate had been long detained a priſoner; but the queen was now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and in order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were ſent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation, which ſuited his ſavage nature.

THE implacable ſpirit of the queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence, to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character

ſtill

ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of his long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his beneficent diſpoſition had attached to him during the courſe of his proſperity. Overcome by the fond hope of life, terrified by the proſpects of thoſe tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded moment, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and of the real preſence. The miniſters, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders, that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately carried to execution.

CRANMER, whether that he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurprized the audience with a contrary declaration. He ſaid, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear without reſiſtance whatever hardſhips they ſhould impoſe upon him; that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine, which the ſupreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miſcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he ſeverely repented; the inſincere declaration of faith, to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed by a ſevere but juſt doom, and ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of its offence.

HE was then led to the ſtake amidſt the in-
A. D. 1556. ſults of the catholics; and having now ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs or even of feeling, he held it in the flames, till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault; and he called aloud ſeveral times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible

ſenſible of his outward ſufferings, and by the force of hope and reſolution to have collected his mind altogether within itſelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is ſaid, that after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidſt the flames; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the people in general.

MARY's attention was ſo much taken up in burning her proteſtant ſubjects, that ſhe had no time to attend to foreign politics. She engaged, however, in a war with France, in order to oblige her conſort, king Philip, (contrary to the articles of her marriage contract) and ſhe ſent to his aſſiſtance in Flanders an army of 10,000 men, which contributed greatly to the victory obtained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin. She likewiſe ſupplied him, in the courſe of the ſucceeding year, with a fleet of an hundred and forty ſail, which had a conſiderable ſhare in defeating the French at the battle of Gravelines. *A. D.* 1557. *A. D.* 1558.

BUT whatever glory the Engliſh might acquire in this war, they derived no advantage from it. On the contrary, they ſuſtained a very conſiderable diſadvantage. They were deprived of Calais, Guiſnes, Ham, and of every other place they then held in France, which were conquered by the duke of Guiſe, the French general. Theſe loſſes excited a great clamour in England againſt the queen and her adminiſtration; and her grief, it is ſaid, on that account, together with the indifference, which her huſband ſhewed her, contributed no leſs than the dropſy, with which ſhe was afflicted, to bring her to her end, which happened on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, and after an inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

MARY ſeems to have poſſeſſed few qualities, either eſtimable or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Bigotry and cruelty were the principal, if not the ſole ingredients of her character; and to this cauſe ought to be aſcribed all the ſhocking barbarities that diſgraced her reign.

MARY never had any children. She imagined, indeed, at one time, that ſhe had conceived, and ſo firmly was ſhe perſuaded of her pregnancy, that meſſengers were diſpatched to foreign courts to inform them of the event: orders were iſſued to give public thanks for it: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already ſettled; for the catholics held themſelves aſſured, that the child was to be a male; and Bonner, biſhop of London, made public prayers be ſaid, that heaven would be pleaſed to render him beautiful,

tiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation ſtill remained ſomewhat incredulous; and the people in general believed, that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Their ſuſpicions at laſt were fully verified; inſtead of a child, ſhe was delivered of a ſubſtance known by the name of a mola.

CARDINAL Pole, who ſucceeded Cranmer in the ſee of Canterbury, died the ſame day with the queen; a man remarkable for the mildneſs of his temper, and the modeſty and humanity of his conduct; and it was probably owing to this circumſtance, that the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants were not carried on to a much greater extent and with a more infernal fury than they actually were.

WE ſhall here mention a few detached particulars, which could not be ſo eaſily interwove into the thread of the general narrative. Hollingſhed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There ſcarcely was a chimney to the houſes, even in conſiderable towns. The fire was kindled by the wall, and the ſmoke ſought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows. The houſes were nothing but watling plaiſtered over with clay. The people ſlept on ſtraw pallets, and had a good round log of wood under their head for a pillow; and almoſt all the furniture and utenſils were of wood.

IT was in this reign we find the firſt general law with regard to high ways, which were appointed to be repaired by pariſh duty all over England.

IN what an imperious ſtile the ancient Engliſh monarchs were ſometimes wont to ſpeak to their ſubjects, may be eaſily learned from the following curious circumſtance. When Henry the eighth heard, that the commons made ſome difficulty in granting a ſupply he demanded of them, he was ſo provoked, that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a conſiderable influence in the houſe; and he being introduced to him, had the mortification to hear him ſpeak in theſe words: *Ho, man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* and laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: *Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow, or elſe to-morrow this head of yours ſhall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry ſucceeded, for next day the bill paſſed. Henry's miniſters ſometimes made uſe of a ſtile little leſs lofty than that of their maſter. Cardinal Wolſey, in order to terrify the citizens of London into a general loan, told them, *that it were better, that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the king at this time ſhould lack;* and therefore beware

ware and reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe, for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads.

THE art of making ſpectacles was found out towards the end of the thirteenth century. The invention of windmills is nearly of the ſame date. The uſe of them, indeed, was known long before to the Greeks and Arabs; nay they are mentioned by the Arabian poets ſo early as the ſeventh century. The art of making glaſs windows was introduced into England by the French, about the year 1180, and was looked upon as a high degree of magnificence. The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century, that had the ſecret of making looking-glaſſes of cryſtal. There were then ſome clocks in Italy; and that of Bologna was particularly famous. Paper made of rags was invented towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cortuſius, an hiſtorian of Padua, takes notice of one Pax, who erected the firſt manufacture in that city, upwards of a hundred years before the invention of printing. Table linen was at this time very ſcarce in England; and wine was ſold only by apothecaries as a cordial. It was reckoned a kind of luxury to ride in a two wheel cart through the ill-paved dirty ſtreets of Paris; and this luxury, low as it is, appears not yet to have been introduced into England.

CHAP. XXVII.

ELIZABETH.

THE acceſſion of Elizabeth, who ſucceeded her ſiſter Mary, in the twenty-ſixth year of her age, however diſagreeable to the catholics, whoſe principles ſhe was ſuppoſed to diſapprove, was extremely acceptable to the proteſtants, who compoſed the bulk of the common people, that is of the nation, and whoſe religion ſhe was determined to render the reigning religion of the kingdom. With this view, ſhe repealed all the laws enacted by her ſiſter in favour of popery; re-eſtabliſhed the proteſtant worſhip; declared herſelf ſupreme governeſs of the church, both in ſpirituals and temporals; and, in a word, reſtored the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution to the ſame footing on which it ſtood at the death of Edward the ſixth. *A. D.* 1558.

NOR was ſhe ſatisfied with favouring the proteſtants in her own dominions: ſhe likewiſe ſupported them in the Low Countries, in Scotland, and in France; and was univerſally conſidered,

conſidered, all over Europe, as the chief bulwark of the reformation. The perſecution againſt the proteſtants had been carried on with great ſeverity in moſt parts of the world, where the new doctrines had been introduced; but in none had it been exerciſed with ſuch unrelenting cruelty as in the Low Countries, or Netherlands, which were then ſubject to Spain, and where no leſs than 50,000 perſons are ſaid to have been put to death for hereſy. The people, enraged at theſe barbarities, revolted from the Spaniards, and imploring the protection of Elizabeth, offered her the ſovereignty of their country, provided ſhe would undertake their defence. This offer ſhe had the magnanimity to refuſe; but at the ſame time ſhe had the generoſity and courage to undertake the protection of the oppreſſed people, and ſhe ſo effectually ſupported them, that they were at laſt able to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, to aſſert their native liberty, and to erect the famous commonwealth of the United Provinces.

NOR was ſhe leſs active or leſs ſucceſsful in ſupporting the proteſtants in Scotland, who, by the aſſiſtance ſhe afforded them, both in money and troops, were enabled to make head againſt the catholics, and at laſt to obtain over them a complete victory; though this conduct involved her in a quarrel, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to Mary, queen of Scots, and even fixed a ſtain on Elizabeth herſelf. This celebrated woman, Mary queen of Scots, celebrated for her beauty, but ſtill more for her misfortunes, and perhaps even her crimes, or at leaſt her imprudencies, was daughter to James the fifth of Scotland, and to Mary of Lorraine, eldeſt daughter of Claude, duke of Guiſe, and widow of Lewis, duke of Longueville. She had been married, when young, to Francis the ſecond, king of France; and at the inſtigation of her uncles, the princes of Guiſe, ſhe aſſumed, on the death of Mary of England, the title of queen of that kingdom, pretending that Elizabeth was illegitimate, and had no juſt pretenſions to the throne.

HER right to the aſſuming of this title was founded upon her being the grand-daughter of James the fourth, and of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry the ſeventh; and it was in virtue of this right, that her ſon, James Stuart, afterwards aſcended the throne of England. The bare title, however, was all ſhe could expect to enjoy at preſent; for ſhe knew that England was in ſuch a poſture of defence, and that Elizabeth was ſo well beloved by the people, that it would be altogether in vain to make any attempt againſt her.

MEANWHILE, being left a widow, by the death of her huſband, and finding her ſituation at Paris rather diſagreeable, ſhe returned

returned into Scotland, her hereditary kingdom. This country was at that time divided into two factions, the one compoſed of proteſtants, the other of Roman catholics, with the former of whom, as being the ſtrongeſt, the queen had at firſt the good ſenſe to join. But as ſhe had been bred a papiſt, and was entirely under the direction of her uncles, the princes of Guiſe, who were bigotted catholics, ſhe ſoon altered her conduct, and declared in favour of the latter; and to this ſtep may juſtly be aſcribed all the ſucceeding miſeries of her life, and even her tragical and untimely end. *A. D.* 1561.

AFTER continuing a widow four years, ſhe began to think again of entering into the matrimonial ſtate; and ſhe accordingly eſpouſed Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, her own couſin-german, and ſon to the earl of Lenox, eſteemed, at that time, the handſomeſt man in Britain; and ſhe even honoured him with the title of king. But as her attachment to him had been founded merely on his external qualities, without any regard to his real character, which was profligate and abandoned in the higheſt degree, ſhe ſoon began to conceive an indifference, and at laſt a rooted averſion towards him. Henry, on the other hand, grew jealous of the queen, on account of her intimacy with one David Rizzio. This man, who was an Italian by birth, and an excellent muſician, had inſinuated himſelf ſo effectually into the queen's good graces, that ſhe firſt appointed him her private ſecretary, and afterwards advanced him to be her prime miniſter. She even indulged him, if Buchanan may be credited, in the moſt ſcandalous familiarities; and though this imputation ſeems to have been altogether groundleſs, Rizzio's enemies encouraged the report, in order to inflame the jealouſy of the king. That, indeed, was at laſt wound up to ſuch a pitch, that Henry reſolved to make away with the minion; and he formed a conſpiracy for this purpoſe with the earl of Morton, the lords Ruthven and Lindſey, George Douglas, and others. Having thus laid his ſcheme, he entered the queen's apartment, while ſhe was at ſupper: the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon Rizzio, who ſat at table; and notwithſtanding the entreaties of her majeſty, who endeavoured to ſave him, they inſtantly put him to death. The queen was confined, during ſome months, in her palace; but having, by her careſſes, gained the confidence of her huſband, ſhe privately made her eſcape with him; and having thus recovered her liberty, ſhe ſuddenly deſerted him, and treated him ever after with the moſt ſupreme contempt.

BUT Mary, like moſt princes of her family, or, to be impartial, like moſt ſovereign princes, at leaſt like moſt weak ſove-

reign princes, could not be long without a favourite; and the next perſon, upon whom ſhe beſtowed her confidence, was the earl of Bothwell, a man of the moſt licentious principles and abandoned character, who ſoon acquired over the eaſy temper of the queen the ſame unbounded influence which Rizzio had poſſeſſed.

WHETHER Bothwell began at this time to lay a plan for the deſtruction of Henry, and whether the queen concurred with him in that criminal enterprize, we cannot take upon us to determine. Certain it is, that ſhe now affected to be reconciled to her huſband; ſhe paid him a viſit at Glaſgow, where he then reſided; perſuaded him to accompany her to Edinburgh; and attended him, with great aſſiduity, during an illneſs, with which he was ſeized. But as the ſituation of the palace was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, ſhe cauſed an apartment to be fitted up for him, at ſome diſtance, in a ſolitary place, called the Kirk of Fields, where now ſtands the houſe of the principal of the univerſity. She here gave him additional marks of kindneſs and attachment, and lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed when it was diſcovered, that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence, appeared upon it.

A. D. 1567.

No one could entertain any doubt but that Henry was murdered; and the general conjecture ſoon pointed towards Bothwell as the author of the crime; nor did Mary herſelf eſcape the ſuſpicion of being concerned in the deed: a ſuſpicion which was ſtrongly confirmed, and even converted into a thorough conviction, by her marrying Bothwell about three months after. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a ſucceſſion of actions, at once ſo ſcandalous and criminal, could fail to arouſe the indignation of the people. Indeed, their reſentment was ſo highly inflamed, that a combination was formed, for diſſolving the marriage between the queen and Bothwell. It was headed by the earls of Argyle, Morton, Mar, Athole, Glencairn, the lords Boyd, Lindſey, Hume, Semple, and others, who immediately raiſed a large body of forces, and determined

termined at once to effect their purpoſe. The queen marched out againſt them, at the head of an army; but her troops deſerting her, ſhe was obliged to ſubmit to the confederates, who carried her to Edinburgh; and, next day, committed her cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Lochleven, from whence ſhe eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a young gentleman of the name of Douglas, who had been appointed one of her keepers, but whom, by her flattery and careſſes, ſhe drew over to her intereſt. Bothwell too made his eſcape, and fled, firſt to Dunbar, and then to the Orkneys, where he turned pirate; but being driven from that ſtation, he retired to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years afterwards; an end worthy of his flagitious life. *A. D.* 1568.

As to Mary herſelf, ſhe had no ſooner recovered her liberty, than ſhe haſtened to Hamilton, where ſhe was preſently joined by ſeveral of the nobility, who brought to her aſſiſtance about 6000 men; but the earl of Murray, her natural brother, who had lately retired to France, returning about this time to Scotland, aſſumed the ſupreme authority, in the name of the young prince James, queen Mary's ſon, by Henry Stuart; and marching out againſt the queen's army, he entirely defeated it, and obliged that princeſs to fly into England. There, however, ſhe met with a leſs favourable reception than ſhe probably expected. She was committed to priſon, where ſhe continued above eighteen years; and though during that time ſhe repeatedly begged the favour of being admitted into the queen's preſence, ſhe could never obtain it, Elizabeth alledging, that ſhe could not grant her ſuch an indulgence till ſhe had cleared herſelf of the imputation ſhe lay under, of being concerned in her huſband's murder; a charge, indeed, againſt which Mary endeavoured to vindicate herſelf, but, it muſt be owned, in a very lame and unſatisfactory manner.

This, though not one of the moſt obſcure, is one of the moſt controverted points in the Scottiſh hiſtory. A number of writers, actuated by a ſpirit of chivalry or knight-errantry, have taken up the pen in Mary's defence; and, it muſt be acknowledged, have ſaid a great deal more than one would imagine could well be advanced upon ſuch a topic; but Hume and Robertſon, the two moſt judicious and impartial Britiſh hiſtorians, are clearly of opinion, that ſhe was really guilty, and the arguments they urge in ſupport of their ſentiments appear to be ſuch as eſtabliſh her criminality beyond the poſſibility of a doubt. It was not, however, ſo much a deteſtation of her guilt in this atrocious action, that determined Elizabeth to treat her with ſeverity, as in order to be revenged upon her

for the affront ſhe had put upon Elizabeth herſelf in aſſuming the title of queen of England, and, at the ſame time, to render her for ever incapable of taking any ſteps to ſupport that title, or deprive Elizabeth of the crown of England, to which, the Roman catholics alledged, queen Mary had a better right than Elizabeth herſelf.

A princeſs of Mary's high and unſubmitting ſpirit could hardly be ſuppoſed to bear ſuch a long and rigorous confinement without readily adopting every ſcheme which her friends recommended to her for recovering her liberty, and without giving countenance to every plot that was formed in her favour. Two inſurrections were raiſed on her account; but neither of them appear to have been of any great conſequence. One of them was excited by the earl of Northumberland, who, for this attempt, was brought to the block. The ſame was the fate of the duke of Norfolk, the author of the other, who had formed a ſcheme for reſcuing Mary from priſon, and afterwards eſpouſing her. Neither of theſe, however, aimed at the death of Elizabeth. But another conſpiracy, projected by Anthony Babington, had this criminal tendency; and Mary was convicted, upon the fulleſt evidence, of having given her conſent to this plot; and was condemned to loſe her head, which ſhe accordingly did on the eighth of February, 1587, in Fotheringay caſtle, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of her ſon James the ſixth of Scotland, and Henry the third of France; though Bellievre, it is ſaid, the French ambaſſador, had private inſtructions to ſolicit the execution of the ſentence; a report, which was the more readily credited, as Henry bore an implacable hatred to the duke of Guiſe, queen Mary's kinſman.

HISTORIANS have deſcribed at great length, and in the moſt pathetic terms, the tragical end of this unfortunate princeſs, and the impreſſion, which her exquiſite beauty, though faded by years, and dimmed by affliction, made upon the hearts of all the ſpectators; and it muſt be owned, that no one can read an account of her numerous ſufferings without feeling the moſt lively compaſſion. But the queſtion is, whether her ſentence was not juſt, and the execution of it indiſpenſably neceſſary; and if both of theſe was the caſe, then it ſhould ſeem to follow, that neither the judges who paſſed the ſentence, nor the miniſters who carried it into effect, are liable to the charge of cruelty, which is uſually brought againſt them. Had Elizabeth, indeed, puniſhed her for the murder of her huſband, perhaps ſhe might appear to have uſurped an authority, which ſhe had no title to exerciſe, as that crime was cognizable only by the laws of Scotland, where the murder

der was perpetrated, and as the people of that country were the only perſons that had any kind of right to call her to account for the barbarous deed; but to puniſh her for a conſpiracy againſt her own government, and ſtill more againſt her own life, was certainly an action, that may be fully juſtified by all the laws of God and man.

ELIZABETH, however, was overwhelmed with grief upon receiving the news of Mary's execution; and perhaps the firſt ebullitions of her ſorrow were not altogether affected, as no one could poſſibly hear of the melancholy event without feeling the moſt poignant affliction, even though convinced of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of executing the ſentence. But ſuppoſing her grief not to have been real, ſhe found it neceſſary to pretend that it was ſo. She knew that Mary was generally conſidered as having ſacrificed her life in defence of popery; and had ſhe not only avowed, but gloried in the ſentence, by which that princeſs fell, ſhe believed there were many catholics in England, who were both zealous and deſperate enough to retaliate upon herſelf by a ſecret, if not an open aſſaſſination. She therefore declared to all the world, that though ſhe had ſigned the warrant for Mary's death, ſhe had no deſign of carrying it into effect. Her miniſters, ſhe ſaid, had acted contrary to her orders, at leaſt to her real intentions; and as a proof of her indignation againſt them, ſhe would allow none of them, for a long time, to approach her preſence, or tranſact any buſineſs with her. Even ſecretary Daviſon, who had got the great ſeal affixed to the warrant, was thrown into priſon, and ſuch a heavy fine impoſed upon him, as reduced him almoſt to a ſtate of beggary.

AFTER ſome interval, Elizabeth wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and ſent it by ſir Robert Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon. She there told him, that ſhe wiſhed he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which ſhe experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much leſs concurrence, had happened in England: that as her pen trembled, when ſhe attempted to write it, ſhe found herſelf obliged to commit the relation of it to the meſſenger, her kinſman; who would likewiſe inform his majeſty of every circumſtance, attending this diſmal and unlooked for misfortune: that ſhe appealed to the ſupreme judge of heaven and earth for her innocence, and was alſo ſo happy, amidſt her other afflictions, as to find, that many perſons in her court could bear witneſs to her veracity in this proteſtation: that ſhe abhorred diſſimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a ſincere and open conduct; and could never ſurely be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited, as

that, if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal execution, ſhe could, on any conſideration, be induced to deny them: that though ſenſible of the juſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the unhappy priſoner, ſhe determined from clemency never to carry it into execution; and could not but reſent the temerity of thoſe, who on this occaſion had diſappointed her intention; and that as no one loved him more dearly than herſelf, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, ſhe hoped, that he would conſider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the preſent incident, to excite any animoſity between them.

JAMES, however, as might naturally have been expected, was ſo highly incenſed at his mother's execution, that he refuſed to admit Carey into his preſence; he recalled his ambaſſador from England, and ſeemed, for ſome time, to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The ſtates of Scotland, being aſſembled, took part in his anger; and declared, that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of the nobility inſtigated him to take arms. Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, preſented himſelf to the king arrayed in complete armour, and ſaid, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. But James was both of too pacific and too politic a character to come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, which, beſides diſturbing the internal tranquillity of his own kingdom, which was then in a very diſtracted ſtate, might render his acceſſion to the throne of England, not only difficult, but even perhaps altogether impracticable, by exaſperating the whole Engliſh nation againſt him. He therefore began, in a little time, to abate in his expreſſions of reſentment againſt Elizabeth; and he ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be brought back to his old habit of living upon a friendly footing with that princeſs.

BUT Elizabeth was expoſed to much greater danger from the ſupport ſhe gave to the proteſtants in the Low Countries, than from that which ſhe afforded to the proteſtants in Scotland. For Philip, king of Spain, the ſovereign of thoſe countries, was ſo highly exaſperated againſt her on account of her encouraging and aſſiſting his revolted ſubjects, that he reſolved to retaliate upon her, not merely by exciting diſturbances in England, but even by making an entire conqueſt of the kingdom. With this view he fitted out *A. D.* 1588. a moſt powerful armament, which, from a vain confidence of ſucceſs, he intitled *The invincible Armada*. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, of which

which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater ſize than any ever before uſed in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix mariners, two thouſand and eighty-eight galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months; and was attended with twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves with ſix oars apiece. The fleet was commanded by the duke de Medina Sidonia; the duke of Parma was to join it with an army of thirty-four thouſand men from the Low Countries; and the fate of England ſeemed to depend upon the iſſue of two battles, one by ſea, and another by land; both of which, it was generally ſuppoſed, would prove deciſive in favour of the Spaniards.

ELIZABETH, however, was not intimidated by the mighty force, that was now coming againſt her. She aſſembled all her ſhips of war, and reinforcing them with others furniſhed by the nobility and merchants, intruſted the command of them to lord Howard of Effingham, the lord high-admiral; and under him to Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe. She likewiſe raiſed three great armies, and ſtationed them in different parts of the kingdom. She even appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, where one of theſe armies was poſted; and riding through the lines, diſcovered a chearful and animated countenance, exhorted the ſoldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and profeſſed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herſelf into the field againſt the enemy, and rather to periſh in battle than ſurvive the ruin and ſlavery of her people. By this ſpirited behaviour ſhe revived the tenderneſs and admiration of the ſoldiery; an attachment to her perſon became a kind of enthuſiaſm among them; and they aſked one another, whether it were poſſible, that Engliſhmen could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs fortitude than appeared in the female ſex, or could ever, by any dangers, be induced to relinquiſh the defence of this heroic princeſs?

The Armada ſet ſail about the end of May; and after paſſing a few weeks in the harbour of the Groine, in order to repair ſome damages it had ſuſtained at ſea, it advanced up the channel, in the form of a half moon, making a moſt grand and formidable appearance, and ſtretching the ſpace of not leſs than ſeven miles from one extremity of the creſcent to the other. *A. D.* 1588.

THE writers of that age raiſe their ſtile by a pompous deſcription of this ſpectacle; the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, and infuſing equal terror and admiration

miration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty maſts, the ſwelling ſails, and the towering prows of the Spaniſh galleons, ſeem impoſſible to be juſtly painted but by aſſuming the colours of poetry; and Bentivoglio, an Italian hiſtorian, aſſerts, that the armada, though the ſhips bore every ſail, yet advanced with a ſlow motion; as if the ocean groaned with ſupporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, ſo enormous a weight.

THE truth, however, is, that the largeſt of the Spaniſh veſſels would ſcarcely paſs for third rates in the preſent navy of England; yet were they ſo ill framed, or ſo ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not ſail upon a wind, nor tack on occaſion, nor be managed in ſtormy weather by the ſeamen. Neither the art of ſhip-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained ſo great perfection as could ſerve for the ſecurity and government of ſuch bulky veſſels; and the Engliſh, therefore, whoſe ſhips were much ſmaller, were by no means alarmed at their tremendous appearance.

ON the contrary, the very ſmallneſs of their ſhips gave them an evident advantage over the enemy, whoſe cannon were placed ſo high, that they ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh; while the latter, with great ſpirit and activity, plied the Spaniards on every ſide, and took or ſunk about fourteen of their veſſels, among which was a great ſhip of Biſcay, and the great galleon of Andaluſia, each of them containing a large ſum of money. The Spaniſh admiral, diſheartened by this loſs, and ſtill more by the refuſal of the duke of Parma to tranſport his army into England, gave up all hopes of ſucceeding in his attempt, and he therefore reſolved to make the beſt of his way homewards; but as he could not ſafely paſs through the channel (the wind being contrary) he determined to ſail northwards, and doubling the extremity of Scotland, return to his own country by the ocean. During his voyage, he was encountered by a ſtorm, which diſperſed and deſtroyed the greateſt part of his fleet; ſo that of one hundred and thirty ſhips, which he carried out with him, he was able to bring back no more than fifty-three. Philip, who was an excellent hypocrite, no ſooner heard of the failure of his enterprize, than he fell on his knees, and returned thanks to God that the calamity was not greater. Elizabeth, with much better reaſon, made a proceſſion to St. Paul's, and returned thanks to God for the ſignal deliverance he had vouchſafed her. At the ſame time, ſhe ſettled a penſion on the admiral, and liberally rewarded all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion.

THE aſſiſtance which Elizabeth gave to the proteſtants in France

France was no leſs ſeaſonable than that which ſhe afforded to the Hollanders and the Scots. France had been long torn with domeſtic diſſenſions, ariſing from the animoſity between the catholics and proteſtants. Henry the third had been murdered in his palace by one Jaques Clement, a dominican friar, merely becauſe he ſeemed to favour the proteſtants, though he himſelf ſtill adhered to the catholic faith. The king of Navarre, afterwards known by the name of Henry the fourth, ſucceeded to the throne; but it was a long time before he could make good his pretenſions, on account of his being a proteſtant. This, however, he was at laſt enabled to do by means of the ſuccours furniſhed him by Elizabeth; and in a few years after he either thought or found it neceſſary, for his own ſecurity, and the tranquillity of his kingdom, to embrace the religion of the country, which was no doubt the popiſh.

But the affairs of Ireland, as they more immediately concerned the intereſt, more powerfully attracted the attention of Elizabeth, than any foreign politics whatever. Hugh O'Neale, earl of Tyrone, one of the Iriſh chieftains, had raiſed a rebellion in that kingdom, and had laid a regular, and in appearance a well-concerted plan for driving the Engliſh entirely out of the country. The earl of Eſſex was ſent againſt him with an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, which were afterwards reinforced with two thouſand more; but this nobleman, not having anſwered the expectations of the court, was ſucceeded in his command by Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, who defeated Tyrone in ſeveral engagements, and obliged him to have recourſe to the queen's mercy.

Elizabeth, with all the ſtrength of mind which ſhe was univerſally allowed to poſſeſs, had not yet been able to preſerve herſelf from that weakneſs, to which moſt ſovereigns, but eſpecially moſt female ſovereigns, are ſubject, namely, the contracting a partiality and friendſhip for ſome particular perſons, who are uſually known by the name of favourites. The firſt perſon, whom ſhe thus diſtinguiſhed, was Robert Dudley, ſon to Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and grandſon to that Dudley, who had been one of the inſtruments of king Henry the ſeventh's extortions, and who was afterwards executed for his illegal practices. This man ſhe created earl of Leiceſter, and loaded with ſo many favours, that he was even encouraged to aſpire to her bed; and had ſhe ever been inclined to marry, he ſeems to have had as good a chance of attaining to that envied diſtinction as any other perſon that was ever propoſed as a match to her. She even appointed him commander in chief of the forces, which ſhe ſent to the aſſiſt-

ance of the Hollanders; though his conduct in that capacity was not ſuch as to gain him the eſteem either of his own men, or of thoſe whom he came to ſuccour. She likewiſe intruſted him with the command of one of the armies that were raiſed for oppoſing the Spaniſh armada; and though the fate of the kingdom ſeemed to depend upon the courage and abilities of thoſe who were then inveſted with the chief commands, the queen's partiality to Leiceſter was ſuch, that ſhe never perceived his total incapacity for the high office to which ſhe had advanced him; but, happily for this country, the early miſcarriage of the enterprize prevented his military talents being put to the teſt. Leiceſter died in 1591, and by a rare good fortune, was as much poſſeſſed of the queen's good graces at the time of his deceaſe, as ever he had been during any period of his life.

ELIZABETH's ſecond favourite was Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, (whom we have already mentioned) a young nobleman of the moſt generous ſentiments, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities. Had he been endowed with command of temper, equal to his extraordinary parts, he would have ſo rivetted himſelf in the queen's good opinion, that none of his enemies had ever been able to undermine his credit. But his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference, which Elizabeth required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Being once engaged in a diſpute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, roſe at this provocation; and ſhe gave him a box on the ear; adding an expreſſion, ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſion due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore, that he would not bear ſuch treatment, were it from Henry VIII. himſelf; and he immediately withdrew from court.

EGERTON, the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion by proper acknowledgments; and intreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country. But Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour he had received; and ſeemed to think, that an inſult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. "If the vileſt of all indignities," ſaid he in a letter to Egerton, "is done me, does

does religion inforce me to ſue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit of princes, ſhew no ſenſe of princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on earth, that do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven"; (alluding probably to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety, and was his inveterate enemy) "as for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it; my cauſe is good, I know it; and whatſoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering every thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your lordſhip, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourſelf a looker on; and me a player of my own game, ſo you may ſee more than I: but give me leave to tell you, that ſince you do but ſee, and I do ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feel more than you."

This letter was ſhown by Eſſex to his friends, and they were ſo imprudent as to diſperſe copies of it. Yet, notwithſtanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality to him was ſo prevalent, that ſhe not only reinſtated him in his former favour, but even (as we have already obſerved) intruſted him with the command of the army againſt the earl of Tyrone in Ireland: upon his return from which expedition he was again diſgraced, and ſubjected to ſo many indignities, that his impatient ſpirit breaking through all the reſtraints of duty and allegiance, he endeavoured to raiſe an inſurrection: but failing in his attempt, he was ſeized, tried, condemned, and executed the 25th of February, 1601. The queen was at firſt extremely unwilling to ſign the warrant for his death; but believing his obſtinacy to be ſo great, that he ſcorned to apply to her for a pardon, ſhe was at laſt prevailed on to conſent to his execution.

It appeared however, afterwards, that he had actually made ſuch an application, though this at the time had been induſtriouſly concealed from her majeſty; and the unexpected diſcovery of this circumſtance is ſuppoſed by the beſt hiſtorians to have been a principal means of haſtening her death. Eſſex, it ſeems, in one of thoſe happy moments, when he obſerved the queen's partiality towards him to be moſt conſpicuous, took occaſion to regret, that the neceſſity of her ſervice obliged him often to be abſent from her perſon, and expoſed him to all thoſe ill offices, which his enemies, more aſſiduous

in their attendance, would employ againſt him. She was moved with this tender jealouſy; and making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and aſſured him, that into whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately, upon the ſight of it, recall her former tenderneſs, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology.

ESSEX, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected, that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, puſhed by her reſentment, and policy, to ſign the warrant for his execution.

THE counteſs of Nottingham, being ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, and alarmed at the near approach of death, was touched with remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret. The queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: ſhe ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and crying to her, "that God might forgive her, but ſhe never could," ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation; ſhe even refuſed food and ſuſtenance, and throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and exiſtence an inſufferable burthen to her. Few words ſhe uttered, and they were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief; but ſighs and groans were the chief vent, which ſhe gave to her deſpondency, and which, though they diſcovered her ſorrow, were never able to eaſe or aſſuage them. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, much leſs to make trial of any remedies, which they preſcribed to her.

HER anxious mind, at laſt, had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council, being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary, to know

know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered with a faint voice, that as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil (the ſecretary) requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied, that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without ſtruggle or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. *A. D.* 1603. The account here given of the immediate cauſe of queen Elizabeth's death has been rejected by ſome hiſtorians as romantic; but the proofs adduced in ſupport of it by Dr. Birch, in his negociations and memoirs, ſeem to be fully ſatisfactory.

ELIZABETH was, in her perſon, tall, ſtrait, ſtrong-limbed, and maſculine, with a high round fore-head, fair complexion, and yellow hair. She danced with great agility; her voice was clear and ſtrong, her ear good, and ſhe played excellently upon ſeveral muſical inſtruments. Nor were the qualities of her mind inferior to thoſe of her body: ſhe poſſeſſed a ſound judgment, a tenacious memory, underſtood the dead and living languages, had made conſiderable proficiency in the ſciences, and was well read in hiſtory. The maxims of her government were wiſe and prudent; and ſhe was extremely happy in the choice of her miniſters. As a ſovereign, we ſhall find few in hiſtory equal, and hardly any ſuperior to her: as a woman, ſhe was ſubject to many of the natural weakneſſes of the ſex: ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be addreſſed in the ſtile of gallantry, even when ſhe was turned of ſixty years of age; and her antipathy to the Scottiſh queen ſeems to have ariſen as much from the rivalſhip of beauty, in which ſhe was certainly eclipſed by the latter, as from any interference of political intereſts.

ELIZABETH was never married. Several matches, indeed, were propoſed to her; ſuch as the archduke Charles, Caſimir, ſon of the elector Palatine, Eric, king of Sweden, Adolph, duke of Holſtein, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Alençon, and others; but Elizabeth's policy and love of liberty were too great, ever to allow her to think of ſubmitting to the yoke of matrimony. She took care, however, never to give any of her ſuitors an abſolute denial; ſo that ſhe ſtill kept them in expectation, and by that means ſecured their friend-

ſhip. The ſame motive ſeems likewiſe to have engaged all the young Engliſh noblemen to be conſtantly about her perſon, and to ſerve her with a zeal, which was as much derived from a ſpirit of gallantry as from a ſenſe of duty.

We ſhall now mention a few detached events that happened during this reign, and could not ſo properly find a place in the body of the hiſtory.

In 1569, Elizabeth concluded a treaty of commerce with John Baſilides, great duke of Muſcovy, together with a perſonal alliance, by which ſhe engaged to give him an aſylum in England, in caſe he ſhould be driven out of his dominions; for it is to be obſerved, that this duke was a moſt furious tyrant, and was perpetually afraid, that his ſubjects would dethrone him. In order to ſecure to himſelf a better reception in this country, he propoſed marrying an Engliſh woman; and the queen intended to have ſent him lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon; but when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the people, ſhe wiſely declined purchaſing an empire at the expence of her eaſe and ſafety.

In 1577, ſir Francis Drake ſet ſail from Plymouth, and entering the ſouth ſea by the ſtraits of Magellan, returned, in 1580, by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the world, and the firſt commander in chief of any nation; for Magellan, whoſe ſhip performed the ſame voyage, died in his paſſage. In 1584, ſir Walter Raleigh diſcovered Virginia, which name he gave it in honour of the virgin-queen. He is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt perſon who introduced the uſe of tobacco in England; and with regard to this, a curious circumſtance is related of him. One morning, it ſeems, after his return, he was ſmoaking a pipe in his cloſet, when his ſervant entered with his breakfaſt, which conſiſted of a good tankard of ale and a toaſt. The ſervant ſeeing him enveloped in a cloud of ſmoke, imagined that he was on fire; and, in order to extinguiſh it, he threw the contents of the tankard at him with great violence, at the ſame time running out of the room, and exclaiming that his maſter was all on fire.

Some private adventurers, headed by ſir Francis Drake, and ſir John Norris, and aſſiſted by the queen, undertook, in 1589, to raiſe Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, to the throne of that kingdom, which had lately become vacant; but, after meeting with ſome ſucceſs, they finally failed in the enterprize. In 1600, the queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt India company, whoſe ſtock was at that time 72,000l. In the courſe of this

reign ſir John Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent ſtructure of the Exchange, for the reception of merchants. The queen viſited it, and gave it the name of the Royal Exchange.

Dr. Howell ſays, that queen Elizabeth in the third year of her reign was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings by her ſilkwoman, and never wore cloth hoſe any more. The author of the Preſent State of England ſays, that about the year 1577, pocket watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the uſe of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain. The current ſpecie of the kingdom, in the end of this reign, is computed at four millions.

A ſcene of cruelty was acted in France, which ought not to paſs unnoticed, and which has fixed an indelible ſtain on the character of that nation, and on the catholic religion. The papiſts of Paris, not only by the connivance, but by the expreſs order, nay under the immediate direction of their ſovereign, that treacherous tyrant, Charles IX. roſe upon the proteſtants, and attacking them unawares, in the night of the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, put about 10,000 of them to the ſword. The like maſſacre of the proteſtants was committed in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities of the kingdom.

CHAP. XXVIII.

JAMES I.

ELIZABETH was ſucceeded by James the ſixth king of Scotland, and firſt of England, ſon to the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, and Henry Stuart, lord Darnley. He was great grandſon to Margaret, daughter of Henry the ſeventh, and, on the failure of all the male iſſue of that prince, his hereditary right remained unqueſtionable. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had declared him her ſucceſſor; and the Engliſh in general were ſo well pleaſed with the proſpect of his acceſſion, that many of them had begun, even before the death of that princeſs, to make their court to him. James, at the time of his aſcending the throne, was thirty-ſeven years of age, being born at Edinburgh-caſtle the 19th of June, 1566. He was baptiſed *A. D.* 1603.

a Roman catholic, but afterwards educated in the proteſtant religion, the famous hiſtorian Buchanan being his tutor. His mother being depoſed in 1567, James was crowned immediately after, and committed to the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray, who acted as regent of the kingdom. That nobleman being aſſaſſinated, in 1570, by a perſon of the name of Hamilton, was ſucceeded in the regency by the earls of Lenox, Marre, and Morton, till 1578, when James aſſumed the reins of government.

JAMES's firſt care, after his arrival in England, was the ſettlement of his miniſtry; and though he was, in general, extremely partial to his Scottiſh ſubjects, yet it muſt be owned, in juſtice to his memory, that he left almoſt all the great offices of ſtate in the hands of thoſe who had poſſeſſed them during the reign of Elizabeth. Cecil, in particular, that princeſs's great confidant, was created by James lord Eſſindon, viſcount Cranbourn, and earl of Saliſbury, and was regarded as his prime miniſter and chief counſellor. He was, however, a little too laviſh in beſtowing titles of honour; for in the ſpace of ſix weeks after his entrance into the kingdom, he is ſaid to have conferred knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons; ſo that the wits affixed a paſquinade to St. Paul's Cathedral, in which they promiſed to teach an art very neceſſary to aſſiſt frail memories, in retaining the names of the new nobility.

BUT, however unanimous the Engliſh were in acknowledging James's right to the crown, a conſpiracy was formed by ſome male-contents to ſubvert the government, and raiſe to the throne the lady Arabella Stuart, couſin-german to the king; and ſome of the conſpirators were condemned and executed. The brave and learned ſir Walter Raleigh, one of the chief ornaments of his age and nation, was tried for being concerned in this plot; and though the evidence againſt him was very lame and unſatisfactory, yet was he declared to be guilty, and thrown into the Tower, where he remained many years, and wrote his incomparable hiſtory of the world; and this very ſentence, ſevere and even unjuſt as it was generally ſuppoſed to be, was at laſt executed upon him, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

A plot of a more deſperate nature, and whoſe particulars are more clearly aſcertained and more fully authenticated, was formed by ſome zealous catholics, Cateſby, Piercy, Digby, and others, who expected better treatment from James than they found they now received, not only as he was the ſon of a woman, who had ſacrificed her life in defence of the popiſh faith, but as he himſelf had been born in the boſom, and early initiated

initiated into the doctrines of the Roman church. Enraged at their diſappointment, they reſolved to wreak their vengeance upon James, and upon all the moſt eminent men in the kingdom. With this view they hired a vault under the houſe where the parliament was to aſſemble, and having lodged thirty ſix barrels of gun-powder in it, covered over with wood and faggots, and laid a proper train, they employed one Guy Fawkes, a moſt determined villain, to ſet fire to the train, while the king, on the fifth of November, ſhould be haranguing the two houſes, who, had the helliſh deſign ſucceeded, would have been blown into a thouſand atoms. *A. D.* 1605.

THE plot, however, was happily diſcovered by means of an anonymous letter ſent to lord Monteagle, a catholic, and which was conceived in the following terms. "My lord, out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of the time. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement; but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For, though there be no appearance of any ſtir yet, I ſay, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make a good uſe of it, unto whoſe holy protection I commend you."

MONTEAGLE knew not what to make of this letter; and though inclined to think it a fooliſh attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it ſafeſt to carry it to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. Though Saliſbury too was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not ſo light a matter; and from the ſerious earneſt ſtile of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied ſomething dangerous and important. *A terrible blow*, and yet *the authors concealed*; a danger ſo *ſudden*, and yet ſo *great*; theſe circumſtances ſeemed all to denote ſome contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought adviſable to inſpect the vaults below the houſes of parliament.

THIS care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purpoſely delayed the ſearch till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked thoſe great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the houſe; and

and he caſt his eyes upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and paſſed himſelf for the ſervant of Piercy, in whoſe name the vault had been hired. That daring and determined courage, which ſo much diſtinguiſhed this conſpirator, even among thoſe heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not paſſed unnoticed by the chamberlain. Such a quantity alſo of fuel, for the uſe of one who lived ſo little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumſtances, it was reſolved, that a more thorough inſpection ſhould be made.

About midnight, ſir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of the peace, was ſent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault, finding Fawkes, who had juſt finiſhed all his preparations, he immediately ſeized him, and turning over the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches, and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who finding his guilt now apparent, and ſeeing no refuge but in boldneſs and deſpair, expreſſed the utmoſt regret, that he had loſt the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and ſweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixed even with ſcorn and diſdain, refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, and ſhewing no concern but for the failure of the enterprize. This obſtinacy laſted two or three days; but being confined to the Tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being juſt ſhown to him, his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, and unſupported by hope or ſociety, at laſt failed him; and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators. Cateſby, Piercy, and the other criminals, fled immediately to the country upon hearing of the ſeizure of Fawkes; but they were hotly purſued; and being ſurrounded on all hands, they were either killed, or elſe taken priſoners. Moſt of the latter were hanged along with Fawkes. Garnet too, the ſuperior of the Jeſuits, who had had a capital hand in forwarding the plot, was executed; but notwithſtanding the atrocity of the crime in which he was concerned, the bigotry of the catholics was ſo great, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr.

James made an attempt, ſoon after his acceſſion, to effect an union between England and Scotland; but not being able to ſucceed in his deſign, he aſſumed the title of king of Great Britain, to prevent the jealouſy that might probably have ariſen between his old and his new ſubjects, by giving the preference to the one above the other.

As James was naturally of a pacific and unambitious character,

character, he ſtudiouſly avoided every thing that might involve him in a quarrel with any of his neighbours; and it may be affirmed, notwithſtanding the blame thrown upon him on that account by ſeveral hiſtorians, that the ſame conduct, which was agreeable to him, was in the higheſt degree advantageous to his ſubjects; as during the whole of his reign, they were gradually advancing the arts of peace, which contribute much more to the happineſs of a nation, than the moſt ſplendid victories, or the moſt extenſive foreign conqueſts. He gave, however, ſome aſſiſtance to the Dutch, and to Frederic, elector Palatine, who had married his daughter, and who had been choſen king of Bohemia by the ſtates of that country, who had revolted from the Auſtrians. But Frederic was not able to maintain himſelf in his new ſovereignty. On the contrary, he was not only diſpoſſeſſed of it, but was even driven from his hereditary dominions; nor was it till after ſeveral years, and a long train of negociations, that he found means to recover the latter.

JAMES hardly employed any other expedient in his favour than the ſending of one ambaſſador after another, to treat with the emperor and the king of Spain, who had expelled him from Germany. This pacific conduct, and averſion to warlike meaſures, naturally expoſed James to the ridicule, not only of his own ſubjects, but even of foreign ſtates. In a farce, acted at Bruſſels, a courier was introduced, carrying the doleful news, that the Palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the emperor (who had ſeized it); ſo powerful were the ſuccours, which, from all quarters, were haſtening to the relief of the deſpoiled elector: the king of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his aſſiſtance a hundred thouſand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thouſand butter-boxes, and the king of England a hundred thouſand ambaſſadors. On other occaſions, he was painted with a ſcabbard, but without a ſword; or with a ſword, which nobody could draw, though ſeveral were pulling at it.

JAMES's favourite ſtudy was that of divinity, in which, it muſt be owned, he had made conſiderable progreſs, and to which he was ſo attached, that he ſeems to have preferred it to the cares of government. He called at Hampton-court a conference of divines, in order to put an end to the controverſies that prevailed between the epiſcopalians and the diſſenters in his kingdoms; and he likewiſe wrote ſeveral pieces for the ſame purpoſe. He even built a college at Chelſea for the accommodation of twenty perſons, who ſhould be entirely employed in refuting the papiſts and puritans. But this college was afterwards applied to another purpoſe,

purpoſe, and converted into an aſylum for maimed, wounded, and ſuperannuated ſoldiers, which it ſtill continues to be.

As moſt ſovereigns, even thoſe of the greateſt abilities, are ſubject to the foible of having a partiality or predilection for ſome particular perſon, who is diſtinguiſhed by the name of favourite, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a prince of ſo very moderate parts as James, could well be free from this infirmity. Accordingly we find, that he had two favourites, each of whom, in his turn, entirely poſſeſſed his friendſhip and affection. The firſt of theſe was Robert Carre, a youth of about twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, who, merely by means of a beautiful perſon, and genteel addreſs, ſoon acquired over the weak mind of James ſuch a complete aſcendant, that he was intruſted by him with the ſole direction of all his buſineſs and political con-

A. D. 1613. cerns. He was even created viſcount Rocheſter and earl of Somerſet.

But his reign was of ſhort duration. While he conducted himſelf, indeed, by the advice of ſir Thomas Overbury, a man of ſenſe, and who ſeems to have borne him a real affection, he avoided a great part of that envy, to which his ſituation as a favourite would otherwiſe have expoſed him. But he withdrew his confidence from that gentleman, and even conceived againſt him a moſt inveterate antipathy for an act, which ought to have recommended Overbury ſtill more to his good opinion. He had entered into a criminal connection with the counteſs of Eſſex, daughter to the earl of Suffolk, and who had been married to the young earl of Eſſex, while both of them were under age. While Eſſex was abſent upon his travels, Somerſet had contrived not only to gain the affections of the young counteſs, but even to deprive her of her virtue and honour. Upon the return, therefore, of her huſband, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to have any concern or correſpondence with him; and Somerſet, having found means to procure a divorce between them, had the effrontery and imprudence to eſpouſe the lady himſelf. Overbury proteſted ſtrongly againſt this indecent ſtep, which, he plainly foreſaw, would prove the ruin of his friend; but, by this honeſt dealing, he excited ſuch a ſpirit of revenge in the breaſt of the earl, and ſtill more in that of the counteſs, that they had him, though ſeemingly upon another pretence, thrown into the tower, and taken off by poiſon. The particulars of this horrid tranſaction were all brought to light about two years afterwards; and both Somerſet and his lady were tried, and found guilty by their peers. But the king granted them a pardon, and even

even ſettled upon them a ſmall penſion, with which they retired into the country, and paſſed the remainder of their days in miſery and diſgrace; for their guilty loves were at laſt turned into the moſt deadly hatred, and they ſpent ſeveral years together in the ſame houſe without having the leaſt intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.

The king's next favourite was George Villiers, a younger brother of a good Engliſh family, who, by means of the ſame ſuperficial qualities that had recommended Somerſet, made an equally ſtrong and a more durable impreſſion upon the mind of James, who ſucceſſively created him viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England; and, in a word, reſigned himſelf ſo entirely into the hands of this minion, that he can hardly be ſaid, from that time forward, to have had a will of his own.

He even ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by this favourite to conſent to his ſon's taking a journey into Spain, in order to ſee the infanta, who was propoſed to him as a conſort. The king, it is true, diſcovered at firſt an extreme reluctance to this expedition; but all his objections were at laſt overcome by the importunity of the prince, and ſtill more of Buckingham, who had been rather accuſtomed to preſcribe to, than to ſolicit the ſovereign. To prevent, however, as much as poſſible, the bad effects that might enſue from it, he reſolved that the prince ſhould be attended by ſome perſon of more temper and experience than Buckingham; and for this purpoſe he pitched upon ſir Francis Cottington, who had formerly reſided in Spain as his majeſty's agent. Sending, therefore, for that gentleman, he addreſſed him thus: "Cottington, you have always been an honeſt man, and I am now to truſt you in an affair of the higheſt importance, which you are not, upon your life, to diſcloſe to any man whatever." "Here," added he, "is baby Charles and Stenny (theſe ridiculous appellations he uſually gave to the prince and Buckingham) who have a great mind to go poſt into Spain, and fetch home the infanta: they will have none but two more in their company, and have choſen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis was immediately ſtruck with all the obvious objections to ſuch an enterprize, and he ſcrupled not to declare them. The king threw himſelf upon his bed, and cried, "I told you this before;" and fell into a violent paſſion and loud lamentations, exclaiming that

that he was undone, and ſhould loſe baby Charles. Nevertheleſs, he finally gave his conſent to the journey; nor was it productive of any of thoſe bad effects which had been ſo much apprehended. On the contrary, the prince met with ſuch a reception at Madrid, as gave as much ſatisfaction to himſelf as it did honour to the character of the Spaniſh nation. No ungenerous advantage was taken of him in conſequence of his having put himſelf in the power of that people; and after having been treated, during the whole of his ſtay, with every mark of deference and reſpect, he was at laſt diſmiſſed with as much freedom as if he had been leaving his father's dominions. He did not, however, marry the infanta: he afterwards eſpouſed the princeſs Henrietta, daughter to Henry the fourth, king of France.

AFTER Raleigh had lain ſeveral years in the Tower, where he wrote his hiſtory of the world, he was at laſt releaſed from that place of confinement, that ſo he might be enabled to execute a project he had formed of diſcovering a gold mine in Guiana, in South America, where he pretended formerly to have ſeen it. Upon his arrival, however, at this latter place, no ſuch gold mine could be found; but Raleigh attacked one of the Spaniſh ſettlements; and for this act of hoſtility during a profound peace, by which he expoſed the nation to the danger of being involved in a war with Spain, he was, upon his return to England, executed upon the ſtrength of his former ſentence; an act of ſeverity, which gave great diſguſt to the people in general, and drew upon the king a heavy load of odium.

THE moſt important act of James's reign, though one that attracts the public attention much leſs powerfully than wars, and treaties, and negociations, was the judicious and ſucceſsful attempt he made to civilize the people of Ireland, who were ſtill in the very loweſt ſtate of barbariſm. They had not yet riſen above that rude condition, when murder might be atoned for by paying a ſmall ſum to the relations of the deceaſed, and when every man had a price affixed to his head, which was there called his *eric*. When ſir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire, one of the Iriſh chieftains, that he meant to ſend a ſheriff into Fermannah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and ſubjected to the Engliſh law; "Your ſheriff," ſaid Maguire, "ſhall be welcome to me; but let me know, beforehand, his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county." How much, indeed, they were ſtrangers to the Engliſh, and conſequently to all laws, may be learned from an expreſſion, which was common among

among them, and paſſed for a byword, viz. "That they dwelt weſtward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow;" meaning the country, where the Engliſh inhabited, and which extended not any way above twenty miles from Dublin. James, however, proceeded in this humane and public-ſpirited work by ſo ſteady, regular, and well-concerted a plan, that in the ſpace of nine years, according to ſir John Davies, he made greater advances towards the reformation of Ireland, than had been made in the 440 years, which had elapſed ſince its conqueſt was firſt attempted.

JAMES ſeems never to have been of a very ſtrong conſtitution. In the ſpring of the year 1625, he was ſeized with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers, with the common proverb, that ſuch a diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king, which he no longer was. After ſome fits, he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for his ſon prince Charles, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to adhere ſteadily to his own religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the Palatine. With decency and courage he prepared himſelf for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and ſome days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. *A. D.* 1625.

His reign over Scotland was almoſt of equal duration with his life.

JAMES, in his ſtature, was of the middle ſize, inclining to corpulency; his forehead was high, his beard ſcanty, his addreſs aukward, and his appearance ſlovenly. He was poſſeſſed of conſiderable virtues; but ſcarce any of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generoſity bordered on profuſion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition on puſillanimity, his wiſdom on cunning, and his friendſhip on light fancy and boyiſh fondneſs.

BY his wife, Anne, daughter of Frederic the ſecond, king of Denmark, and of Sophia of Mecklenburgh, he had ſeven children, viz. Henry Frederic, prince of Wales, who died in 1612, before he had reached his eighteenth year, and whom the Engliſh writers of that age repreſent as one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in Europe; Robert, who died in his childhood; Charles, by whom he was ſucceeded on the throne; Elizabeth, married, in 1613, to Frederic the fifth, elector Palatine, and afterwards king of Bohemia, from whom deſcended the illuſtrious family now on the throne, the princeſs

ceſs Sophia, mother of George the firſt, being their iſſue; Margaret, Mary, and Sophia, who died infants.

THE moſt eminent writers that flouriſhed during this and the preceding reign, were Spencer, Sidney, Donne, Shakeſpeare, Johnſon, Raleigh, Bacon, Fairfax, Harrington, and Camden. King James himſelf was an author; he wrote the Baſilicon Doron; the true Law of free Monarchies; a treatiſe on Witches and Apparitions; and a Commentary on the Revelations, in which he proved the pope to be antichriſt.

IT was properly during this reign, that the firſt Engliſh colonies were planted in America; for queen Elizabeth had done little more than give a name to the continent of Virginia. It was likewiſe during the ſame period that ſir Hugh Middleton made the new river.

THE numbers of the houſe of lords, in the firſt parliament of this reign, were ſeventy-eight temporal peers. The numbers in the firſt parliament of Charles were ninety-ſeven; conſequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above thoſe that expired.

The houſe of commons, in the firſt parliament of this reign, conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty-ſeven members. It appears, that four boroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the firſt parliament of Charles conſiſted of four hundred and ninety-four members, we may infer, that James created ten new boroughs.

JAMES was extremely averſe to the continuance of the nobility and gentry in town during the receſs of parliament. "He wont to be very earneſt," as lord Bacon tells us, "with the country gentlemen to go from London to their "country ſeats." And ſometimes he would ſay thus to them: *Gentlemen, at London, you are like ſhips in a ſea, which look like nothing; but, in your country villages, are like ſhips in a river, which look like great things.*

THE firſt ſedan chair, ſeen in England, was in this reign, and was uſed by the duke of Buckingham. The people exclaimed loudly againſt this mark of effeminacy, and ſaid, that he was employing his fellow-creatures to do the ſervice of beaſts.

THE following ſtory is ſo very expreſſive of James's real character, that it may be worth the mentioning: "One day, while he was ſtanding amidſt ſome of his courtiers, a porter paſſed by, loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treaſury. The king obſerved, that Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, one of his handſome agreeable favourites, whiſpered ſomething to one ſtanding near him. Upon enquiry, he found, that Rich had ſaid, "How happy would that money make me!" Without

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heſitation, James beſtowed it all upon him, though it amounted to 3000 pounds. He added, "You think yourſelf very happy in obtaining ſo large a ſum; but I am more happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love." The generoſity of James was more the reſult of a benign humour or light fancy, than of reaſon or judgment.

THE growth of London during this period was prodigious. From 1600 it doubled every forty years; and, conſequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants, as at the beginning of the century.

THE largeſt ſhip that ever came from the Engliſh docks, was built during this reign. She was only 1400 tons, and carried ſixty-four guns.

SIR Thomas Overbury ſays, that the Dutch poſſeſſed three times more ſhipping than the Engliſh, but that their ſhips were of inferior burden to thoſe of the latter. The Dutch at this time traded to England with 600 ſhips; England to Holland with ſixty only.

THE Engliſh ſeem not yet to have learned the art of dying and dreſſing cloth. Moſt of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dreſſed by the Dutch, who gained, it is pretended, 700,000 pounds a-year by this manufacture.

WITH regard to Scotland, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that the king's authority was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in it, after his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, that he was able to introduce into it ſome of the ceremonies of the church of England, though contrary to the ſentiments of the greater part of the nation.

CHAP. XXIX.

CHARLES I.

JAMES was ſucceeded by his only ſurviving ſon, Charles, who aſcended the throne in 1625, being then twenty-five years of age. As his father had left him engaged in a war with Spain, which had been undertaken with a deſign of aſſiſting the Dutch, he ſent, a few months after his acceſſion, a fleet to the coaſt of that kingdom, in order to make an attack upon the ſhipping in the bay of Cadiz, or, if poſſible, to intercept the galleons; but it returned in a little time, without being able to effect either of theſe purpoſes. *A. D.* 1625.

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He was likewiſe induced, or rather indeed compelled, by the earneſt importunity of the duke of Buckingham, who was now become as great a favourite with Charles, as ever he had been with James, to declare war againſt
A. D. 1627. France about two years after. This war appears to have been, in a great meaſure, owing to the inveterate antipathy which Buckingham had conceived againſt cardinal Richlieu, the French prime miniſter. The favourite, it ſeems, in his journey to Spain, had paſſed through Paris, and during his ſtay there he had been ſo very preſumptuous as to make his addreſſes to the queen dowager of France; and having met, as he imagined, with ſome ſlight encouragement, he reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of repeating his viſit. With this view he perſuaded his majeſty to ſend him on a new embaſſy to Paris; but Richlieu being informed of this circumſtance, ſent word to London, in his maſter's name, that the duke muſt not think of ſuch a journey. In a romantic paſſion, Buckingham ſwore, *That he would ſee the queen, in ſpite of all the power of France*; and, from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom. Having eaſily gained this point, he ſailed to the coaſt of France with a fleet of an hundred ſhips, having on board an army of 7000 men. But, inſtead of making his way to Paris, as he vainly boaſted he would do, he was not even able to relieve the proteſtants who were ſhut up in Rochelle, and were cloſely inveſted; but, after loſing about two-thirds of his land forces, he returned to England, totally diſcredited both as an admiral and general, and bringing with him no other praiſe, than the vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery. In the ſucceed-
A. D. 1628. ing year, the earl of Denbigh, the duke's brother-in-law, made another attempt for the relief of the Rochellers; but his enterprize proved as unſucceſsful as that of Buckingham. The duke was preparing for a third expedition, when he was ſuddenly cut off, by a hand, from which he probably apprehended no danger.

There was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had ſerved under the duke in the ſtation of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the expedition againſt Rochelle, Felton had applied for the company; and when diſappointed, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired in diſcontent from the army. While private reſentment was boiling in his ſullen, unſociable mind, he heard the nation reſound with complaints againſt the duke, who had for a long time been very unpopular; and he met with a remonſtrance, which the commons had lately preſented againſt that

that nobleman, and in which he was repreſented as the cauſe of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticiſm farther inflamed theſe vindictive paſſions in the breaſt of Felton, who fancied he ſhould do heaven an acceptable ſervice, if, at one blow, he diſpatched this dangerous foe to religion, and to his country. Full of theſe dark views, he ſecretly repaired to Portſmouth, whither the duke had lately gone, in order to ſet out on the expedition; and he there watched for a favourable opportunity of effecting his bloody purpoſe.

Nor was it long before he was preſented with the occaſion he ſought for. Buckingham had been talking to ſome French gentlemen about the beſt method of conducting the enterprize; and retiring towards the door of the apartment where he was, he ſtopped in the paſſage to ſpeak to ſir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, when, all of a ſudden, over ſir Thomas's ſhoulder, he was ſtruck upon the breaſt with a knife. Without uttering other words than *The villain has killed me!* he pulled out the knife, and inſtantly expired.

No one had ſeen the blow given, nor the perſon who gave it; but in the hurry and confuſion that neceſſarily followed, a hat was picked up near the door, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper containing four or five lines of the remonſtrance of the commons, and under them an ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was eaſily concluded, that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin; but the difficulty ſtill remained, *Who that perſon ſhould be?* For the writing diſcovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was natural to believe, that he had already fled far enough not to be found without a hat.

While every perſon was forming his conjectures, a man without a hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly before the door. One crying out, *Here is the fellow, who killed the duke*; every body ran to aſk, *Which is he?* The man very ſedately anſwered, *I am he*. When carried into a private room, and aſked, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed that horrid deed, he replied, That they needed not to trouble themſelves about that matter; that no man living had credit enough with him to have diſpoſed him to ſuch an action; that he had not even entruſted his purpoſe to any one; that the reſolution proceeded only from himſelf, and the impulſe of his own conſcience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat were found; for that, believing he ſhould periſh in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. He maintained the ſame undaunted courage to the laſt moment, and gloried in the action for which he ſuffered.

AFTER the death of Buckingham, the command was conferred upon the earl of Lindſey; who conducted the fleet to the neighbourhood of Rochelle, but was prevented, by a barricado, from entering the harbour; and the town was obliged to ſurrender in his preſence. A peace was ſoon after concluded, both with France and Spain.

CHARLES received the news of his favourite's death, outwardly with the greateſt compoſure, from the natural gravity of his temper; but inwardly with the deepeſt ſorrow and concern, as he really ſeems to have been as much attached to him at the time of his deceaſe, as ever he had been during any period of his life.

BUT whatever vexation the king might feel from this circumſtance, he was ſoon after expoſed to much greater calamities from the unhappy miſunderſtanding between him and his parliaments, with whom, indeed, he never appears to have been upon good terms, and who, at laſt, puſhed him, in their ſtruggles for liberty, to ſuch extremities, as ultimately terminated in his death, and the ruin of the conſtitution; though, as good very often ariſes from evil, this violent conteſt had one happy effect, that it fixed more preciſely, than had hitherto been done, the exact limits between the privileges of the people, and prerogatives of the ſovereign, the former of whom will never wiſh to encroach upon the latter, which they juſtly conſider as ſo many powers entruſted to the prince for the preſervation of their own freedom; nor will the latter deſire to entrench upon the former, which they wiſely regard as the beſt foundation of the people's loyalty, and the greateſt ſecurity of their own throne.

THE grievances, which the commons firſt complained of, were forced loans, benevolencies, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, the billeting of ſoldiers, martial law; grievances, they ſaid, which were become intolerable, and againſt which it was neceſſary to provide ſome effectual remedy. They pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unuſual powers or privileges: they aimed only at ſecuring thoſe which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors: and their law for attaining this ſalutary purpoſe, they thought proper to denominate a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient conſtitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquiſition of new liberties. Charles, at firſt, diſcovered a ſtrong reluctance to agree to this ſtatute; but at laſt he was induced, or rather indeed compelled, to give his aſſent to it, whether he would or not.

THE king, however, was ſo diſguſted with the hard neceſ-

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ſity now impoſed upon him, that he reſolved, at leaſt, for ſome time, to govern without parliaments. But, as he could not raiſe money in the regular way without theſe aſſemblies, he endeavoured to procure it by ſuch other expedients, as had been ſometimes formerly practiſed, and were not expreſsly condemned by the Petition of Right. One of theſe was what is uſually called ſhip-money. This was a duty originally confined to the ſea-port towns, each of which was required, with the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring counties, to arm and furniſh for the public ſervice, as many veſſels as were appointed them. But this impoſition was now extended over the whole kingdom. Each county was rated at a particular ſum, which was afterwards aſſeſſed upon individuals; and moſt of them were either ſo ſimple or ſo ſubmiſſive, as to comply with the demand.

One man alone had the courage to reſiſt it. This was the celebrated John Hambden, one of the moſt amiable and eſtimable characters that is to be met with in the Engliſh or in any other hiſtory. Charles, indeed, had had the precaution, before he impoſed ſhip-money, to take the opinion of the judges with regard to the legality of the meaſure, and he propoſed to them this queſtion; "Whether, in a caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impoſe this taxation? and whether he were not ſole judge of the neceſſity?" Theſe guardians of law and liberty replied, with great complaiſance, "That, in a caſe of neceſſity, he might impoſe that taxation, and that he was ſole judge of the neceſſity." Hambden had been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate, which he poſſeſſed in the county of Buckingham. Yet, notwithſtanding this declared opinion of the judges, notwithſtanding the great power, and ſometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithſtanding the ſmall proſpect of relief from parliament, which had not been aſſembled for ſeveral years, and was not likely to meet for many years to come; he reſolved, rather than tamely ſubmit to ſo illegal an impoſition, to ſtand a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the indignation of the court. The caſe was argued during twelve days, in the Exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial.

The event was eaſily foreſeen. A deciſion was given againſt Hambden; though four of the judges had the honeſty to diſſent from this ſentence. But had they all decided in favour of Hambden, the caſe would not have been mended. They would immediately have been removed, (for the judges were then removeable at pleaſure) and others appointed in their

room, who would readily have gratified the wiſhes of the king, by ſupporting his conduct. For it is to be lamented, that ſuch is the depravity of human nature, that men may always be found, and they may no doubt be found even in the preſent age, that will vindicate and defend the meaſures of the court, be they ever ſo unjuſt, illegal, or arbitrary.

HAMBDEN, however, gained the point he aimed at; he rouzed the people from the profound lethargy, into which they appear to have been generally ſunk, and rendered them more attentive than they hitherto had been, to the encroachments that were every day made upon their liberties. Theſe, indeed, were now become ſo numerous and ſo violent, that the nation ſeemed diſpoſed to have recourſe to any method, however extraordinary, in order to put a ſtop to them. It is probable, however, that they would not have immediately proceeded to extremity, had it not been for the example of the Scots; a people, who laboured under equal, if not greater oppreſſions than the Engliſh, and from the natural turbulence and iraſcibility of their temper, were leſs likely to endure them.

UPON the reformation, the form of church government eſtabliſhed in Scotland was the preſbyterian, or the diſcipline of the church of Geneva. James, however, and ſtill more Charles, believing epiſcopacy to be eſſential to monarchy, had endeavoured to bring the church of Scotland to a perfect uniformity with that of England; but neither of them had been able to ſucceed in their atttempt. James, indeed, had reſtored the juriſdiction of biſhops; but ſtill the mode of performing divine worſhip was purely preſbyterian. Charles now reſolved to aboliſh this mode, and to ſubſtitute the epiſcopalian in its room. With this view, he ſent down the liturgy to Scotland, in order to have it introduced into the churches there, in the ſame manner as it was uſed in the church of England.

IN order, however, to ſound the ſentiments of the people, it was determined to read it firſt in the cathedral of Edinburgh, before it was attempted in the other parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, the dean of that dioceſe, arrayed in his ſurplice, began the new ſervice in the church of St. Giles's, the biſhip himſelf and many of the privy-council being preſent. But no ſooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meaneſt ſort, moſt of them women, clapping their hands, curſing and crying out, *A pope! a pope! antichriſt! ſtone him!* raiſed ſuch a tumult, that it was impoſſible to proceed with the ſervice. The biſhop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appeaſe the populace, had a ſtool thrown at him:

him: the council was inſulted: and it was with difficulty that the magiſtrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to ſhut the doors againſt them. The tumult, however, ſtill continued without: Stones were thrown at the doors and windows; and when the ſervice was ended, the biſhop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly eſcaped from the hands of the enraged multitude.

THOUGH nobody appeared to have been concerned in this riot but the very loweſt of the populace, yet was it ſuſpected, that theſe had been ſecretly encouraged by ſome perſons of greater conſequence; and this ſuſpicion turned out in the end to be extremely well founded. For when it was known, that Charles ſtill perſevered in his intention of impoſing the liturgy upon Scotland, people of all ranks and conditions flocked up to Edinburgh, to prevent the introduction of ſo hated a novelty; and to enable them the better to act with vigour, as well as with concert, they entered into a league, which they denominated the Covenant. This famous covenant, beſides a ſolemn renunciation of popery, contained a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers obliged themſelves to reſiſt all religious innovations. The general aſſembly met ſoon after at Glaſgow, and formally aboliſhed epiſcopacy.

CHARLES, as may be ſuppoſed, was highly enraged at theſe violent proceedings of his Scottiſh ſubjects, not only in oppoſition to his well-known wiſhes, but even in contradiction to his expreſs commands; and in order to puniſh them for this preſumptuous, and, as he no doubt deemed it, rebellious conduct, he advanced towards Scotland with an army of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and attended by a fleet having five thouſand land forces on board. The Scots, however, were not unprepared to receive him: They probably expected ſuch a hoſtile viſit; and therefore had taken care to aſſemble ſome forces. Their army, it is true, was inferior to the king's in point of number; but it was certainly animated by a more enthuſiaſtic ſpirit. They believed their liberties, both civil and religious, to be all at ſtake; and in defence of theſe they would have fought with a more determined courage than the Engliſh, many of whom were not only lukewarm in the king's cauſe, but even bore a good will to that of the enemy. In theſe circumſtances, the king thought it imprudent to hazard a battle, which, if it ſhould be loſt, as it probably would be, would only render the breach between him and the Scots the more irreparable. He therefore concluded a peace with the enemy upon this ſimple condition, that a general aſſembly and a parliament ſhould be ſummoned, in order to compoſe all differences.

BUT theſe two great bodies no ſooner met, than the former proceeded at once to aboliſh epiſcopacy, and the latter was upon the point of confirming that act, when the commiſſioner, by the king's order, haſtily prorogued it. Charles, therefore, ſeeing, that his ſubjects in Scotland were obſtinately bent upon the abolition of epiſcopacy, which he, on his part, was equally reſolute to maintain, immediately aſſembled another army, in order to invade that kingdom; but the Scots, who had expected no leſs, were in arms before him; and entering England with ſuperior forces, compelled him to agree to ſuch terms as they were pleaſed to preſcribe.

THEY would not, however, have triumphed ſo eaſily over their miſguided ſovereign, had it not been for the diſcontents in England, which rendered the people of this laſt kingdom much gladder to hear of the ſucceſs than of the miſcarriage of the Scots. They themſelves indeed were nearly in the ſame ſituation with their northern neighbours; and they plainly foreſaw, that they ſhould ſoon be obliged to employ the ſame violent and hazardous expedient for redreſſing their own grievances, that was adopted by the Scots. No parliament had been aſſembled for the ſpace of eleven years; and during that period the king had endeavoured to repleniſh his empty coffers by forced loans, benevolences, monopolies, ſhip-money, and the like arbitrary and illegal methods: but even theſe reſources being moſt of them exhauſted, Charles was conſtrained, however reluctantly, to have recourſe once more to the aſſiſtance of parliament.

A parliament, accordingly, after ſo long an *A. D.* 1640. interval, was at laſt ſummoned to meet; but the members recollecting with how much precipitancy the king had almoſt always diſſolved former parliaments without allowing them time to complete any meaſure that might tend either to their own honour, or to the advantage of their country, were determined, if poſſible, upon the preſent occaſion, to prevent their being expoſed to the like inconvenience. They therefore purſuaded, or rather compelled the king to declare them perpetual; or, at leaſt, that they ſhould not be diſſolved without their own conſent.

HAVING gained this important point, and rendered their authority co-ordinate with the king's, they inſtantly proceeded to redreſs every grievance, of which the nation at that time complained. They aboliſhed the arbitrary courts of high commiſſion and Star-chamber; deprived the king of the power of levying taxes without the concurrence of parliament; attacked his moſt favourite miniſters and ſervants; obliged the lord-keeper Finch, and ſecretary Windebank, to fly the kingdom;

kingdom; attainted archbiſhop Laud, and the earl of Straf-ford, who were both executed; expelled the biſhops from their ſeats in the upper houſe; demanded the ſole direction of the militia for a limited time; and finding it impoſſible to perſuade the king to agree to this meaſure, began openly to prepare for war. The king, on his part, ſeeing all hopes of accommodation loſt, and that the ſword alone muſt decide the controverſy, embraced the ſame reſolution. Moſt of the nobility and gentry, and their dependents, as might naturally be expected, declared in favour of the king; but the city of London, and other corporations, together with the great body of the common people, in which the chief force of every nation conſiſts, eſpouſed the cauſe of the parliament; and this latter party was ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Scots, who looked upon their own intereſt and that of the Engliſh parliament, not only as intimately and cloſely connected, but as almoſt one and the ſame.

THE two hoſtile armies, however, which were now regularly formed, did not immediately proceed to action; and when they did, which was in 1642, fortune ſeemed for ſome time to ſhare her favours between them. The king was victorious at Braddock-down, Stratton, Roundway-down, Cropredy-bridge, and Atherton-moor; the parliament had the advantage at Wakefield, Gainſborough, Horn-caſtle, Torrington, and the ſecond battle of Newbury. The battles of Edgehill and Lanſdown, and the firſt at Newbury, were drawn battles. But no deciſive action happened till the 2d of July, 1644, when the army, commanded by prince Rupert, the king's nephew, was routed, at Marſton-moor, by the earl of Manchester, the parliamentary general, who had been lately joined by a body of 20,000 Scots. The king himſelf was defeated at Naſeby, the 14th of June, 1645, by the lord Fairfax; and this prince, after making ſome vain attempts to retrieve his affairs, and finding himſelf deſtitute of all kind of reſource, went over to the Scottiſh army at Newark, the 5th of May, 1646.

THERE, however, he met with a leſs favourable reception than perhaps he fondly expected. The Scots, indeed, ſhewed him all the exterior reſpect that was due to his dignity; but, at the ſame time, they put a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him, in reality, a ſtate priſoner. In the beginning of the *A. D.* 1647. enſuing year, they delivered him up to the commiſſioners of the Engliſh parliament, upon receiving the arrears that were due to them for their ſervice; and this circumſtance has ſubjected the Scots to the heavy imputation of ſelling their king for

money. But, if it be conſidered, that they, in fact, were as much the king's enemies as the Engliſh themſelves; that Charles was king of England as well as of Scotland; and that the former, as being the larger and more populous kingdom, had a better right than could be claimed by the latter, to diſpoſe of the perſon and fortunes of the ſovereign, the Scots will not appear to be ſo very culpable as is commonly imagined. The king was conducted to Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he had not remained long, when he was ſeized by Joyce, a cornet of horſe, whom Cromwell had ſent for that purpoſe, and who inſtantly carried him to the army.

CROMWELL'S motive for taking this ſtep was a ſecret to no one. He was at the head of the army, which had lately begun to arrogate to itſelf the whole power of the ſtate, and which being now poſſeſſed of the perſon of the ſovereign, could overawe and controul the proceedings of parliament. And this it could do with the greater eaſe, as Cromwell took care, in a very little time, to render it entirely ſubſervient to his wiſhes. It was now compoſed of three ſets of men, as different and diſtinct in their principles, as in the ſeveral names by which they were known. Theſe were the moderate royaliſts, the preſbyterians, and independents. The firſt were for reducing the prerogative within proper bounds, but for preſerving monarchy and epiſcopacy: the ſecond were for preſerving monarchy, but aboliſhing epiſcopacy; and the third were for aboliſhing both monarchy and epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſhing a republic. There is no doubt but the two former parties were greatly ſuperior in number and influence to the latter; but this ſoon acquired a complete aſcendancy by the aid of Cromwell, who garbled the parliament, or, as it was then called, *purged* it, and who having thus got a parliament entirely to his mind, began to entertain the criminal reſolution of bringing his ſovereign to a trial.

MANY objections, however, were at firſt made to this unprecedented meaſure; but they were all overcome by the cant and hypocriſy of Cromwell and his adherents, who repreſented it as the undoubted will of heaven, that juſtice ſhould be executed upon the king for the numerous acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, of which he had been guilty.

THE houſe of commons, therefore, (if we muſt ſo call about fifty or ſixty independents, for the houſe was now reduced to that number) eſtabliſhed a pretended high court of juſtice, in order to try the king, though contrary to the advice and opinion of the lords, who refuſed to have any ſhare in this proceeding; and they nominated as judges, general Fairfax,

Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, ſir Hardreſs Waller, colonel Harriſon, Philip Skippon, and others, amounting, in all, to one hundred and thirty-three perſons, though no more than ſeventy ever attended. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident. Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall.

THE charge againſt him was expreſſed in theſe terms: that he Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entruſted with a limited power, yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people whom they repreſented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. The charge being read, the preſident directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told him, that the court expected his anſwer.

THIS, however, he refuſed to give. He abſolutely rejected the authority of the court, and of thoſe who compoſed it. He ſaid, that he could perceive no appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; that the houſe of commons was no court of juſtice; and that even the commons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued by lawleſs force, and bereaved of their liberty; that he himſelf was their native hereditary king; nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, though free and united, intitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the ſupreme majeſty of heaven. The court, nevertheleſs, over-ruled his objections, and, after having obliged him to appear before them four ſeveral times, at each of which he refuſed to plead, they at laſt pronounced ſentence upon him the 27th of January, 1649. He ſeemed very deſirous, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes; and it was generally ſuppoſed, that he intended to have reſigned the crown in favour of his ſon, prince Charles.

Two days only intervened between the paſſing of the ſentence, and its being carried into execution. But as ſoon as it was publicly known, that the parliament intended to try the king, and would probably proceed to the utmoſt extremity againſt him, great interceſſion was made in his favour. The French ambaſſador interpoſed in his behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed and proteſted againſt the violence; the queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament: but all ſolicitations were found fruitleſs with men, whoſe reſolutions were fixed and unalterable.

FOUR of Charles's friends, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindſey, applied to the commons. They repreſented, that they were the king's counſellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all thoſe meaſures, which were now imputed as crimes to their royal maſter; that, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reaſon, they alone were guilty, and were alone expoſed to cenſure for every blameable action of the prince; and that they now preſented themſelves, in order to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which it became the commons themſelves, and every ſubject, with the utmoſt hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing to the king's ſafety.

CHARLES was beheaded the 30th of January, on a ſcaffold raiſed in the ſtreet, near the Banqueting-houſe, Whitehall. He underwent his fate with great conſtancy and reſolution, and without diſcovering the leaſt ſign either of fear or ſurprize. His body was embalmed; and, after having been expoſed publicly during ſome days, in one of the apartments of Whitehall, it was carried to Windſor, and interred there in St. George's chapel. In a few days after the king's death, his ſtatue in the Royal Exchange was throwu down; and on the pedeſtal theſe words were inſcribed: *Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus*; "The tyrant is gone, the laſt of kings."

THE character of Charles, like that of moſt men, if not of all men, was a compound of good and bad qualities; though the former, it may be affirmed without partiality, conſiderably preponderated over the latter. Lord Clarendon, who knew him well, and was an excellent judge, ſays, "that he was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt maſter, the beſt friend, the beſt huſband, the beſt father, and the beſt chriſtian of the age in which he lived;" and this eulogium, indeed, he appears to have deſerved. It muſt be owned, however, that he had been bred up in too high notions of the prerogative; ſuffered himſelf to be guided by weak and worthleſs miniſters; and paid too great deference to the opinion of his conſort, who was bigotedly attached to the catholic religion: and hence ſeem to have proceeded all thoſe inſtances of miſgovernment, which involved him in ſo many calamities during his life, and at laſt brought him to an untimely end.

BY his queen, Henrietta, daughter of Henry the fourth of France, Charles had four ſons, and five daughters; namely, Charles-James, who died in the cradle; Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was ſucceeded; James, duke of York; Henry, duke of Glouceſter, who died after the reſtoration; Mary, who eſpouſed William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, father

ther of William the third; Elizabeth, confined by the parliament in Cariſbrook-caſtle, where ſhe died; Anne and Catharine, who died infants; and Henrietta-Maria, who was carried in her infancy, by the dutcheſs of Dalkeith, into France, where ſhe married Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis the fourteenth. This lady died in 1670.

So mean an opinion had the puritans conceived of the royal dignity, (for the parliament that tried and condemned the king was entirely compoſed of puritans) that they intended, it is ſaid, to have bound the princeſs Elizabeth to a button-maker; and the duke of Glouceſter was to be taught ſome other mechanical employment. But the former died, of grief, it is thought, for her father's cruel fate, and the latter was ſent by Cromwell beyond ſea.

THE moſt memorable event that happened in Ireland during this reign, was the maſſacre of the Engliſh proteſtants ſettled there, by the native Roman catholics, who in 1641 are ſuppoſed to have put not leſs than forty thouſand of them to the ſword. To ſuch barbarous deeds are men ſometimes prompted by miſtaken notions of that religion, the genuine principles of which are calculated to inſpire them with mutual love and affection!

IN 1635 there was preſented to the king, one William Parr, who enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health, though 152 years of age, being born the laſt year of Edward the fourth.

THE nobility, during this reign, claimed great reſpect from the common people; and any infringement of this their right was ſeverely puniſhed. We ſhall here mention a few curious facts to this purpoſe. The following ſtory is taken from lord Clarendon. A waterman, belonging to a man of quality, having a ſquabble with a citizen about his fare, ſhewed his badge, the creſt of his maſter, which happened to be a ſwan; and thence inſiſted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied careleſsly, that he did not trouble his head about that gooſe. For this offence, he was ſummoned before the marſhal's court; was fined, as having opprobriouſly defamed the nobleman's creſt, by calling the ſwan a gooſe; and was in effect reduced to beggary.

SIR George Markham, following a chace where lord Darcy's huntſman was exerciſing his hounds, kept cloſer to the dogs than was thought proper by the huntſman, who, beſides other rudeneſs, gave him foul language, which ſir George returned with a ſtroke of the whip. The fellow threatened to complain to his maſter. The knight replied, if his maſter ſhould juſtify ſuch inſolence, he would ſerve him in the ſame manner, or words to that effect. Sir George was ſummoned

before the ſtar-chamber, and fined 10,000 pounds. *So fine a thing was it in thoſe days to be a lord!*—a natural reflection of lord Lanſdown in relating this incident, which, however, it is proper to obſerve, happened in the reign of James.

SIR Richard Granville thought himſelf ill uſed by the earl of Suffolk in a law-ſuit; and he was accuſed before the ſtar-chamber of having ſaid of that nobleman, "that he was a baſe lord." The evidence againſt him was ſomewhat lame; yet for this ſlight offence, inſufficiently proved, he was condemned to pay a fine of 8000 pounds; one half to the earl, the other to the king.

BUT the prelates inſiſted on ſtill greater reſpect than even the lay peers. Archy, the king's fool, who, by his office, had the privilege of jeſting on his maſter, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury. News having arrived from Scotland of the firſt commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy, ſeeing the primate paſs by, called to him, *Who's fool now, my lord?* For this offence, Archy was ordered, by ſentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be diſmiſſed the king's ſervice.

HERE is another inſtance of the rigorous ſubjection, in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincoln's-inn, heated by their cups, having drunk confuſion to the archbiſhop, were at his inſtigation cited before the ſtar-chamber. They applied to the earl of Dorſet for protection. "Who bears witneſs againſt you?" "One of the drawers," they ſaid. "Where did he ſtand when you were ſuppoſed to drink this health?" ſubjoined the earl. "He was at the door," they replied, "going out of the room." "Tuſh," cried he, "the drawer was miſtaken: you drank confuſion to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the laſt word." This hint ſupplied the young gentlemen with a new method of defence; and being adviſed by Dorſet to behave with great humility and ſubmiſſion to the primate, the modeſty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, with the patronage of that noble lord, ſaved them from any ſeverer puniſhment than a reproof and admonition with which they were diſmiſſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE Houſe of Commons (for ſo we muſt henceforth term a ſmall and inconſiderable part of that aſſembly) having aſſumed into their own hands the reins of government, immediately iſſued a proclamation, declaring it to be high treaſon to acknowledge Charles Stuart, eldeſt ſon of the late king, as ſovereign of England. They even paſſed an act, aboliſhing the kingly power, as uſeleſs, burthenſome, and dangerous. They next proceeded to aboliſh the Houſe of Lords, and decreed, that the ſtate ſhould, for the future, be governed by the repreſentatives of the people, ſitting in parliament, under the form of a Commonwealth. On their ſeal, which they called the *Great ſeal of England*, was this inſcription, *In the firſt year of freedom, by God's bleſſing, reſtored*, 1648. They named a council of ſtate, conſiſting of thirty-eight perſons, to whom all addreſſes were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament. *A. D.* 1649.

BUT though their authority was acknowledged in England, it was by no means ſo either in Scotland or Ireland, both of which recognized Charles the ſecond as their king, and reſolved to ſupport his cauſe by force of arms. The Iriſh were headed by the marquis of Ormond, who reduced ſeveral places belonging to the parliament, and was even preparing to beſiege Dublin; but Jones, the governor of that city, having received a reinforcement of four thouſand men, attacked Ormond on the 2d of Auguſt, and gave him a total defeat. This, however, was only a prelude to the more terrible overthrow, which the Iriſh received in a little time after. For Oliver Cromwell, who had lately been elected lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived at Dublin with an army of twelve thouſand men, and falling upon the royaliſts with irreſiſtible fury, he routed them in ſeveral engagements; took Tredah, Wexford, Kilkenny, and other places, where he put the garriſons to the ſword; and proceeded in his conqueſts with ſuch incredible rapidity, that in the ſpace of nine months he almoſt entirely ſubdued the iſland. The Iriſh, finding it impoſſible to make head againſt a general, who ſeemed altogether invincible, were glad to eſcape the effects of his fury by a voluntary exile.

Above

Above 40,000 of them are ſuppoſed to have abandoned their native country, and to have gone into foreign ſervice; and Cromwell, well pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

THE Scots were in the end as unſucceſsful as the Iriſh, though the efforts they made at firſt bore a more promiſing appearance. They recalled Charles the ſecond, who, ever ſince his father's death, had reſided either in France, in Holland, or in Jerſey; and they inſtantly put him at the head of an army. But Cromwell, who by this time had returned from Ireland, and aſſumed the command of the parliamentary forces, marched ſuddenly into Scotland, with 16,000 men, and attacking the royaliſts at Dunbar, on the *A. D.* 1650. third of September, he put them to a total rout. He then took poſſeſſion of Leith, and Edinburgh.

THIS defeat, however, great as it was, did not entirely ruin the affairs of Charles. He was ſolemnly crowned at Scone, on the firſt of January of the enſuing *A. D.* 1651. year; and in a little time after he aſſembled an army of 14,000 men, with which he encamped at Torwood, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. But he was not able to maintain himſelf long in this ſituation. Cromwell advanced againſt him with a ſtrong body of forces, and endeavoured to bring him to a battle; but finding it impoſſible to draw him from his entrenchments, he croſſed the forth, and cut off the king's communication with the northern counties. Charles, being thus reduced to extremity for want of proviſions, and ſeeing the way before him open into England, had the courage at once to enter that country; and he proceeded as far as Worceſter, where he met with a very honourable reception. He found, however, that his friends in England, where he no doubt had many, were not as yet ready to join his ſtandard, as they had not been previouſly appriſed of his intention. Even if they had, they would certainly have been prevented by the uncommon vigilance and activity of Cromwell, who followed the king with haſty marches; and being continually reinforced by the militia of the counties through which he paſſed, he fell upon Worceſter, the third of September, with an army of 30,000 men, and after meeting with a ſlight reſiſtance, he made himſelf maſter of the place. The whole Scottiſh army were either killed or taken priſoners. The king was obliged to ſeek his ſafety by flight.

HE firſt dreſſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant; and in that

that diſguiſe travelled through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, being frequently in danger of being ſeized by his enemies, eſpecially as a price was ſet upon his head. The better to elude the reſearch of his purſuers, he ſpent a whole day on a tufted oak at Boſcobel in Staffordſhire, thence called *The Royal Oak*, where he ſaw paſs under him ſome perſons on horſeback, who expreſſed, in his hearing, their earneſt wiſhes that he might fall into their hands. At one time he was detected by the ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked, that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, not in the weſt, as he pretended; and he very narrowly eſcaped. At another, he was diſcovered by one Pope, the butler of a family where he happened to come as ſervant to a viſitor; but Charles made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and he was as good as his word. At laſt, after a concealment of forty-one days, he embarked in a veſſel at Shoreham in Suſſex, and landed ſafely at Feſcamp, in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his eſcape.

THE parliament, having now triumphed over all its domeſtic foes, began to try its ſtrength againſt foreign enemies; and the Dutch were the firſt that felt the weight of its arms. Several furious battles were fought between the fleets of the two republics during the years 1652 and 1653. The principal commanders on the ſide of England, were Blake, Monk, and Ayſcue; on that of Holland, Tromp, and de Ruyter. One battle laſted three whole days; and the Engliſh, who were victors, gained not more honour than the Dutch, who were vanquiſhed; and who, notwithſtanding the loſs they ſuſtained, were able to carry moſt of their ſhips back into their harbours. In another battle the Dutch had the advantage; and Tromp, who commanded them, fixed a broom to his main-maſt, as if he meant entirely to ſweep the ſea of the Engliſh. But the commonwealth, notwithſtanding their continued ſucceſs, were not long able to maintain their authority: for when they attempted, in the ſpring of 1653, to diſband ſome of the land-forces, Cromwell, who was at the head of the army, and knew that his influence depended ſolely upon that ſupport, ſuddenly diſſolved the parliament, and thereby put an end to the exiſtence of the republic. To gratify the nation, however, with the appearance of a parliament, he appointed one hundred and thirty-nine perſons (known by the name of *Barebone's* parliament) to meet at Weſtminſter, and manage the affairs of government. But theſe being choſen from the very dregs of the people, ſoon found themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the people; they therefore reſigned the

their power into the hands of Cromwell, who cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed protector of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the 16th of December, 1653.

CHAP. XXXI.

OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

THIS extraordinary man was the ſon of Mr. Robert Cromwell, a gentleman of good family and fortune in the county of Huntingdon; and of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Richard Stuart, of the iſle of Ely, remotely allied, as is by ſome ſuppoſed, to the royal family. With regard to the ſtory of his being deſcended from Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Henry the eighth, it ſeems not to be ſupported by any good authority. In his youth, Cromwell had led a very diſſolute and licentious life; and conſumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, a conſiderable part of his patrimony. About the age of twenty, however, he ſuddenly reformed, entered into the married ſtate, affected a grave and compoſed behaviour, and became a moſt zealous and rigid puritan. Being choſen a member of the long parliament, he was one of the moſt violent of the country party, and ſtrenuouſly promoted every thing that could tend to widen the breach between the king and the people.

WHEN the civil wars began, he raiſed a troop of horſe, which he afterwards augmented to a regiment; and he firſt introduced that diſcipline, and inſpired that ſpirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops", ſaid he to Hambden, "are moſt of them old decayed ſerving men and tapſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; the king's forces are compoſed of gentlemen's younger ſons and perſons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and reſolution in them. You muſt get men of ſpirit, and take it not ill that I ſay, of a ſpirit, that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure you will ſtill be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every encounter." He did as he propoſed. He inliſted the ſons of freeholders and farmers; and by that means he at once raiſed the character,

racter, and increaſed the courage of the army. He was no leſs than forty-three years of age, when he firſt embraced the military profeſſion; and yet by the force of genius alone, without any maſter, he ſoon became an excellent officer, though perhaps he never reached the fame of a conſummate commander. In all the great battles, which were fought during the courſe of the civil wars, he had a principal and diſtinguiſhed ſhare. Endowed alike with ſpirit and prudence, and poſſeſſed, at the ſame time, of the moſt profound hypocriſy, he roſe by his merit, no leſs than by his cunning, to be firſt in the army; and, ſoon after, to be the firſt in the ſtate.

THE deed, inveſting him with his high commiſſion, was called the inſtrument of government; and it contained the following articles. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life, or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth. In his name was all juſtice to be adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they paſſed, were to be preſented to the protector for his aſſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the ſole authority of parliament. A ſtanding army for Great Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without the conſent of the protector; and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches, muſt be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office

fice during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council.

SUCH was the inſtrument of government, by which the protectorſhip was conferred upon Cromwell; and notwithſtanding his manifeſt uſurpation, the people, in general, ſubmitted to his authority with much leſs reluctance than might have been imagined. Their hatred, indeed, of the *long*, or, as it was now called, by way of deriſion, the *Rump* parliament, was ſo great, that they were willing to acquieſce in any other kind of government. Add to this, that Cromwell conducted himſelf in his high ſtation with as much equity, and even lenity, as could be expected from one in his delicate circumſtances. He was obliged, however, for his own ſafety, and for the ſake of preſerving the public tranquillity, to make ſome examples; and he put to death Gerard and Vowel, who had conſpired againſt his perſon. He likewiſe condemned ſome other royaliſts, who had formed a deſign to overturn his authority.

THAT authority, indeed, was now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed at home, that it naturally commanded a ſuitable reſpect from every foreign nation. The Dutch, the French, and Spaniards, ſeemed, all of them, to vie with one another in courting the friendſhip of Cromwell. In conſequence, therefore, of ſome advances made by the Dutch, he con-
A. D. 1654. cluded a peace with that people, though not till he had compelled them to come under an obligation to baniſh from their territories all the enemies of the Engliſh commonwealth; to puniſh thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna; to yield the honour of the flag to England; to pay 85,000 pounds as an indemnification for the loſſes which the Engliſh Eaſt India company had ſuſtained; and to deliver to that company the iſland of Polarone in the Eaſt Indies.

NEITHER lent he a deaf ear to the propoſals of accommodation that were made to him by France. He concluded a peace with that nation in the courſe of the enſuing
A. D. 1655. year; and the French were glad to agree to this treaty, without obtaining the leaſt reparation for the inſult they had received from the Engliſh commonwealth, who, about three years before, had intercepted the French ſuccours that were ſailing to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards, and which, for want of that ſupply, fell into the hands of the enemy.

BUT he could not be ſo eaſily perſuaded to come to an agreement with Spain, notwithſtanding the manifeſt partiality which

which that court had diſcovered in favour of the Engliſh parliament. Here, indeed, Cromwell was actuated as well by perſonal as political motives. He hated the Spaniards on account of their bigoted attachment to the catholic religion; he was acquainted too with the extenſive dominions, and yet extreme weakneſs, of that great monarchy; and he was deſirous, if poſſible, to make ſome important conqueſt, which might tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity. With this view he fitted out an armament in 1654, and ſent it, under Pen and Venables, to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola. The deſign miſcarried; but the commanders, in their return, bent their courſe to Jamaica, which they eaſily reduced in 1655. Pen and Venables, upon their arrival in England, were ſent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſappointment. He had made a conqueſt of much greater importance, than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterpriſing ſpirit of the protector.

Some time after, Blake and Montague made prize, near Cadiz, of two Spaniſh galleons, valued at two millions of pieces of eight; and ſunk or burned five others. The next action againſt the Spaniards was more honourable, though leſs profitable, to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well provided with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to Engliſh valour, and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind, ſuddenly

denly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

THIS was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy, and haſtened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had ſo much adorned by his valour. As he came within ſight of land, he expired. Never man, ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes, which he received from the ruling power, was thought to be very little agreeable to him. "It is ſtill our duty," he ſaid to the ſeamen, "to fight for our country, into what hands ſoever the government may fall." Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the moſt perfect characters, that is to be met with in the Engliſh or in any other hiſtory. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expence; but the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory.

NOR was Cromwell leſs remarkable for the boldneſs and vigour of his domeſtic government, than for that of his foreign politics. Of this he now gave a ſtriking proof. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, fancying himſelf to be inſulted, came upon the Exchange, armed, and attended by ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake, he fell on a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had connived at this baſe enterprize. The populace ſurrounded the houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire. Cromwell ſent a guard, who ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to trial; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated; but the crime committed by the Portugueſe was to the laſt degree atrocious; and the vigorous chaſtiſement of it, ſuiting ſo well the undaunted character of Cromwell, was univerſally approved of at home, and admired among foreign nations. The ſituation of Portugal obliged that court to acquieſce; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

CROMWELL ſummoned only two parliaments (beſides Barebone's)

Barebone's) during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration. The firſt of theſe proved ſomewhat refractory, and even began to diſpute his authority; but he obliged the ſecond, partly by force, and partly by artifice, to confirm his protectorſhip, and even to make him a tender of the crown. This offer, however, he thought it moſt prudent to reject. A little before his death, he undertook to aſſiſt the French, who were then at war with the Spaniards; and when the confederate army reduced Mardyke and Dunkirk, both theſe places were put into his hands. The latter continued in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh till the reign of Charles the ſecond, when it was ſold to the French.

The protector's life was now drawing towards a period. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which at laſt changed into a tertian ague; and after a ſucceſſion of violent fits, he expired on the 3d of September, 1658, being then in the 59th year of his age. His body was interred with regal pomp in Henry the ſeventh's chapel, in Weſtminſter-abbey; though ſome think it was either ſunk in the Thames, or buried in Naſeby-field, the ſcene of one of his great victories. A little before his death he named his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor.

The character of Cromwell has been drawn in a variety of different, and even oppoſite colours, according to the principles or prejudices of thoſe who have undertaken to deſcribe it. Cardinal Mazarine was wont to call him a fortunate madman: father Orleans ſtiles him a judicious villain: lord Clarendon, a brave wicked man: and Gregono Leti ſays, that he was a tyrant without vices, and a prince without virtues. His courage indeed, and his conduct as a ſoldier, were unqueſtionable; but his abilities, as a ſtateſman, were by no means proportionable: for after he had, by his cunning and capacity, obtained the ſupreme power, he ſeems ſtill to have been at a loſs what kind of government to eſtabliſh. He continued, it is true, till the day of his death, to act only as protector; but the extent of his authority was never preciſely determined; and it is generally allowed, that, had it not been for the well-grounded apprehenſion of being oppoſed by the army, he would willingly have accepted the title of king.

Cromwell had by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of ſir James Bouchier, two ſons, and four daughters, viz. Richard, who ſucceeded him in the protectorſhip; Henry, who, at the time of his father's death, was lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Bridget, married firſt to Henry Ireton, and afterwards to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; Elizabeth, his favourite, married to Mr. Claypole; Mary, eſpouſed to the lord viſcount Faucon-

Fauconberg; and Frances, matched firſt with Mr. Rich, grandſon and heir of the earl of Warwick, and afterwards with ſir John Ruſſell.

CHAP XXXII.

RICHARD CROMWELL,

SECOND PROTECTOR.

A. D. 1658. CROMWELL was ſucceeded in the protectorſhip by his eldeſt ſon, Richard, who was proclaimed without oppoſition, on the 4th of September, the day immediately following his father's death. The firſt ſtep he took was to ſummon a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſeventh of January of the enſuing year; and which, after confirming his authority, were proceeding to other matters, when their deliberations were ſuddenly interrupted by the cabals of the army. Theſe cabals were, in a great meaſure, owing to the unwary conſent, which Richard had given to the calling a council of officers.

IN the commencement of the civil war, while the iſſue of the diſpute was as yet uncertain, the parliament and army had acted with the moſt perfect concert, and with the moſt cordial union; but no ſooner had they gained an inconteſted ſuperiority, than a jealouſy and diſtruſt began to ariſe between them; and, as in all revolutions, or unſettled ſtates of government, the power of the ſword muſt ever prevail over that of the tongue, the army, though they ſeemed to acknowledge the authority of parliament, were in reality themſelves the ſpring of every political movement. During the protectorſhip, indeed, of Cromwell, they had been prevented from breaking out into any violent exceſſes, by the vigour and vigilance of his adminiſtration; but now that they had got a protector of a very different character, they were determined to aſſume openly that ſupreme authority which they had long poſſeſſed in private.

THE officers, therefore, were no ſooner aſſembled, than they preſented a petition to Richard, requeſting the power of chuſing their own general. The parliament, alarmed at this demand, voted, that there ſhould be no council of officers during its ſitting. This vote brought matters immediately to a criſis. The officers haſtened to Richard, and compelled him

him to diſſolve the parliament; and by the ſame act, the protector was by every one conſidered as effectually depoſed. Soon after, he ſigned his depoſition in form. He only deſired that his debts ſhould be paid by the public; but even this favour he could not obtain. His brother Henry was at that time governor of Ireland; and, as he was extremely beloved, both by the army and people, he might have made a conſiderable reſiſtance; but being naturally of a moderate temper, and being likewiſe threatened by Waller, Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command. Both of them remained ſafe after the reſtoration. Richard, however, thought proper to travel for a few years; and returning to England, he continued to live in privacy and retirement till the latter end of queen Anne's reign, when he died.

THE council of officers, having thus depoſed Richard, aſſumed into their own hands the reins of government; but finding that the people would not be ſatisfied without a parliament, or ſomething that bore the name of it, they reſtored the *long* or *Rump* parliament, which had been diſſolved by Oliver in 1653. Parliaments, however, or men in a civil capacity, are not very willing to ſubmit to thoſe of a military character; and they were therefore beginning to concert meaſures for ſubjecting the latter to the controul of the former, when Fleetwood, Lambert, and other officers, ſuſpecting their deſign, expelled them the houſe, and appointed twenty-three perſons, whom they called a *Committee of Safety*, and to whom they pretended to entruſt the ſole adminiſtration of affairs, which, nevertheleſs, they were determined to retain in their own hands.

SUCH ſcenes of anarchy and confuſion could not fail to diſguſt the nation in general, and particularly the preſbyterians and royaliſts, who compoſed the chief body of the people. To free themſelves, therefore, from the imminent dangers with which they were ſurrounded, and the ſtill greater that ſeemed to be approaching, they now began to entertain thoughts of reſtoring the king; a meaſure, which, they imagined, might be eaſily effected, could they but engage general Monk in their intereſt. That gentleman was now at the head of the army in Scotland, and it is not improbable that he had already begun to form the ſame deſign; but as he knew it could not be accompliſhed without obſerving the moſt profound ſecrecy, he affected to diſregard the applications that were made to him. He would not even enter into a correſpondence with the king, or with any commiſſioned by him, till affairs ſhould be brought into a more favourable ſituation.

To

To bring them, however, into the poſture he wiſhed for, he began his march for England, with the ſole view, as he gave out, of vindicating the rights of the expelled parliament, and re-eſtabliſhing them in the authority they had formerly poſſeſſed. The greateſt part of the army in England eſpouſed the ſame cauſe; Lambert, who was the ſoul of the oppoſite party, was thrown into the Tower; and thus the *Rump* parliament, being now freed from all kind of reſtraint, aſſembled once more on the twenty-ſixth of December, 1659. This revolution, however, did not put a ſtop to the march of general Monk, who continued to advance, though ſtill under pretence of ſupporting the authority of parliament. He knew that the people in general were ſo enraged at the tyranny of the *Rump* and the army, that the aſſembling of a free parliament, which he was determined to effect, and the reſtoring of the king, was one and the ſame meaſure. But though Monk had probably, from the very beginning, entertained views of reſtoring the king, he thought it neceſſary, for the furtherance of his deſign, to cover it with the veil of the moſt profound ſecrecy. He would communicate his intentions to no one; not even to his moſt intimate acquaintance; he left them to be gueſſed at merely by his actions.

UPON his arrival in London, he was introduced into the houſe, and was thanked by Lenthal, the ſpeaker, for the eminent ſervices he had done his country. Monk, in return, ſaid, that the ſervices, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not ſuch praiſes as thoſe with which the houſe were pleaſed to honour him: that among many perſons of greater worth, who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of providence, for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice as a ſtep only to more important ſervices, which it was their part to render to the nation: that while on his march, he obſerved all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions, to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of that bleſſing, but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free, and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: that though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people,

ple, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: and that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the fanatical party and the royaliſts were excluded, ſince the principles of thoſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

THIS ſpeech, containing matter, which was both agreeable and diſagreeable to the houſe as well as to the nation, ſtill kept every one in ſuſpence, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the general's intention to retain the public. But it was impoſſible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful ſituation. The people, as well as the parliament, puſhed matters to a deciſion. The citizens of London refuſed to pay any more taxes till a free parliament ſhould be aſſembled. The houſe commanded Monk to march into the city, and puniſh thoſe who diſputed their authority. He did ſo, to the ſurpriſe of every one. But he had no ſooner leiſure to reflect upon the ſtep he had taken, than he heartily repented of it, complained to the houſe of the odious ſervice in which they had employed him, went into the city a few days after, and apologized to the inhabitants for the violence he had offered them, and eſtabliſhed an intimate connection and cloſe correſpondence between them and the army.

ON the twenty-firſt of February, the ſecluded members went to the houſe, and meeting now with no kind of obſtruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority; moſt of the independents left the place. The reſtored members firſt repealed all the ordinances, by which they had been excluded; they then renewed the general's commiſſion, and enlarged his authority; they fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the army and navy; and having paſſed theſe votes, for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued writs for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament. This laſt meaſure had been previouſly concerted with the general, who knew, that in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, the elections would run entirely in favour of the royal cauſe. Monk, having brought matters to this happy criſis, thought he might proceed one ſtep farther; and he accordingly ſent a meſſage to his majeſty, who was then in Spain, exhorting him to retire into Holland, and depute ſome perſon to lay his propoſals before the parliament. But all the flattering proſpects, which the nation then enjoyed, had well nigh been blaſted by an untoward accident. Lambert eſcaped from the Tower, and began to aſſemble forces; but he had not *A. D.* 1660.

been able to collect above four troops of horſe, when, being cloſely purſued by colonel Ingoldſby, he was taken priſoner with very little difficulty.

THE parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth day of April, Monk informed them, that ſir John Granville was arrived with a letter from his majeſty. Sir John was introduced into the houſe: his majeſty's letter was read and approved: a preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the king, 10,000 pounds on the duke of York, and 5000 pounds on the duke of Glouceſter: a deputation was ſent to invite his majeſty to return; and he was accordingly proclaimed, on the eighth day of May, king of Great-Britain, with the uſual ſolemnity. Charles was then at Breda in Holland, whence he immediately departed, and embarking at the Hague on the twenty-third of May, he landed at Dover two days after, accompanied by the dukes of York and Glouceſter, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry. On his landing, he was met by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, honouring him with the appellation of father; and upon his arrival at Canterbury, he inveſted him with the order of the garter. On the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day, he entered London, and proceeded to his palace at Whitehall, amidſt ſuch ſhouts and acclamations of the people, that the king had reaſon to ſay, it muſt ſurely have been his own fault, that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, ſince he found every body ſo zealous in promoting his happy reſtoration.

THE moſt eminent writers that flouriſhed during this period, were Milton, Waller, Cowley, Denham, Harrington, Hobbes, Clarendon, and Harvey, the phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the circulation of the blood. This great man was much favoured by Charles the firſt, who gave him the liberty of uſing all the deer in the royal foreſts, for perfecting his diſcoveries on the generation of animals. It was remarked, that no phyſician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age, ever, till the end of his life, adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood; and that his practice in London diminiſhed extremely, from the reproach drawn upon him, by that great and ſignal diſcovery. So ſlow is the progreſs of truth in every ſcience, even when not oppoſed by factious or ſuperſtitious prejudices!

A great number of religious ſects ſprung up in England during the civil wars. That of the quakers was the moſt remarkable. The founder was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, in 1624. He was the ſon of a weaver, and had been bound apprentice to a ſhoe-maker.

In

In the time of the commonwealth, the pay of a foot ſoldier was a ſhilling a day: the horſe had two ſhillings and ſix-pence; ſo that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inliſted in the protector's cavalry.

The poſt-office in 1653 was farmed at 10,000 pounds a year, which was deemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid not then even half the preſent poſtage.

From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined in England 6,900,042 pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 pounds. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the regiſters of the mint, that, between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds in gold and ſilver.

The exciſe, during the civil wars, was levied on bread and fleſh-meat, as well as on beer, ale, ſtrong waters, and other commodities. After the king was ſubdued, bread and fleſh-meat were exempted from exciſe.

The firſt mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660. Aſparagus, artichoaks, colliflower, and a variety of ſallads, were about the ſame time introduced into England.

CHAP. XXXIII.

CHARLES II.

As ſo many perſons, during the late civil war, had been involved in the guilt of rebellion, the king was anxious, ſoon after his acceſſion, to paſs a general act of indemnity, out of which, however, were excepted all who had an immediate hand in the death of his father. Twenty-nine of thoſe were condemned; ten only were executed. The reſt were reprieved, and diſperſed into ſeveral priſons. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, were taken out of their graves, hung up at Tyburn, and interred under the gallows. *A. D.* 1660.

He next proceeded to rectify the abuſes that had crept into the ſtate during the late commotions. He repealed all the laws which had been enacted againſt kingly government; rewarded thoſe who had adhered to his intereſt; reſtored the epiſcopal clergy to their livings, of which they had been deprived by Cromwell, in order to beſtow them upon the preſbyterians; and, in a word, replaced every thing upon the ſame footing on which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars. Theſe were, perhaps, the moſt ſignal proofs he gave of his political talents during his whole reign; for he

was, in general, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, that he ſeems to have conſidered the government of the ſtate merely as the means of procuring him money, to enable him to gratify his animal appetites. It was probably this motive, rather than any regard for the public intereſt, that induced him to embark in a war with Holland, eſpecially as the reaſons he aſſigned for this ſtep were in the higheſt degree ridiculous. The principal pretext he alledged, was the taking of two Engliſh ſhips by the Dutch, the Good Hope and the Bonaventure; and even with regard to theſe the Hollanders offered to make proper ſatisfaction.

THIS ſatisfaction, however, Charles refuſed to accept; but choſe rather to obtain redreſs by force of arms, than by way of negociation. With this view he diſpatched ſir *A. D.* 1664. Robert Holmes, with a fleet of twenty-one ſhips, to the coaſt of Africa, where that officer expelled the Dutch from their ſettlements of Cape Corſe, Cape Verd, and the iſle of Goree: and ſailing thence to America, he made himſelf maſter of Nova Belgia, afterwards called New York, which continued to remain in the hands of the Engliſh till the peace of 1783, when the American ſtates were declared independent. Several naval battles were fought, in the courſe of this war, with great courage and obſtinacy on both ſides, and at the ſame time with conſiderable bloodſhed. In the firſt of theſe, which happened about a twelvemonth after the commencement of hoſ- *A. D.* 1665. tilities, the duke of York, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, obtained a complete victory over the Dutch, who were commanded by Obdam. During the engagement, Obdam's ſhip blew up, and himſelf periſhed in it. The Dutch loſt nineteen other ſhips, with about 6000 men; and ſome affirm, that their whole fleet might have been deſtroyed, had not orders been iſſued to ſlacken ſail by Brounker, a gentleman of the duke's bed-chamber, who pretended authority from his maſter. The duke diſclaimed the orders; but Brounker was never ſufficiently puniſhed for his raſhneſs.

IN the month of June of the ſucceeding year, another battle was fought, which laſted four days, and *A. D.* 1666. the event was not deciſive. The Engliſh, commanded by prince Rupert, and by Monk, now created duke of Albemarle, defeated the Dutch in the month of July following. They even entered the road of Ulie, and burned a hundred and forty-two merchantmen, together with Brandaris, a large and populous village on the coaſt. In revenge for this injury, the Dutch, in the beginning of the enſuing

enſuing year, entered the Thames, ſailed up the Medway, and burned ſeveral ſhips at Chatham. *A. D.* 1667. Both ſides, however, were equally weary of the war; and a peace was accordingly concluded at Breda on the tenth of July of the ſame year.

THE next foreign tranſaction, in which Charles was engaged, was the famous treaty, called the Triple League or Alliance, between the Engliſh, Swedes, and the Dutch, expreſsly calculated for checking *A. D.* 1668. the ambition of Lewis the fourteenth of France, who, under pretence of ſupporting the rights of his wife, who was a daughter of Spain, had invaded the Spaniſh Netherlands, made himſelf maſter of a great many places, and ſeemed to aſpire at univerſal monarchy. This was the wiſeſt meaſure that Charles ever adopted; but he had not the virtue long to perſevere in it; for *A. D.* 1670. about two years after he broke the triple league, and entered into an alliance with the court of France. This was partly owing to his own fickle and capricious temper, which would not ſuffer him, for any length of time, to purſue the ſame conduct; but chiefly to the advice of his wicked miniſters, who were more intent upon preſerving and augmenting their own power, than upon promoting the real and permanent intereſt of their country. Charles's prime miniſter, during the earlier part of his reign, was the earl of Clarendon, a man, who, though not entirely free from faults, was certainly a friend to the liberties of the people; but upon his fall, his place was ſupplied by five men, ſir Thomas Clifford, Aſhley, earl of Shafteſbury, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the duke of Lauderdale, whoſe miniſtry, from the initial letters of their names, was denominated the Cabal; and a more profligate ſet of ſtateſmen, perhaps, never exiſted in this, or in any other country.

BY their advice, as we have juſt ſaid, Charles formed an alliance with France; and though the real object of this treaty was never certainly known, it is generally ſuppoſed, that Charles engaged to aſſiſt Lewis in making a conqueſt of Holland, and Lewis promiſed to enable Charles to render himſelf abſolute in his own dominions. In proſecution of this dangerous and deep-laid plot, (for it deſerves no better name) the two kings declared war againſt Holland; and their example was ſoon after fol- *A. D.* 1672. lowed by the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter; ſo that the Dutch were ſuddenly and unawares attacked by four different powers at once. Their ſurpriſe

and conſternation were at firſt ſo great, that they ſeemed almoſt to have fallen into a ſtate of deſpondency; but having, in a little time, recovered their native ſpirit, they thenceforth exerted themſelves with ſo much courage, that they not only repelled the attacks of their enemies, but at laſt obliged them to agree to reaſonable terms of peace.

THE efforts, however, which they made by ſea, were both more vigorous and more ſucceſsful than thoſe they made by land. Four great naval battles were fought, between the Dutch on the one hand, and the combined fleets of England and France, between the years 1672 and 1674; but none of them were deciſive. The Engliſh were commanded by the duke of York, prince Rupert, the earl of Sandwich, and ſir Edward Sprague; the Dutch by de Ruyter and Tromp, ſon of the famous admiral of that name; and the French by mareſchal d'Etrées. Peace was concluded between England and Holland on the twenty-eighth of February, 1674. Charles would willingly have continued the war; but finding that the commons, ſuſpicious of the deſigns which Lewis and he had formed, would grant him no ſupplies, was at laſt obliged, though with great reluctance, to put an end to hoſtilities.

THE Dutch were not able to make ſo vigorous or ſucceſsful a reſiſtance by land as they had done by ſea. The king of France invaded their country with a numerous army: and meeting with little or no oppoſition, and being aſſiſted by the elector of Cologn, and the biſhop of Munſter, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the United Provinces, Holland and Zealand excepted: nor could even theſe be ſaved but by laying them under water. The Dutch were ſurpriſed and confounded at the rapid progreſs of the enemy. At length, however, they aſſumed courage from deſpair, and reſolved to expend the laſt drop of their blood, in defending againſt their haughty and inſulting foes the two provinces, which ſtill remained to them. The people roſe in arms; they diſplaced their magiſtrates, who then ruled the ſtate; they murdered the de Wits, who were ſuppoſed to be attached to the French faction; and they conferred the ſtadtholderſhip on William, prince of Orange, the ſame that was afterwards king of England, and who, even at that early period of life, ſhewed himſelf to be poſſeſſed of all thoſe noble and heroic ſentiments, for which his family had ever been remarkable. Inſtead of taking advantage of the preſent diſtreſs of his country, in order to increaſe his own power, he generouſly bent all his efforts to oppoſe the public enemy.

HE perſuaded the ſtates to reject the conditions, which their inſolent foes had demanded of them. He ſhewed them, that

that the numbers and riches of the people, aided by the advantages of ſituation, would ſtill be ſufficient, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpair, to reſiſt, at leaſt retard, the progreſs of their enemies, and preſerve the remaining provinces, till the other nations of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. He repreſented, that, as envy at their opulence and liberty had produced this mighty combination againſt them, they would in vain expect by conceſſions to ſatisfy foes, whoſe pretenſions were as little guided by moderation as by juſtice. He exhorted them to remember the generous valour of their anceſtors, who, yet in the infancy of the ſtate, preferred liberty to every human conſideration; and rouzing their ſpirits to an obſtinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military diſcipline of Spain. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and hoped, that, as they had honoured him with the ſame affection, which their anceſtors paid to the former princes of Orange, they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame conſtancy and manly fortitude.

The ſpirit of the young prince infuſed itſelf into his hearers. Thoſe, who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection, were now bravely determined to reſiſt the haughty victors, and to defend thoſe laſt remains of their native ſoil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis, nor the inundation of waters, had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but flying to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they began to concert meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found, that the veſſels, contained in their harbours, could tranſport above two hundred thouſand inhabitants to the Eaſt-Indies.

The combined princes, finding at laſt ſome appearance of oppoſition, uſed all their endeavours to ſeduce the prince of Orange, on whoſe valour and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended. They offered him the ſovereignty of Holland, and their joint protection to inſure him, as well againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as the inſurrection of his ſubjects. But he generouſly rejected all their propoſals, and declared that he would retire into Germany, and paſs his time in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the truſt repoſed in him. When the duke of Buckingham, who had been ſent into Holland, repreſented the inevitable deſtruction

which hung over the ſtates, and aſked him, whether he did not ſee, that the commonwealth was ruined; "There is one certain means," replied the prince, "by which I can be ſure never to ſee my country's ruin; I will die in the laſt ditch."

WHAT the prince of Orange had foretold very ſoon came to paſs. The other ſtates of Europe, particularly the emperor and Spain, declared in favour of the diſtreſſed Hollanders, who being now aſſiſted by ſuch powerful allies, continued, for the ſpace of ſix ſucceſſive campaigns, to make ſuch a ſteady and vigorous reſiſtance againſt the whole force of the French monarchy, that Lewis, finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his ambitious projects, was glad to agree to a peace, without retaining any of the conqueſts which he had made from the Dutch, except Grave and Maeſtricht. He preſerved, however, a good number of places which he had taken in the Spaniſh Netherlands. The treaty was ſigned at Nimeguen the firſt of Auguſt, 1678.

LEWIS, perhaps, was the more willing to conſent to this treaty, on account of the apprehenſions he began to entertain of drawing upon him the arms of the Engliſh monarch, who, towards the latter end of the war, was ſtrongly importuned by his parliament to engage in an offenſive alliance with the Dutch, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of the French conqueſts. The prince of Orange too, who came over to England, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York, whom he eſpouſed on the fourth of November, 1677, exerted all his influence for the ſame purpoſe; and Charles was at length prevailed on to promiſe, that if Lewis ſhould refuſe the conditions of peace, which he offered him, he would inſtantly declare war againſt that monarch, and compel him to accept of reaſonable terms. He even went ſo far as to fit out a formidable fleet, and raiſe an army of 30,000 men; but, after all theſe mighty boaſts and preparations, he ſuddenly changed his reſolution; and the allies, finding they could have no dependence upon him, concluded a peace upon the beſt terms they could obtain.

THE manner, in which Charles conducted the internal adminiſtration of his kingdoms, was ſtill more unpopular than that in which he managed his foreign politics. He was almoſt perpetually at variance with his parliaments, particularly with the commons, who thought he had formed a regular deſign to make himſelf abſolute, and beſides apprehended the moſt fatal conſequences from the ſucceſſion of the duke of York, (for the king had no legitimate children) eſpecially as that prince had declared himſelf a Roman catholic. In order

to

to guard againſt this latter evil, the commons introduced a bill for excluding the duke from the throne; and, after a long and violent debate, it was paſſed by a great majority of voices: but being ſent up to the lords for their concurrence, it was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three.

THE year 1678 was diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt ſingular and extraordinary events to be met with in the Engliſh hiſtory: 'tis the Popiſh plot to which I allude. According to the depoſitions of Oates, Bedloe, and others, the Jeſuits had formed a conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the king, ſubverting the government, extirpating the proteſtant religion, and eſtabliſhing popery; they ſaid that Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jeſuits in England, was at the head of this conſpiracy; and that the deſign was ſecretly favoured by the king of France, the duke of York, and ſeveral of the nobility and gentry. The king, however, paid very little regard to the oaths of theſe informers, and treated the plot itſelf as a mere faction; but the parliament having taken the matter into conſideration, and farther examined the witneſſes, reſolved, that the evidence they had produced was well founded, and that a plot had actually been formed. In conſequence of this reſolution, Whitebread, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them Jeſuits, together with Colman, the duke of York's ſecretary, were tried, condemned, and executed. Notwithſtanding this reſolution of the parliament, and this ſevere puniſhment inflicted upon the real or ſuppoſed delinquents, the opinions of hiſtorians are divided as to the nature of the plot itſelf. Some maintain it to be true in all its circumſtances: others admit its truth only with regard to the deſign of ſubverting the government, and deſtroying the proteſtant religion, but deny its reality with reſpect to the project of murdering the king; while a third ſet repreſent it as falſe in every particular, and contrived on purpoſe to diſtreſs the court, and render the duke of York odious.

IN contraſt to this, a proteſtant plot was planned or invented about five years after. *A. D.* 1683. The principal conſpirators ſeem only to have propoſed the excluding the duke of York from the throne, in caſe of his brother's deceaſe; but ſome of the inferior ſort, it is ſaid, had embraced more criminal and dangerous reſolutions. They had, it is affirmed, laid a regular plan for murdering both the king and the duke, in their return from Newmarket. This aſſaſſination they intended to commit at a place called the Rye-houſe, near Hodſdon, in Hertfordſhire; whence this conſpiracy is commonly known by the name of the Rye-houſe plot. It is farther added, that the king eſcaped the

danger merely by accident; and that the houſe, in which he lodged at Newmarket, happening to take fire, he returned to London ſooner than was expected; by which means the conſpirators were diſappointed.

WHATEVER be in this, certain it is, that ſeveral perſons were accuſed of being concerned in this conſpiracy, and were tried, condemned, and executed. Among theſe were lord Ruſſel, one of the moſt popular noblemen in the kingdom, and Algernon Sidney, the famous republican. The earl of Eſſex too was committed to the Tower, where he was ſoon after found with his throat cut; but whether by his own hands, or by thoſe of ſome aſſaſſins employed by the court, is uncertain. The duke of Monmouth likewiſe was impeached of the ſame crime, and was ſome time in diſgrace, but afterwards obtained a pardon. The earl of Shafteſbury, who had originally been a moſt proſtitute courtier, and afterwards a no leſs violent patriot, being ſuſpected of having had a hand in this conſpiracy, took refuge in Holland, and there ended his days.

WE have already obſerved, that Charles was almoſt perpetually at variance with his parliaments; and this miſunderſtanding roſe at length to ſuch a pitch, that he continued, during the latter part of his reign, to rule without parliaments: and being thus freed from the ſalutary reſtraint of theſe national aſſemblies, he proceeded to invade, without fear or remorſe, the moſt valuable privileges of his ſubjects. The city of London, and moſt of the corporations in England, were deprived of their charters; and though theſe were afterwards reſtored, yet was it upon ſuch precarious conditions, as left the rights of the people entirely at the king's mercy.

THE jealouſy, which the Engliſh entertained of king Charles, aroſe from their ſtrong and well-grounded ſuſpicion of his having formed deſigns deſtructive both of their civil and religious liberties. They thought they perceived, in his whole conduct, but too evident ſymptoms of his wiſhing to introduce both popery and arbitrary power into England. It was with a view, they imagined, of accompliſhing the former point, that, in 1672, he publiſhed a declaration of indulgence; an act ſeemingly calculated for the benefit of all diſſenters without exception, but in reality meant only to promote, in a political light, the intereſt of the papiſts. The people, therefore, ſenſible of his deſign, raiſed ſuch a clamour againſt it, that in the courſe of the enſuing year he was obliged to recal it.

THE moſt important law enacted during this reign, was the celebrated *Habeas Corpus* act, which was paſſed in 1679, and which ſecures the ſubject againſt arbitrary impriſonment. This is a grievance that, in ſome degree, prevails in every

every government in the world; and our exemption from it we owe to the patriotiſm of the ſecond parliament of king Charles the ſecond. The great charter had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but ſome proviſions were ſtill wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evaſion or delay from miniſters and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus* anſwered all theſe purpoſes. By this act it was prohibited to ſend any one to a priſon beyond ſea. No judge, under ſevere penalties, muſt refuſe to any priſoner a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, by which the gaoler is directed to produce in court the body of the priſoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cauſe of his impriſonment and detainer. If the gaol be within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in three days; and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances. Every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the ſame offence.

The arbitrary principles of the king and his miniſters were ſtill more conſpicuous in the government of Scotland than in that of England. Prelacy had been eſtabliſhed in Scotland ſoon after the reſtoration; and an exact compliance with that mode of worſhip was inforced with ſuch rigorous and ſevere penalties, that the preſbyterians at laſt roſe in arms: they murdered Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; and they even fought two battles with the king's forces, one at Pentland-hills, the other at Bothwall-bridge; in both of which, however, they were eaſily defeated.

The affairs of Scotland were for a long time conducted by the duke of Lauderdale, a man of a moſt violent and tyrannical temper, and who had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the whole Scottiſh nation. Yet when his conduct came to be examined in the Engliſh council, Charles is reported to have ſaid, "I perceive, that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, that he has acted any thing contrary to my intereſt:" a ſentiment altogether unworthy of a ſovereign, and which ſhewed him to be undeſerving of the ſtation he filled.

It would be endleſs, as well as ſhocking, to enumerate all the inſtances of perſecution, or rather indeed of abſurd tyranny, which at that time prevailed in Scotland. One of them, however, is ſo ſingular, that we cannot forbear relating it. Some perſons, rendered frantic by oppreſſion, had publiſhed a ſeditious declaration, renouncing allegiance to Charles

Stuart, whom they called, as they, for their parts, had ſome reaſon to eſteem him, a tyrant. This incident afforded a pretence for an unuſual kind of perſecution. Soldiers were diſperſed over the country, and power was given to all commiſſion officers, even the loweſt, to oblige every one they met with, to abjure the declaration; and upon refuſal, inſtantly, without farther queſtion, to ſhoot the delinquent. Three women were ſeized upon this occaſion, and the cuſtomary oath was propoſed to them. They all refuſed, and were condemned to a capital puniſhment by drowning. One of them was an elderly woman: the other two were young; one eighteen years of age, the other only thirteen. Even theſe violent perſecutors were aſhamed to put the youngeſt to death: but the other two were conducted to the place of execution, and were tied to ſtakes within the ſea-mark at low water; a contrivance, which rendered their death lingering and dreadful.

THE elderly woman was placed fartheſt in, and by the riſing of the waters was firſt ſuffocated. The younger, partly terrified with the view of her companion's death, partly overcome by the entreaty of her friends, was prevailed on to ſay *God ſave the King*. Immediately the ſpectators called out, that ſhe had ſubmitted; and ſhe was looſened from the ſtake. Major Winram, the officer who guarded the execution, again required her to ſign the abjuration; and upon her refuſal, he ordered her inſtantly to be plunged into the water, where ſhe was ſuffocated.

ALL theſe ſeverities were partly owing to the unrelenting temper of the duke of York, to whom the king had committed the government of Scotland, and who here gave ſpecimens of that cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition, which he afterwards diſplayed in a more conſpicuous manner, when he came to be poſſeſſed of the crown of England. Nor was it long before he attained to that elevated ſtation. The king expired on the ſixth of October, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was carried off by a fit reſembling an apoplexy; and the ſuddenneſs of his death created a ſuſpicion, that he had been poiſoned by the Jeſuits: but this ſurmiſe, according to the moſt impartial hiſtorians, is altogether groundleſs.

CHARLES was poſſeſſed of a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance, in the main, lively and agreeable. Frank, open, affable, and polite, he engaged the affections of all who approached him. He was endued with a ready wit, a quick apprehenſion, and a ſolid judgment; but this laſt quality he was prevented from exerciſing to any

uſeful

uſeful purpoſe by his love of eaſe, and his love of pleaſure, which ſeem to have been his ruling paſſions. During his exile, he had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of ſeveral parts of mechanics, particularly the art of ſhip-building, in which he had made conſiderable proficiency. It has been remarked of Charles, that he never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor ever did a wiſe one; a cenſure, which, though too far carried, ſeems to have ſome foundation in his character and deportment. When the king was informed of this ſaying, he obſerved, that the matter was eaſily accounted for: for that his diſcourſe was his own, his actions were the miniſtry's.

CHARLES had no iſſue by his queen Catharine, daughter of John the fourth king of Portugal, whom he married on the twenty-firſt of May, 1662. She had, for her portion, two millions of cruſades, or about 300,000 pounds ſterling, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies.

BUT though he had no legitimate children, he had a number of natural ones. By Mrs. Lucy Walters, he had James Scot, afterwards created duke of Monmouth. By Elizabeth Killigrew, viſcounteſs Shannon, he had Charlotte-Jemima-Maria, married to the earl of Yarmouth. By Mrs. Catharine Peg, he had Charles Fitz-Charles, commonly called Don Carlos, created earl of Plymouth, married to the heireſs of the duke of Leeds, and killed at Tangiers in 1680. By Barbara Villiers, dutcheſs of Cleveland, he had Charles Fitz-Roy, created duke of Southampton; Henry Fitz-Roy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitz-Roy, duke of Northumberland; Anne Fitz-Roy, married to the earl of Suſſex; Charlotte Fitz-Roy, matched with the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who became a nun at Pontoiſe in France. By Louiſa de Querouaille, dutcheſs of Portſmouth, he had Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond. By Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn, an actreſs, he had Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans, and James Beauclerk, who died in his infancy. And by Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, he had Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

AMIDST the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance, which overſpread the nation, during the commonwealth and protectorſhip, there were a few ſedate philoſophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reaſon, and eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. Wilkins, a clergyman, who had married Cromwell's ſiſter, and was afterwards biſhop of Cheſter, promoted theſe philoſophical converſations. Immediately after the reſtoration, theſe men procured a patent, and having enlarged

enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the king. Though Charles was a lover of the ſciences, particularly chemiſtry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and miſtreſſes, by whom he was perpetually ſurrounded, engroſſed all his expence, and left neither money nor attention for literary merit. In 1662, the king ſold Dunkirk to the French for 400,000 pounds. This was one of the moſt unpopular acts of Charles's reign, and a principal cauſe of Clarendon's ruin.

In 1665, London was viſited by a deadful plague, which ſwept away, in the ſpace of a year, above 100,000 of the inhabitants. This was ſucceeded, the year following, by a calamity, if poſſible, ſtill more terrible. A fire, breaking out at a baker's houſe near the bridge, raged with ſuch violence, that, before it could be extinguiſhed, it conſumed four hundred ſtreets, eighty-nine churches, and thirteen thouſand two hundred private houſes. The ruins, comprehending four hundred and ſix acres of ground, extended from the Tower along the river to the Temple-church, and from the north-eaſt gate as far as Holborn-bridge.

In 1671, one Blood, a diſbanded officer of the protector's, formed a deſign of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower; and he had very near ſucceeded in the attempt. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the Jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his prey, when he was overtaken and ſeized with ſome of his aſſociates. This man had, a little before, been concerned in an attempt much more criminal, and almoſt as hazardous. He had been attainted in Ireland for endeavouring to raiſe an inſurrection there, and ſome of his accomplices had been capitally puniſhed. He now reſolved to be revenged upon Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footman, he attacked his coach in the night time, as it drove along St. James's-ſtreet, in London; and he made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He might here have finiſhed the crime, had he not meditated refinement in his vengeance. He was determined to hang the duke at Tyburn, and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſe-back behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields, when the duke making efforts for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, and brought down with him the aſſaſſin to whom he was faſtened. They were ſtruggling together in the mire, when the duke's ſervants, whom the alarm had reached, came, and ſaved him. Blood and his companions, firing

firing their piſtols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and ſaved themſelves by means of the darkneſs.

THE duke of Buckingham was at firſt ſuſpected of being the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity to Ormond, expoſed him to that imputation. Lord Oſſory, Ormond's ſon, ſoon after came to court; and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the king, his colour roſe, and he could not forbear expreſſing himſelf to this purpoſe: "My lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father. But I give you warning; if by any means he come to a violent end, I ſhall not be at a loſs to know the author: I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin: I ſhall treat you as ſuch; and wherever I find you, I ſhall piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majeſty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall not fail of performance." If there was here any indecorum, it was eaſily excuſed in a generous youth, when his father's life was expoſed to danger.

IT now appeared, however, that Buckingham had no concern in the plot; and that Blood was the contriver and conductor of the conſpiracy. When queſtioned with regard to it, he frankly avowed the enterprize, but refuſed to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he ſaid, "ſhould never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All theſe extraordinary circumſtances made him the general ſubject of converſation; and the king was moved by an idle curioſity to ſee and ſpeak with a perſon, ſo noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now eſteem himſelf ſecure of a pardon, and he failed not to obtain it. He told Charles, that he had once formed a deſign, in concert with others, to kill his majeſty; but juſt when he was upon the point of executing his bloody purpoſe, he had not only relented, but perſuaded his aſſociates to do ſo likewiſe: that as to himſelf, he was perfectly indifferent about life, which he now gave for loſt; but he trembled to think of the danger his majeſty might be expoſed to in caſe he ſhould ſuffer, as his accomplices had bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy.

WHETHER Charles was moved by fear or admiration, we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he not only granted Blood a pardon, but he even beſtowed upon him an eſtate of four hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his perſon; he ſhewed him great countenance; and many applied to him for promoting their pretenſions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had even been wounded in defending

ſending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at, and deteſted as a monſter, became a kind of favourite.

THIS reign is remarkable for the firſt riſe of the two famous parties called *Whigs* and *Tories*. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of whigs.* The country party found a reſemblance between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of tory was affixed. And after this manner, theſe terms of reproach came into public and general uſe; and even at preſent ſeem not to be nearer their end, than when they were firſt invented. Some people imagine, that there is no eſſential difference between the two parties; but that thoſe in power are always tories, and thoſe out of it always whigs. But this appears to be a miſtake. There is the ſame difference between the whigs and tories as that which ſubſiſted between the plebeians and patricians in ancient Rome. The latter are for beſtowing all power, riches, and honours upon a few individuals, while the great body of the people are kept in a ſtate of poverty and dependence; whereas the former wiſh to preſerve as much equality among the different ranks of men, as is conſiſtent with the ends of civil government.

THIS reign ſeems to have been one continued ſcene of plots, cabals, and conſpiracies; for beſides the popiſh and the Rye-houſe plots, which we have already mentioned, there was another called the *Meal-tub-plot*, from the place, where ſome papers relating to it, were found. But as this is confeſſed by all hiſtorians to have been a mere fiction, and a fiction too of the groſſeſt and moſt abſurd nature, we do not think it worthy of further notice.

* The Scots give the name of whig to that ſour whey, which is drawn from the bottom of a churn; by which they no doubt meant to inſinuate that the conventiclers were the very loweſt of the people, and lived upon the pooreſt fare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

JAMES II.

NOTWITHSTANDING the attempt made in the late reign to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion to the throne, he now took poſſeſſion of it, if not with the unanimous conſent of the nation, at leaſt without any apparent oppoſition: the tories were his faſt friends; and the whigs were become ſo extremely unpopular on account of the ſhare they had in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, that little or no regard was paid to their ſentiments on the preſent occaſion. It ſoon appeared, however, that the opinion they had formed of James's arbitrary principles was but too well founded. For though he declared, to the firſt privy-council he aſſembled, his firm reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſhed government both in church and ſtate, he yet iſſued, in a little time after, his royal proclamation for levying the duties of the cuſtoms and exciſe, without the conſent of parliament; by which means he both invaded the privileges of that auguſt aſſembly, and violated, in the moſt open manner, the known laws of the land. The parliament, however, were ſo little offended at this ſtretch of authority, that, when they met on the nineteenth of May, they granted king James an annual revenue of above two millions ſterling. The Scotch parliament too were no leſs liberal in proportion to their abilities; for, beſides annexing the duty of exciſe to the crown for ever, they voted an yearly ſubſidy of 260,000 pounds ſterling. *A. D.* 1685.

ABOUT this time Titus Oates, being tried for perjury in the affair of the popiſh plot, was condemned to pay a fine of two thouſand marks, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be impriſoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. The whipping was inflicted with great ſeverity, and even with ſuch ſhocking cruelty, that it ſeemed evidently to be the intention of the court to put him to death by that puniſhment. He recovered, however, by the care of his friends, and he even ſurvived till the reign of king William, when a penſion of four hundred pounds was ſettled upon him.

NOTWITHSTANDING the facility with which James had aſcended the throne, and the ſeeming tranquillity in which he poſſeſſed it, a rebellion, in a little time, broke out againſt him. James, duke of Monmouth, natural ſon of the late king,

king, returning from the Low Countries, whither he had been baniſhed, landed at Lime in Dorſetſhire on the eleventh of June, 1685, and though he brought not with him above one hundred followers, he ſoon aſſembled an army of ſix thouſand men. In vindication of his conduct, he alledged, that his mother had been married to Charles the ſecond, and, of conſequence, that he himſelf was legitimate. He was therefore come, he ſaid, to aſſert his right to the crown, and to prevent James, whom he ſtiled only duke of York, from ſubverting the government, and extirpating the proteſtant religion. From Lime he advanced to Taunton, where he was met by twenty young maids of ſome rank, who preſented him with a pair of colours of their handiwork, together with a copy of the bible. He then proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was ſolemnly proclaimed by the title of James the ſecond. But this dignity he did not long enjoy. He was attacked, a few days after, by the king's forces under the earl of Feverſham, and after a brave and obſtinate diſpute, which laſted three hours, he was at laſt defeated with the loſs of 1500 of his men, who fell in the battle and purſuit.

MONMOUTH immediately took to flight, and rode above twenty miles till his horſe ſunk under him. He then changed clothes with a peaſant, in order to conceal himſelf. The peaſant was diſcovered by the purſuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their ſearch. At laſt, the unhappy Monmouth was found, lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern; and having only ſome raw peaſe in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to ſuſtain life. Human nature is unable to ſupport ſuch calamitous ſituations; much more, the temper of a man, ſoftened by early proſperity, and accuſtomed to value himſelf ſolely on military bravery. He burſt into tears when ſeized by his enemies; and he ſeemed ſtill to indulge the fond hope and deſire of life. Though he might have known, from the greatneſs of his own offences, and the ſeverity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the moſt ſubmiſſive letters, and conjured him to ſpare the iſſue of a brother, who had ever been ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſt.

JAMES, finding ſuch ſymptoms of depreſſion and deſpondency in the unhappy priſoner, admitted him to his preſence, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchaſe life, however loved, at the price of ſo much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared himſelf for death with a ſpirit, better ſuited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people (for he was a very great favourite with

with them) was attended to the ſcaffold with a plentiful effuſion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error, which he had committed in beheading lord Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to repeat the blow. This precaution ſerved only to diſmay the executioner. He ſtruck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him with his failure. He gently laid down his head a ſecond time; and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He then threw aſide the ax, and cried out that he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two ſtrokes more the head was ſevered from the body.

HAD James been ſatisfied with the puniſhment of Monmouth, his ſeverity, perhaps, however great, might have paſſed without cenſure. But he had inſtilled ſuch arbitrary and deſpotic principles into all his ſervants, that Feverſham, immediately after the victory, hanged above twenty priſoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the biſhop of Bath and Wells told him, that theſe unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder.

THIS remonſtrance, however, did not check the ſavage nature of colonel Kirke, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his commerce with the Moors, an inhumanity leſs known in European countries. This barbarian, at his firſt entry into Bridgewater, hanged nineteen priſoners without the leaſt enquiry into the merits of their cauſe.

As if to make ſport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company ſhould drink to the king's health, or the queen's, or that of judge Jefferies. Obſerving their feet to ſhake in the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them muſick to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, queſtioning him at each interval, whether he repented of his crime; but the man obſtinately aſſerting, that, notwithſtanding the paſt, he ſtill would willingly engage in the ſame cauſe, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains.

ONE execution was attended with ſuch circumſtances of treachery, as well as barbarity, as to merit a particular relation. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herſelf at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms, which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could beſtow upon her

her. The tyrant was inflamed with deſire, not ſoftened into love or clemency. He promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided that ſhe, in her turn, would be equally complaiſant to him. The maid yielded to the condition; but after ſhe had paſſed the night with him, the wanton ſavage, next morning, ſhewed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be erected for the execution. This ſhocking and unexpected ſight had ſuch an effect upon her, that ſhe was inſtantly ſeized with a phrenzy, and never after recovered her ſenſes.

ALL the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian. The ſoldiers were let looſe to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, inſtructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleaſantry he uſed to call them his *lambs*; an appellation, which was long remembered with horror in the weſt of England.

THE violent Jefferies ſucceeded after ſome interval; and ſhewed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a ſpecimen of his character in many trials, where he preſided; and he now ſet out with a ſavage joy, as to a full harveſt of death and deſtruction. He began at Dorcheſter; and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to ſave him, by their free confeſſion, the trouble of trying them; and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional puniſhment of their diſobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Moſt of the other priſoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty: and no leſs than two hundred and ninety-two received ſentence at Dorcheſter. Of theſe, eighty were executed. Exeter was the next ſtage of his cruelty. Two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He alſo opened his commiſſion at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried conſternation along with him. The juries were ſo ſtruck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent perſons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, beſides thoſe who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of juſtice. The whole country was ſtrewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almoſt beheld the dead carcaſs of a wretched inhabitant. And the ſavage Jefferies boaſted, that he had hanged

hanged more men than all the judges of England ſince the time of William the conqueror.

Of all the executions, during this diſmal period, the moſt remarkable were thoſe of Mrs. Gaunt and lady Liſle, who were both put to death for harbouring rebels. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptiſt, noted for her beneficence. The perſon ſhe had concealed, hearing of a proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to thoſe who diſcovered criminals, was ſo baſe as to betray his benefactreſs, and to bear evidence againſt her. He received a pardon for his treachery: ſhe was burned alive for her charity. Lady Liſle was widow of lord Liſle, one of the judges of Charles the firſt. Twice did the jury bring her in *not guilty*: they were as often ſent back by Jefferies; and at laſt were compelled to give ſentence againſt her. She was above eighty years of age when ſhe ſuffered. About the ſame time, alderman Corniſh, one of the ſheriffs of London, was tried for being concerned in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy; and though the depoſitions of the witneſſes contained the moſt glaring contradictions, he was nevertheleſs condemned, and executed as a traitor.

However raſh the duke of Monmouth might appear in encouraging the Engliſh to take up arms, he did not act entirely without concert. The earl of Argyle engaged to ſecond his views by exciting a ſimilar inſurrection in Scotland. That nobleman had been unjuſtly condemned to death in the preceding reign, and had made his eſcape into Holland. Returning now to his native country, he endeavoured to perſuade the people to arm themſelves in defence of their religion and liberty, which, he ſaid, were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. But he was able to collect only a few of his own vaſſals, and even by theſe he was ſuddenly deſerted; ſo that he was eaſily taken priſoner, and beheaded at Edinburgh upon his former attainder.

The king was ſo elated with the continued ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, that he thought he might proceed to the accompliſhment of the two grand objects he had always had in view; and theſe were the introduction of the popiſh religion, and the erection of an arbitrary government. In proſecution of this plan, he now ſuſpended the teſt act, by which all perſons, who enjoyed any office, whether civil or military, in the ſtate, were obliged to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion. This was conſidered as the grand barrier againſt popery, and the chief ſecurity of the conſtitution. James took upon him to diſpenſe with this law in favour of his catholic ſubjects, ſeveral of whom he introduced into the army, and even

into

into the privy council. The parliament, alarmed at this diſpenſing power, aſſumed by the king, which they plainly foreſaw, if not timely checked, muſt ultimately end in the ruin of public liberty, preſented an addreſs againſt it; but James was ſo incenſed at their petition, however cautiouſly and moderately worded, that he immediately diſſolved them. At the ſame time he prevailed upon the judges to give it as their opinion, that his majeſty could diſpenſe with the teſt, in caſes of neceſſity, and that he alone was the proper judge of that neceſſity. And, in order to prevent, as much as poſſible, the people being informed of his arbitrary proceedings, he iſſued orders to the inferior clergy, forbidding them to preach upon controverted points of divinity; but few of them paid any regard to this prohibition. Dr. Sharpe, in particular, rector of St. Giles's, and afterwards archbiſhop of York, expoſed in his ſermons, with great force of reaſoning, the errors of popery; a conduct, which gave ſo much offence to his majeſty, that he ſent poſitive inſtructions to the biſhop of London, his dioceſan, to ſuſpend the doctor. The biſhop replied, that he could not poſſibly obey theſe commands, and that he was not empowered, in ſuch a ſummary manner, to inflict any puniſhment even upon the greateſt delinquent. But neither this obvious reaſon, nor the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion, both of the biſhop and of Sharpe himſelf, could appeaſe the king. James was determined to proceed with violence in the proſecution of this affair. The biſhop himſelf he reſolved to puniſh for diſobedience; and the expedient he employed for that purpoſe was at once the moſt illegal and moſt alarming.

AMONG all the engines of authority formerly employed by the crown, none had been more dangerous or even deſtructive to liberty, than the court of high commiſſion, which, together with the ſtar-chamber, had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles the firſt, by an act of parliament; in which a clauſe was alſo inſerted, prohibiting the erection, in all future times, of that court, or any of a like nature.

BUT this was deemed by James no obſtacle; and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was anew iſſued, by which ſeven commiſſioners were veſted with full and unlimited authority over the church of England. On them were beſtowed the ſame inquiſitorial powers, poſſeſſed by the former court of high commiſſion. They might proceed upon bare ſuſpicion; and the better to ſet the law at defiance, it was expreſsly inſerted in their patent itſelf, that they were to exerciſe their juriſdiction, notwithſtanding any law or ſtatute to the contrary. The king's deſign to ſubdue the church was now ſufficiently known; and had he been able to eſtabliſh the authority of this new-

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erected court, his ſucceſs was infallible. A more ſenſible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion; and happily the conteſt could not be tried in a more iniquitous and unpopular cauſe than that againſt Sharpe and the biſhop of London. The prelate was cited before the commiſſioners; and notwithſtanding the unanſwerable arguments he urged in his own defence, and the humble ſubmiſſions made as well by him as by the doctor himſelf, they were both of them ſuſpended from the exerciſe of their office.

But James thought that the moſt effectual way of procuring the eſtabliſhment of the popiſh religion, was by ſeaſoning the minds of the riſing generation with its peculiar tenets and dogma's. With this view he endeavoured to introduce it into the two univerſities, the great ſeminaries of learning. He recommended a benedictine, named father Francis, to the univerſity of Cambridge for the degree of maſter of arts; and as that body had lately conferred the ſame honour on the ſecretary to the Mooriſh ambaſſador, he thought they could not decently refuſe complying with his requeſt. But the univerſity conſidered, that there was a great difference between a compliment beſtowed on a foreigner, and degrees which gave a title to vote in all the elections and ſtatutes of the univerſity, and which, if conferred on the catholics, would infallibly in time render that ſect entirely ſuperior. They therefore refuſed to obey the royal mandate, and for this act of diſobedience the vice-chancellor was ſuſpended; but as the univerſity choſe a man of ſpirit to ſucceed him, the king thought proper to drop his pretenſions.

The attack, which he made upon the univerſity of Oxford, was ſtill more violent. The preſident of Magdalen-college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was ſent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one, who, beſides his being a catholic, had not in other reſpects the qualifications required by the ſtatutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college preſented a petition to the king, humbly entreating him to recal his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day came, on which, by their ſtatutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They choſe Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, as well of the firmneſs and vigour requiſite for maintaining his own rights and thoſe of the univerſity. In order to puniſh them for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was ſent down, and the new preſident and the fellows were cited before it. It then appeared, upon farther enquiry, that Farmer, beſides his being a catholic, was, on other accounts, altogether ineligible. A new mandate, therefore, was iſſued in favour of Parker,

Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of a profligate character, but who, like Farmer, atoned for all his vices by his willingneſs to embrace the popiſh religion. The college repreſented, that all preſidents had ever been appointed by election, and there were few inſtances of the king's interpoſing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; that having already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not deprive him of his office, and, during his lifetime, ſubſtitute another in his place; that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the ſtatutes of their founder, could not be choſen; that they had all of them bound themſelves by oath to obſerve theſe ſtatutes, and never by any means to accept of a diſpenſation; and that the college had at all times ſo much diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its loyalty, that nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity could now oblige them to oppoſe his majeſty's inclinations. Theſe reaſons, however ſtrong, availed them nothing. The preſident and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office. This is, perhaps, the moſt arbitrary act of which James was guilty during the whole courſe of his reign.

BUT the public had not time to reflect upon any ſingle inſtance of this king's tyranny, when their attention was ſuddenly attracted by another. He now thought proper to iſſue a proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical matters, and granting a general liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. This indulgence was ſeemingly calculated for the benefit of diſſenters of every denomination; but men of ſenſe could eaſily perceive, that it was chiefly intended in favour of the papiſts.

A. D. 1687.

THE king having happily, as he imagined, advanced ſo far in bringing back his people to the catholic faith, diſpatched Roger Palmer, earl of Caſtlemain, to Rome, in order to pave the way for reconciling them formally to the holy ſee; but the pope, who ſaw that James's imprudence would ruin the whole ſcheme, received the ambaſſador with very great indifference. He ſent, however, count Ferdinand Dada, as his nuncio, into England; and though any communication with the pope was, by the laws of the land, declared high treaſon, James gave the nuncio a public audience at Windſor. Four catholic biſhops were ſolemnly conſecrated in the king's chapel, and ſent out, under the title of vicars apoſtolical, to exerciſe the epiſcopal function in their reſpective dioceſes. Their paſtoral letters, directed to the lay catholics of England, were printed and diſperſed by the expreſs allowance and permiſſion of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in

in the habits of their order, and ſome of them were even ſo inſolent as to boaſt, that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in proceſſion through the capital.

In the beginning of the next year, James *A. D.* 1688. publiſhed a ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience, and he ſubjoined to it a clauſe, commanding that, immediately after divine ſervice, it ſhould be read by the clergy in all the churches. With this order, however, not above two hundred of them could be brought to comply. The reſt peremptorily refuſed obedience; and Sancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lloyd biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Briſtol, preſented a petition to the king, in which they aſſigned the reaſons of their refuſal. James, who was incapable of bearing contradiction, was ſo incenſed at this ſtep in the prelates, that he immediately ordered them to be committed to the Tower, and to be tried in the court of King's-bench, for having compoſed and publiſhed a ſeditious libel; for ſo he was pleaſed to term their petition.

In a few days after they were brought to their trial, and the counſel they employed defended their cauſe with very great ability. They ſaid, that the law allowed ſubjects, if they thought themſelves aggrieved in any particular, to apply by petition to the king, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the ſame law preſcribed to them, and which in the preſent petition the prelates had ſtrictly obſerved: that an active obedience in caſes, which were contrary to conſcience, was never pretended to be due to government: and law was allowed to be the only meaſure of the compliance and ſubmiſſion of ſubjects: that when any perſon found commands to be impoſed upon him, which he could not obey, it was more reſpectful in him to offer his reaſons for refuſal, than to remain in a ſullen and refractory ſilence: that it was no breach of duty in ſubjects, even though not called upon, to diſcover their opinion of public meaſures, in which they had ſo intimate a concern: that the biſhops in the preſent caſe were called upon, and muſt either expreſs their approbation by compliance, or their diſapprobation by petition: that it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws; becauſe there was really no ſuch prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: that even if this prerogative were real, it had yet been frequently controverted before the whole nation, both in Weſtminſter-hall, and in both houſes of parliament; and no one had ever dreamed of puniſhing the denial as criminal: that the prel[ates] of making an appeal to the people, had an[y]

his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that, except by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove them the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved, that they had the least knowledge of the publication.

NOTWITHSTANDING the force of these arguments, which were altogether unanswerable, the jury, from what cause is not known, took several hours to deliberate, and during that time kept the minds of the people in the most anxious suspence; for the nation in general regarded the issue of this trial as the great point that would determine, whether the arbitrary will of the king or the laws of the land, were, for the future, to be predominant. When therefore the wished for verdict *of not guilty* was at last pronounced, it was received by the audience with the utmost transports of joy; it was instantly echoed through Westminster-hall, was conveyed to the crowds without doors, was carried into the city; and it even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was then sitting at dinner in the tent of lord Feversham, the general, and who, hearing a sudden noise, inquired into the cause. Feversham told him, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing," replied he, "but so much the worse for them."

THE king was still determined to rush forward in the same furious course, in which he was already, by his precipitate counsels, so far advanced. Though he knew, that every order of men, except a handful of catholics, were enraged at his past conduct, and still more terrified with the future prospect; though he saw, that the same discontents had seized the army, his sole resource during the general dissatisfaction; yet was he incapable of changing his measures, or even of remitting his violence in the prosecution of them. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen, who had not read his declaration; that is, almost the whole clergy of England. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura; and he is even said to have nominated the same person to the see of Oxford. In a word, the whole of his public conduct was now marked with such traits of fury, and even desperation, that he ought in reality rather to be pitied as a madman, than detested as a tyrant.

[illegible] days before the acquittal of the bishops, an event [illegible] in the king's sentiments, much overbalanced all

all the mortifications he received on that occaſion. On the tenth of June the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. A report was, at that time, induſtriouſly propagated, and was kept up for a long while after, that this was only a ſpurious or ſuppoſititious child, whom James meant to impoſe upon the nation as his own, for the pious purpoſe, (as, they ſaid, he would no doubt think it) of being ſure of a ſucceſſor, who would be as zealous as himſelf in eſtabliſhing the catholic faith in England.

SUCH a report, indeed, ſeems to have been well calculated for quieting the ſcruples of thoſe who imagine, that the preſervation of hereditary right is the great end of all government; whereas in fact it is only the means. The preſervation of the laws, and liberties, and religion of the people; in other words, the enſuring their happineſs, is the only rational end of all civil government; the preſervation of hereditary right is only the means of promoting that end; and whenever the means, or the ſuppoſed means, come to be inconſiſtent with, or deſtructive of that end, they ought, in all reaſon and conſcience, to be ſacrificed to it. Had, therefore, the young prince's legitimacy been as well known, and as firmly believed then, as it is at preſent, he would probably have met with the ſame fate that afterwards befel him. The catholics, however, ſeem to have been of a different opinion, and to have thought, that nothing could deſtroy the indefeaſible nature of hereditary right; and they therefore triumphed in the birth of a prince, who, they knew, would be educated in their faith, and, they fondly hoped, would be able to eſtabliſh it in ſpite of all oppoſition. The proteſtants on the other hand, alarmed at the numerous dangers that hung over their country, began to form ſchemes for ſoliciting foreign aid.

The perſon they applied to, as the moſt likely and beſt qualified to aſſiſt them, and indeed the beſt intitled, by his birth and connections, to interfere in their domeſtic concerns, was William, prince of Orange, grandſon of king Charles the firſt, and ſon-in-law of his preſent majeſty, whoſe eldeſt daughter, Mary, he had eſpouſed. The whigs and tories, the churchmen and diſſenters, all parties concurred, except the catholics, in inviting him to England, in order to ſecure their religion and laws.

NOR did William turn a deaf ear to the applications that were made to him. He inſtantly began to make preparations for complying with the requeſt of the Engliſh proteſtants; and James, notwithſtanding his late haughty conduct, was ſo ſtruck with terror when he heard of this circumſtance, that

he endeavoured to avert the impending ſtorm by a ſudden retraction of all the unpopular meaſures he had for ſome time purſued, and by which he had expoſed himſelf to the hatred of his ſubjects. He annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; reſtored the charter of London, and of all the corporations; removed the popiſh magiſtrates, and put proteſtant ones in their place; took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion; reinſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college, Oxford; and he even condeſcended to careſs thoſe biſhops, whom he had ſo lately perſecuted and inſulted. At the ſame time he aſſembled his army, and collected his fleet, which conſiſted of ſixty ſhips of war. The command of the former he entruſted to the earl of Feverſham; that of the latter to the earl of Dartmouth. The king of France too offered to aſſiſt him with a powerful navy, and an army of 30,000 men; but this offer he rejected by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who was either engaged in the prince of Orange's intereſt, or elſe thought that his maſter would not need any foreign aid.

MEAN while the prince of Orange went on in haſtening his preparations; and having, in a little time, got every thing ready, he ſet ſail from Helvoetſluys, on the twenty-firſt of October, accompanied by the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, and Paulet, admiral Herbert, marſhal Schomberg, Meſſrs. Auverquerque, Bentinck, and others; and attended by a fleet of near 500 veſſels, having on board above 14,000 men. Immediately upon his leaving port, he met with a ſtorm, which ſhattered ſome of his ſhips, and drove the reſt back; but his loſs being quickly repaired, he again put to ſea on the firſt of November, and made ſail with a fair wind to the weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the king's fleet in their ſtation near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the ſtraits of Dover without oppoſition. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpence by the proſpect of an enterprize, the moſt important, which, during ſome ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince had a proſperous voyage, and landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder-treaſon.

THE firſt ſtep he took, was to publiſh a declaration, in which, after enumerating all the inſtances of James's miſgovernment, ſuch as his diſpenſing with the laws, his erecting a court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, his filling all offices with catholics, his annulling the charter of London and other corporations, in a word, his endeavouring to uſurp an arbitrary power,

power, and extirpate the proteſtant religion; he added, that he had come over to England, at the requeſt of great numbers of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, in order to redreſs theſe and the like grievances, and to have the rights of the ſubjects diſtinctly aſcertained in a free parliament.

This declaration was ſo much approved of, that the people began to form aſſociations for enabling the prince to execute his purpoſe. Even the army was infected with the ſame ſpirit. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt the prince of Orange. Nay, ſome of them deſerted to him, and carried with them a conſiderable number of the troops they commanded. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt who took this ſtep; and his example was ſoon after followed by lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, and by lord Churchill, the king's chief favourite, who afterwards rendered himſelf ſo famous under the title of Duke of Marlborough.

In theſe alarming circumſtances, the king repaired to his army, which then lay at Saliſbury; but finding it was filled with ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent, that no dependance could be placed upon it, he ſuddenly left it, and returned to London; and during his journey thither, he was deſerted by the dukes of Ormond and Grafton; and even by prince George of Denmark, his ſon-in-law, and the princeſs Anne, his own daughter; an event, which affected him to ſuch a degree, that he cried out, in the extremity of his grief, "God help me; my own children have forſaken me!"

Upon his arrival in London, he called a council of the few peers and prelates, who were then in that city; and by their advice, iſſued a proclamation for ſummoning a free parliament, which was appointed to meet on the fifteenth of January. At the ſame time, he diſpatched commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange, who offered, in his turn, ſuch terms of accommodation as the king at firſt ſeemed willing to accept of, when having conſulted, as is ſuppoſed, with ſome of his popiſh favourites, he was perſuaded by them to withdraw into France. The ſame men alſo inſpired the queen with ſuch apprehenſions for her perſonal ſafety, that ſhe fled into France, with her ſon, the prince of Wales; and was received at Verſailles by Lewis the fourteenth, with the ſtrongeſt marks of ſympathy and regard. She extorted, however, before her departure, a poſitive promiſe from the king, that he would immediately follow her.

In purſuance of this promiſe, he left London on the twelfth of December, about four in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert, and went on board of a ſhip,

which waited for him at the mouth of the river; but having put in at Feversham for ballast, he was seized by the populace, who, mistaking him for a priest, used him very roughly, and even robbed him of his money and jewels; though, upon discovering their error, they restored the booty, and humbly asked pardon for the rudeness of their behaviour. Mean while, the earl of Winchelsea, lord lieutenant of the county, arriving, advised his majesty to return to London; and an invitation being sent him to the same purpose, by the lords who were at Whitehall, he set out for the capital, which he entered on the sixteenth of December; when the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, received him with such shouts and acclamations, as if he had been returning from a signal victory.

THE king's motive for leaving the kingdom was a very foolish notion he had conceived, that his absence would throw every thing into confusion, and would oblige his subjects to restore him to his throne upon more favourable terms, than perhaps they might otherwise be inclined to grant him. It was with this view, that, upon his first quitting London, he threw the great seal into the river, and recalled all the writs he had issued for the election of a new parliament. The prince of Orange, however, was of a very different opinion, and thought that nothing would more contribute to the public settlement, than his majesty's absence: and that if once he were gone, the people would never more think of him. He therefore used every expedient to intimidate the king, and to push him into a measure, which of himself he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. James having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the Prince, desiring a conference for an accommodation towards the public settlement, that nobleman was put in arrest, under pretence of his coming without a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where James resided, and to displace the English; and three noblemen brought a message from the prince, which they delivered to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, in the neighbourhood of Richmond. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the sea-coast. It was perceived that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified with this harsh treatment, had renewed his resolution of leaving the kingdom.

HE lingered, however, some days at Rochester, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed desirous of an invitation still to keep possession of the throne. But observing that

that the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the commonalty, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own counſels, he ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earneſt letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him; and arriving ſafely at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, he thence haſtened to St. Germains, where he was received by Lewis with the utmoſt cordiality.

THUS ended the reign of a prince, whoſe fate, it is hoped, will ſerve as a warning to all Engliſh monarchs, never to aſpire at more power than the laws have allowed them; as attempts, it is evident, of this nature, can have no other effect than finally to bring on their own ruin. He ſurvived his abdication about thirteen years, during which he made two fruitleſs efforts for the recovery of his crown, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

JAMES was twice married; firſt to Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, and lord high chancellor of England; and afterwards to Maria Joſepha of Eſte, ſiſter of the duke of Modena. By his firſt ſpouſe he had four ſons, who died in their infancy; and four daughters, two of whom only arrived at the years of maturity, viz. Mary, born in 1662, and married in 1678 to William Naſſau, prince of Orange, afterwards king William the third; and Anne, born 1664, and married in 1683 to prince George of Denmark, ſon to Frederic the third king of Denmark, and Sophia Amelia of Lunenburg. By his ſecond conſort, he had a ſon named Charles; and another (James) called the prince of Wales, born the 10th of June, 1688. By the ſame lady, he had three daughters in England, who died in their infancy, and a fourth in France, who did not long ſurvive him. He had likewiſe four natural children; three by Arabella Churchill, ſiſter to the duke of Marlborough, and one by Catharine Sedgley, counteſs of Dorcheſter.

IN the diſſolution of government that enſued upon James's retreat from the kingdom, the peers, as being poſſeſſed of hereditary juriſdiction, reſolved to act as the guardians of the public. They accordingly preſented a petition to the prince of Orange, deſiring him to ſummon a convention by circular letters; to aſſume, in the mean time, the direction of public affairs; and to concert meaſures for the ſecurity of Ireland. The prince, though not averſe to comply with their requeſt, was deſirous, if poſſible, of obtaining a more full and explicit declaration of the conſent of the nation; and a very judicious expedient was employed for that purpoſe. All the members who had ſat in the houſe of commons during any parliament of

Charles the ſecond, (the only parliaments whoſe election was regarded as free) were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of London. This was conſidered as the moſt proper repreſentative of the people, which could be ſummoned during the preſent emergence. They unanimouſly voted the ſame addreſs with the lords; and the prince, being thus ſupported by all the legal authority, which could then be obtained, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, deſiring them to return members for a convention, which was appointed to meet on the twenty-ſecond of January.

A. D. 1689.

THAT aſſembly had no ſooner met, than the commons paſſed, by a great majority, the following memorable vote, "That king James the ſecond, having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people; and having, by the advice of jeſuits, and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, however, did not paſs ſo eaſily in the upper houſe, as it had done in the lower. It there met with a moſt violent oppoſition; nor was it till after a conference between the two houſes, and the deſertion of ſome tory-lords to the whig intereſt, that it was finally carried, and then even only by a ſmall majority.

THE convention next proceeded to conſider what kind of government they ſhould now eſtabliſh. Several ſchemes were propoſed for this purpoſe. Some inſiſted on a regent; others were for beſtowing the crown on the princeſs of Orange ſolely, and that her huſband ſhould reign in her right; but the prince declaring, that if either of theſe plans of ſettlement were adopted, he would return to Holland, the convention thought proper to alter their reſolution. The princeſs alſo, who arrived in London on the twelfth of February, wiſely joined her intereſts with thoſe of her huſband. Mention was made but once of the prince of Wales: ſome lords moved to enquire into his birth, but this propoſal was preſently rejected. All parties, therefore, being perfectly agreed, the convention paſſed a bill, by which they ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the prince: the princeſs of Denmark to ſucceed after the death of the prince and princeſs of Orange; her poſterity after thoſe of the princeſs, but before thoſe of the prince by any other wife.

BUT the convention were not ſo imprudent, as to beſtow the crown upon the prince and princeſs of Orange, without laying

laying them under ſuch reſtrictions as might effectually prevent their abuſing the ſovereign power in the ſame manner as it had been abuſed by their predeceſſor. They annexed to the ſettlement a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years, been diſputed between king and people, were finally determined; and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumſcribed, and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the Engliſh government. This declaration of rights, (which is uſually called *The Bill of Rights*) was read by the clerk of the crown to the prince and princeſs of Orange, in the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, previous to the crown's being tendered to them. Its principal articles were, 1. That the king has no right to ſuſpend or diſpenſe with laws, or the execution of laws. 2. That all eccleſiaſtical commiſſion courts are illegal. 3. That the levying money for the uſe of the crown by prerogative, without grant of parliament, is not warranted by law. 4. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition the king. 5. That a ſtanding army, in time of peace, unleſs by conſent of parliament, is againſt law. 6. That proteſtant ſubjects may have arms for their defence. 7. That the election of members of parliament ought to be free. 8. That freedom of debate in parliament ought to be allowed. 9. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel puniſhments inflicted. 10. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled, and, upon trials for high treaſon, ought to be freeholders. 11. That all grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures, before conviction, are illegal. 12. And that, for redreſs of grievances, frequent parliaments ſhould be aſſembled.

THE national debt at the revolution amounted to one million fifty-four thouſand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds. The fleet at the ſame period conſiſted of one hundred and ſeventy-three veſſels of all ſizes, and required forty-two thouſand men to man it.

WE learn from Sir Joſiah Child, that in 1688 there were on the Change more men worth ten thouſand pounds, than there were in 1650 worth one thouſand; that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thouſand in the former; that gentlewomen, in thoſe earlier times, thought themſelves well cloathed in a ſerge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be aſhamed to be ſeen in; and that, beſides the great increaſe of rich cloaths, plate, jewels, houſehold furniture, and coaches were in that time augmented a hundred fold. The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glaſs and chryſtal into England. Prince Rupert was the inventor of etching.

The firſt act for erecting turnpikes was paſſed in 1662; but the general improvement of highways did not take place till the reign of George the ſecond.

The moſt celebrated writers that flouriſhed during the two laſt reigns were Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, eminent mathematicians; Hooke, an accurate obſerver by the microſcope; Sydenham, the reſtorer of true phyſic; Boyle, deeply ſkilled in natural philoſophy; and Newton, one of the greateſt geniuſes that ever appeared in this or in any other age or nation. Dryden bore away the palm in poetry. Rocheſter rendered himſelf famous for poignancy of ſatire, and impurity of ſentiment; Wycherley excelled in comedy; Otway in tragedy; the duke of Buckingham acquired great honour by his comedy, called the Rehearſal; the earls of Dorſet, Mulgrave, and Roſcommon, wrote with eaſe but negligence; the marquis of Halifax diſcovers a refined genius; ſir William Temple is an entertaining writer; Butler diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his poem, named Hudibras. The moſt eminent divines were Stillingfleet, Tillotſon, Teniſon, Patrick, Lloyd, and Burnet.

CHAP. XXXV.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

A. D. 1689. THOUGH Mary the ſecond was a queen in her own right, and not merely, like all other married queens of England, Mary the firſt and queen Anne excepted, a queen-conſort, yet as the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs was veſted in king William, we ſhall, for the ſake of brevity as well as perſpicuity, mention his name only, or at leaſt chiefly, in relating the tranſactions of the enſuing reign. The firſt act of William's government was his repairing to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech delivered from the throne to both houſes, converting the convention into a parliament. At the ſame time he had the ſatisfaction to receive a tender of the ſovereignty of Scotland from ſuch of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry as were then in London; and this ſtep of theirs was afterwards confirmed by a convention which met at Edinburgh on the fourteenth of March, and which, going more roundly to work than even the Engliſh convention, boldly declared, that king James, by his maladminiſtration and abuſe of power, had *forfeited* all title to the crown, which they therefore ſettled upon the prince and princeſs

ceſs of Orange. The Iriſh, however, were prevented by their political, and ſtill more by their religious prejudices, from following the example of their Britiſh brethren. They ſtill adhered to the intereſt of king James, who came over from France, in order to ſupport them, and laid ſiege to the town of Londonderry; but that place, of which Mr. Walker, a clergyman, was choſen governor, continued, for a long time, to make ſo brave and obſtinate a defence, that James was obliged to abandon the enterprize with the loſs of no leſs than 9000 of his men. Nor was he more ſucceſsful in the ſequel. King William ſent againſt him an army of 10,000 men under the duke of Schomberg, who reduced Carrickfergus, and eluded all the attempts of James, during the whole ſummer, to bring him to an engagement. In the courſe of the following year, William marched againſt *A. D.* 1698. him in perſon with an army of 36,000 men, and coming up with him at the paſs of the Boyne, a battle enſued, which, after a fierce and obſtinate diſpute, terminated in favour of king William. The loſs of the Engliſh in this action was about 500 men; that of the Iriſh was three times the number. Among thoſe who fell upon this occaſion was the brave duke of Schomberg, one of the moſt renowned generals of the age. After the battle, James, inſtead of rallying his broken forces, as he might eaſily have done, retired to Dublin, where ſtaying but one day, he proceeded to Waterford, and thence ſet ſail for France. King William in a little time returned to England.

Next year, the French king ſent a freſh *A. D.* 1691. body of troops into Ireland, which joining thoſe of king James, compoſed a conſiderable army. The Engliſh were commanded by general Ginckle, an excellent officer; the French and Iriſh by M. St. Ruth, who was not much inferior. Several battles were fought, and all to the advantage of the Engliſh; particularly that of Aghrim, in which M. St. Ruth was ſlain. Athlone was ſurprized by a moſt daring ſtratagem; Limerick made an obſtinate defence, and at laſt ſurrendered upon honourable terms; and thus the reduction of Ireland being happily compleated, Ginckle returned to England, where he was advanced to the title of earl of Athlone. Twelve thouſand Iriſh abandoned their native country, and entered into the ſervice of France.

James indeed, if that were an advantage, was more ſucceſsful in his civil than in his military tranſactions; for he perſuaded the Iriſh parliament to paſs an act of attainder againſt ſuch a number of proteſtants as exceeded the famous proſcription at Rome, during the laſt triumvirate. This act, however, which

he was never able to execute, only ſerved to ſhew his own cruel and vindictive diſpoſition, which he now found it impoſſible any longer to indulge at the expence of his former ſubjects. King James's friends being thus foiled in all their open attempts to wreak their vengeance upon king William, now had recourſe, for that purpoſe, to ſecret plots and machinations; and theſe, it is ſaid, were contrived and carried on not without the knowledge and conſent of the abdicated monarch. The firſt conſpiracy of any conſequence was hatched in 1692 by the papiſts of Lancaſhire, who had inſpired king James with ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he actually came to La Hogue, in order to make a deſcent upon England; but admiral Ruſſel attacked the French fleet in the neighbourhood of that port, and, by giving it a total overthrow, diſconcerted the deſigns of the enemy. Another conſpiracy was formed, in the courſe of the ſame year, by one Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the French ſervice, who undertook, at the inſtigation of the court of Verſailles, to aſſaſſinate king William in Flanders; but the horrid plot was happily diſcovered; and Grandval, being ſeized and convicted, was executed as a traitor at Eyndenhoven. But the third conſpiracy, which was carried on during the years 1694, 1695, and 1696, was of a more dangerous and alarming nature than either of the former. The deſign of it was to aſſaſſinate king William, and reſtore king James to the throne. Mighty preparations were made for the execution of this plot. Sir George Barclay engaged to aſſaſſinate king William; having, it is ſaid, received a commiſſion from king James for that purpoſe; but as Barclay eſcaped, it could never be proved, that any ſuch commiſſion had been granted. At the ſame time king James repaired to Calais, where an army of 20,000 men was aſſembled, in order to make a deſcent upon England: but when every thing was ready for the intended invaſion, the plot was diſcovered, and James immediately returned to St. Germain's, overwhelmed with deſpair at the failure of his enterprize. Many perſons were convicted of being concerned in this conſpiracy; but they all obtained a pardon except nine who were executed.

We muſt now mention a few of the foreign tranſactions of William's reign, which are intimately connected with thoſe of England. The grand object of William's ambition was to humble the pride of the French king, and prevent him from executing the ſcheme he had formed to eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy. With this view, he entered into a confederacy with the emperor, the king of Spain, the united provinces, the duke of Savoy, the elector of Brandenburgh, and moſt of the princes of the empire; and

and all theſe potentates, by common conſent, declared war againſt Lewis. King William's declaration was publiſhed in May 1689. Nothing, however, very remarkable paſſed during the four firſt campaigns, except the reduction of Mons and Namur, which were taken by the French, and the battle of Steenkirk, in which William was defeated, notwithſtanding his own bravery, and that of all his officers and ſoldiers, who diſputed the day with ſo much obſtinacy, that the enemy, though they kept the field, reaped little or no benefit from the victory. Nor was William more ſucceſsful in the next campaign, that is, in the year 1693. He was again worſted in the battle of Landen; though here, as in all his former overthrows, he ſtill roſe more terrible from his defeat; for, in a few days, he put his army upon ſuch a reſpectable footing, that he was once more able to offer the enemy battle. The loſs of the French in this engagement was double of that of the allies. King William exerted himſelf greatly upon this occaſion, and was frequently expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. His peruke, the ſleeve of his coat, and the knot of his ſcarf, were penetrated by three different muſket bullets. Even the enemy bore teſtimony to his valour. "Had they ſuch a king," they ſaid, "they would make themſelves maſters of chriſtendom." The prince of Conti, in a letter to his princeſs, declared, "That he ſaw king William expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; and that ſuch valour richly deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown which he wore."

The next year produced nothing of conſequence; but in the beginning of July, 1695, king William laid ſiege to the city of Namur. This place was originally eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt in Europe; and the French, ſince they had become maſters of it, had improved the fortifications to ſuch a degree, that it was now conſidered as abſolutely impregnable. Add to this, that marſhal Boufflers, foreſeeing king William's deſign, had thrown himſelf into the town with ſuch a powerful ſuccour, as increaſed the garriſon to 15,000 men. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, king William carried on his operations with ſuch unremitting vigour, that the place ſurrendered on the firſt of September. Marſhal Villeroy, at the head of 100,000 men, attempted to raiſe the ſiege, but king William had made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions, that the enemy were afraid to attack him in his entrenchments.

THE two next ſummers were chiefly ſpent in negotiations; and at laſt a treaty of peace was concluded in the month of September, at a place called Ryſwick in Holland. The principal articles of this treaty, relating to king William, were, that

that he ſhould recover poſſeſſion of the principality of Orange, and be acknowledged king of Great-Britain.

WILLIAM was able to give the greater attention to the affairs of the continent, as, during his abſence from England, he intruſted the government of that kingdom in the hands of the queen, and, after her death, in a council of regency. The queen was carried off by the ſmall-pox on the 28th of December, 1694, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign. Mary was in her perſon tall, and well proportioned; her ſhape, while princeſs of Orange, was eaſy and genteel; her complexion a light brown, with an oval viſage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aſpect, and a majeſtic mien: her apprehenſion was quick, her memory retentive, and her judgment ſtrong. She was zealouſly attached to the proteſtant religion, and ſcrupulouſly exact in all the duties of devotion. In a word, ſhe was an affectionate wife, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, a gracious ſovereign, and one of the beſt and moſt accompliſhed princeſſes that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. The king was ſo deeply affected with her death, that for ſeveral days after he could neither ſee company, nor attend to buſineſs.

THE laſt years of king William's reign were entirely taken up in preſerving the balance of power in Europe, which he believed to be in danger from the great and increaſing bulk of the French monarchy. Foreſeeing that the death of Charles the ſecond, king of Spain, who was in a very declining ſtate of health, would produce freſh troubles in this part of the world, he reſolved, if poſſible, to find out ſome expedients effectually to prevent them. The competitors for the Spaniſh crown, upon the death of king Charles, were, the electoral prince of Bavaria, the archduke Charles, and the dauphin, who were all of them related to the royal family of Spain. King William would willingly, had it been in his power, have procured the whole Spaniſh monarchy for the archduke Charles, upon whom, indeed, it had been ſettled by the late king, Philip the fourth; but ſenſible of the utter impoſſibility of accompliſhing ſuch a ſcheme, he thought it moſt adviſeable to chuſe the leaſt of two evils. With this view, he entered into a negociation with the French miniſters, for making a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy; and after ſeveral conſultations, the affair was ſettled in ſuch a manner, that the electoral prince of Bavaria was to ſucceed to the crown of Spain, while the other competitors were to obtain a conſiderable part of its extenſive dominions. This treaty, which was called the partition treaty, was ſigned in Auguſt 1698.

THIS

THIS treaty, however, was prevented from taking effect by the death of the electoral prince; upon which a new partition treaty was made, importing, that the archduke Charles ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, and the dauphin ſhould receive a proper equivalent. But though Lewis aſſented to both theſe treaties, it is natural to conclude, from his ſubſequent conduct, that he never meant to adhere either to the one or the other; for he exerted his intereſt ſo ſtrenuouſly at the court of Madrid, that he got Charles to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown upon his grandſon, the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin; and upon the death of Charles, which happened ſoon after, he ſent the duke into Spain with a powerful army, and reſolved to ſupport him with the whole force of his kingdom. In juſtification of this conduct, the French miniſters alledged, that the deſign of the partition treaty was to preſerve the peace of Europe; that that peace could not be ſo well preſerved by any other means as by thoſe which their ſovereign had adopted; and that he had only departed from the letter, in order the more ſtrictly to adhere to the ſpirit of the treaty. *A. D.* 1700.

WILLIAM, however, was far from being ſatisfied with this impudent apology for ſo baſe an action. On the contrary, he was inflamed with the higheſt indignation, and determined to puniſh this breach of public faith in the moſt exemplary manner. But as he was in no condition to execute his vengeance at preſent, he wiſely concealed his reſentment until he had concluded a new alliance with Holland and the empire: and this he had no ſooner done, than he began to prepare for chaſtiſing the perfidy of Lewis, when a fall from his horſe, near Hampton-court, threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life on the 8th of March, 1702, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

KING William was of a middle ſtature, a thin body, and delicate conſtitution, ſubject to an aſthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and ſolemn aſpect. In courage, conduct, and magnanimity, he rivalled the moſt eminent warriors of antiquity. He was religious, temperate, juſt, and merciful, and poſſeſſed of an uncommon equanimity of temper. But what ſeems chiefly to have diſtinguiſhed his character, and to have conſtituted his ruling and predominant paſſion, was a ſincere regard to the natural rights and liberties of mankind. Animated by this god-like ardour, he bravely undertook, and ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, even in his moſt tender years, the delivery of his native country, when it was not only threatened with immediate ſubjection, but was almoſt involved in

in utter ruin and deſtruction. Prompted by the ſame generous principle, he reſcued the inhabitants of this iſland from the dreadful calamity of civil and religious ſlavery, to which, without his timely aſſiſtance, they would, in all probability, have been finally reduced. Influenced by the like benevolent ſpirit, he commenced the champion of the general liberties of Europe, which he not only preſerved from impending ruin, but was in a fair way of eſtabliſhing upon a ſolid foundation. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that, with all his good qualities, William was not free from foibles. He was naturally incapable of bearing contradiction, though by no means fond of flattery. His addreſs was cold, and his manner diſguſting; and though liberal of money upon ſome occaſions, he poſſeſſed not the virtue of true generoſity.

We ſhall now briefly notice thoſe tranſactions of king William's reign that could not ſo eaſily come into the body of the narrative.

One of the chief advantages produced by the revolution was the ſettlement of the revenue upon ſuch a footing as to prevent its being embezzled by the king or his miniſters. For it is to be obſerved, that, before that period, the whole ſtanding revenue of the ſtate was in the hands of the prince, and entirely at his diſpoſal. There was then no diſtinction between what was allotted for the ſupport of the king's houſehold, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the public. By this means, the king might reſerve as much as he pleaſed for his own private uſe, and employ no more than he thought proper in the ſervice of the nation. Accordingly it appears, that, from the time of the reſtoration to that of the revolution, the public revenue had been conſtantly embezzled, and large ſums had been frequently ſunk, without being applied to the purpoſes for which they had been granted. In order to remedy this growing evil, it was wiſely enacted at the revolution, that a ſeparate income ſhould be allowed for the maintenance of the king's houſehold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and that the manner of expending the reſt of the revenue ſhould be entirely ſubjected to the command of the parliament.

In 1689, the epiſcopal religion was aboliſhed in Scotland, and preſbytery eſtabliſhed. In 1692, Erneſt Auguſtus, duke of Hanover, anceſtor of his preſent majeſty, was, by the intereſt of the Engliſh court, created an elector of the empire.

It was in this reign, that the practice of funding firſt began, that is, of borrowing money on the faith of parliament, or upon the credit of thoſe taxes which the government impoſes in order to pay the intereſt; a practice that has been carried to a much greater extent, than, at its firſt introduction, the moſt ſanguine

ſanguine politicians could have conceived to be poſſible; and how much farther it may be carried, exceeds the ability of the moſt nice calculator, by any means, to foretell. This ſeems to have given riſe to the bank of England, which was eſtabliſhed in 1693; as alſo to the practice of private banking: before this time all money tranſactions were managed by the goldſmiths.

In 1694, a bill was paſſed for triennial parliaments; and this continued in force till the acceſſion of king George the firſt, when ſeptennial parliaments were reſtored. In 1697, Peter the great of Muſcovy, who had already viſited moſt of the kingdoms of Europe, came over to England. An elegant houſe was fitted up for him in Weſtminſter; but he choſe rather to live among the ſailors in Wapping, as his chief intention was to learn the art of ſhip-building. In 1700, the ſucceſſion to the crown, upon failure of the iſſue of king William, queen Mary, and her ſiſter Anne, was ſettled upon the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, and the proteſtant heirs of her body.

With regard to the internal government of England, William conducted it with equal prudence and ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the repeated mortifications he received from the alternate oppoſition of the whigs and tories. The former, particularly, provoked him, at one time, to ſuch a degree, that he had actually formed a reſolution to abandon the kingdom.

The moſt remarkable foreign event that happened during this reign, was the victory, which Charles XII. of Sweden, though only nineteen years of age, and at the head of no more than 8000 men, obtained at Narva in 1700, over an army of 100,000 Ruſſians, commanded by the Czar in perſon.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ANNE.

KING William the third was ſucceeded by Anne Stuart, ſecond daughter of king James the ſecond, and conſort of George prince of Denmark, to whom ſhe had been married in 1683. After having ſettled her miniſtry, ſhe called a council in order to deliberate whether ſhe ſhould proſecute the deſign which her predeceſſor had formed for humbling the pride of the Bourbon family, and eſtabliſhing the balance of power in Europe. This *A. D.* 1702.

William

William had reſolved to effect by compelling the king of France to adhere to the ſecond partition treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that the archduke Charles ſhould inherit the crown of Spain, while the dauphin ſhould receive, for his ſhare of the ſucceſſion, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and with this view he had entered, in 1701, into an alliance with the emperor and the ſtates-general, to which the kings of Pruſſia and Portugal, the duke of Savoy, the elector of Hanover, and ſeveral other princes afterwards acceded.

THE Engliſh council were unanimouſly of opinion, that the queen ſhould adhere to the ſpirit of this alliance; but they differed as to the manner in which ſhe ſhould do ſo. Some propoſed, that ſhe ſhould engage in the war as a principal, others only as an auxiliary. The former opinion was adopted by the whigs, the latter by the tories; but as the firſt was moſt agreeable to the nation in general, it was, though not till after ſome diſpute, embraced by the miniſtry. Accordingly on the fourth of May, 1702, the queen declared war againſt France, and her example was immediately followed by the emperor, the ſtates-general, and the other members of the confederacy. The earl of Marlborough was declared captain-general of her majeſty's forces both at home and abroad; and her huſband, prince George of Denmark, was appointed lord high admiral of England and Ireland.

As this war was profeſſedly undertaken rather for ſupporting the general liberties of Europe, than for promoting the particular intereſt of England, we ſhall not enter into a minute deſcription of all the events by which it was diſtinguiſhed: we ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with mentioning a few of the moſt remarkable.

IN the courſe of the firſt year, ſir George Rooke, who commanded an Engliſh ſquadron, hearing that twenty-two Spaniſh galleons, richly laden, under convoy of a French fleet of thirty men of war, had taken ſhelter at Vigo, he immediately ſailed thither; and forcing his way into the harbour, with great gallantry, in ſpite of all the obſtructions which the enemy had raiſed in order to prevent him, he either took or deſtroyed the whole navy, and returned to England with plunder to the value of above a million ſterling. In the Weſt-Indies, the brave admiral Bembow, being treacherouſly deſerted by his captains, maintained, with his ſingle ſhip, for four days ſucceſſively, a deſperate fight againſt ten French men of war.

THE next year was not productive of any event of importance; but in the beginning of 1704, the French, who had been lately joined by the Bavarians, extended their conqueſts ſo rapidly in the empire, that they actually menaced Vienna with

with a ſiege. In this extremity, the emperor applied to queen Anne for aſſiſtance; and that generous princeſs, after ſome conſultations with her miniſters, embraced the bold and magnanimous reſolution of ſaving him from the ruin with which he was threatened. For this purpoſe the duke of Marlborough (for he had now been advanced to that title) went over to Holland, and having perſuaded the ſtates-general to concur in the deſign, he put himſelf at the head of the confederate army; marched into Germany with the utmoſt expedition; drove the French and Bavarians from their entrenchments at Schellenberg; took the ſtrong town of Donawert on the Danube; and being afterwards joined by a conſiderable body of forces under the command of prince Eugene of Savoy, theſe two accompliſhed generals, on the 13th of Auguſt, attacked the French and Bavarians at Blenheim or Hockſtadt, and, after a fierce and obſtinate diſpute, gave them a total and moſt terrible overthrow. This was one of the moſt glorious and deciſive victories that ever was gained in any war, or by any army. Ten thouſand French and Bavarians were killed upon the ſpot, the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of dragoons were drowned in the Danube; thirteen thouſand men were made priſoners, including twelve hundred officers; a hundred pieces of cannon were taken, together with twenty-four mortars, a hundred and twenty-nine colours, a hundred and seventy-one standards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thouſand and ſix hundred tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, and fifteen barrels and eight caſks filled with ſilver. After this battle, the allies meeting with no farther reſiſtance, reduced the towns of Landau and Traerback, and drove the French entirely out of Germany.

The emperor was ſo ſenſible of the importance of the ſervice now done him, and of the capital hand which the duke of Marlborough had in performing it, that he raiſed that nobleman to the dignity of a prince of the empire, and beſtowed upon him the principality of Mindelheim. The duke too, upon his return to England, was honoured with the thanks of both houſes of parliament; and the queen made him a preſent of Woodſtock-park, where ſhe cauſed to be built for him, at her own expence, a magnificent palace, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim-houſe, in order to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

About the ſame time, or rather a little before, that is, on the twenty-ſecond of July, a conqueſt was gained, which, though not ſo ſplendid in appearance, was of much more conſequence to England; I mean the reduction of Gibraltar by ſir George

George Rooke; a place which has ever since continued in our poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding the various and repeated attempts of the enemy to recover it.

A. D. 1705. The moſt memorable event of the enſuing year, was the bringing the whole province of Catalonia under the dominion of king Charles the third, for ſo the archduke Charles was now called. This project had been originally formed by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt; and though that gallant ſoldier was unfortunately killed in the attack of fort Montjuic, yet the earl of Peterborough, who commanded the Engliſh forces, puſhed on his operations with ſo much vigour, that Barcelona, the capital, ſurrendered in a few days, and the ſubmiſſion of the province followed ſoon after. In the courſe of this enterprize, the earl performed one of the moſt gallant exploits that ever was achieved by any general. With a force not exceeding 1000 infantry, and 200 dragoons, he compelled the Conde de las Torres, who had inveſted San Matheo, to raiſe the ſiege of that place, though at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men.

In 1706, the allies obtained another victory over the enemy, which, though not ſo important, was as deciſive and complete as that which they gained at Blenheim. The armies met at Ramillies, and for ſome time fought without any viſible advantage on either ſide. Nay the Dutch horſe on the left wing began to give way, when the duke of Marlborough ſuſtained them with the body of reſerve, and twenty ſquadrons drawn from the right, where a moraſs prevented them from acting with freedom. In the mean time, he in perſon rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, in order to renew the combat, when his own horſe falling, he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt have been either killed or taken priſoner, had not a body of infantry come ſeaſonably to his relief. When he remounted his horſe, the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horſe, was carried off by a cannon-ball, while he held the duke's ſtirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the greateſt part of the French cavalry were cut in pieces. Then their whole army fell into confuſion, and took to flight, but were ſo hotly purſued, that the allies took all their baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers, and about eight thouſand of them were either killed or wounded.

This year was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by a civil tranſaction, which was of much more national importance, than any victory whatever. What I allude to, is the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which at this time were incorporated

incorporated into one by a formal treaty; by which it was ſtipulated, that Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament (for ſo the parliament was from henceforth to be called) by ſixteen peers and forty-five commoners. The Scots clamoured loudly againſt the union, as if it would prove the ruin of their country. The fact is, however, that it has proved quite the reverſe. And perhaps it may be affirmed, that the Iriſh will never be happy nor quiet, nor will ever have the leaſt chance of becoming a civilized people, until by a like treaty they are incorporated with Great-Britain.

THE allies were not ſo ſucceſsful in other quarters as they had been in Flanders and Germany. In Spain the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, who headed the confederates in that kingdom, having raſhly attacked, at Almanza, the Spaniſh army, much ſuperior to their own in number, and commanded by the duke of Berwick, they were, though not till after an obſtinate diſpute, entirely defeated on the twenty-fifth of April, 1707.

IN the beginning of the enſuing year, Lewis the fourteenth, knowing that the queen of England was the ſoul of the grand confederacy, determined to undertake ſome enterprize, which might particularly diſtreſs that princeſs. With this view, he propoſed to make a deſcent upon England, and eſtabliſh the pretender, whom he ſtiled James the third, upon the throne of that kingdom. This ſcheme, however, met with the fate which might naturally have been expected. The pretender, indeed, embarked in the expedition, and actually arrived upon the coaſt of Scotland: but being cloſely purſued by an Engliſh fleet of forty men of war, under the command of ſir George Byng, who took one of the enemy's veſſels with ſome officers on board, he was afraid to attempt a landing, and he therefore returned into the harbour of Dunkirk. *A. D.* 1708.

NOR was Lewis more ſucceſsful in another project he had formed, which was to overpower the allies with ſuperior numbers in Flanders, and diſpoſſeſs them of moſt of the conqueſts they had hitherto made in that quarter. He aſſembled, it is true, a prodigious army for this purpoſe, which was commanded by the dukes of Vendome and Burgundy; and theſe two generals, aſſiſted by the intereſt of the elector of Bavaria, and of count de Bergeyck, who had great influence in the Low-countries, made themſelves maſters of Ghent, Bruges, and other places. But the duke of Marlborough, being now reinforced by 30,000 imperialiſts, under prince Eugene, theſe two heroes, though ſtill inferior to the enemy in numbers, attacked them in the neighbourhood of Oudenard; and after a ſhort but obſtinate

ſtinate engagement, defeated them with great ſlaughter; and had not night intervened, to ſave the ſhattered remains of the French army, few of them would have eſcaped to carry to their friends the news of their overthrow. By favour of the darkneſs, however, they effected a retreat, firſt to Ghent and Bruges, and afterwards to Lovendegen, where they threw up entrenchments. The princes of France and the pretender were the ſad eye witneſſes of this ſhameful defeat; while the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards king George II. of Great Britain) who was in the confederate army, fought at the head of Bulau's dragoons, with the moſt undaunted outrage. His horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſky killed by his ſide.

In order to improve the advantage they had gained, the allies immediately laid ſiege to Liſle, the ſtrongeſt town in the Netherlands, provided with all neceſſaries, and a garriſon reinforced by one and twenty of the beſt battalions of France, headed by marſhal Boufflers in perſon. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, the confederates carried on their operations with ſurpriſing vigour and activity. The ſiege was conducted by prince Eugene; the covering army commanded by the duke of Marlborough. The duke of Vendome made ſeveral motions, as if he meant to attack the allies; but though ſuperior to them in point of number, he was afraid to hazard an engagement. He found means, indeed, to cut off their communication with Antwerp, from whence they had hitherto received their proviſions, ſo that they were now obliged to bring all their ſupplies from Oſtend, and that too along a narrow cauſeway, expoſed to the attack of an army more numerous than their own. In ſpite, however, of all theſe obſtructions, they actually brought ſeveral convoys from Oſtend; and in one of theſe enterprizes, general Webb, who guarded a convoy with 6000 men, defeated M. de la Motte, though at the head of an army 24,000 ſtrong. Six thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot; the convoy arrived ſafe in the camp of the allies; and the city ſurrendered a few days after. The confederates were not ſatisfied with the advantage they had gained. They determined to crown their conqueſt with the recovery of Ghent, which they accordingly inveſted, on the twentieth of December, and took it after a ſiege of ten days, though defended by a garriſon of thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons. The enemy, alarmed at this event, abandoned Bruges, and ſeveral other places; and on the whole it may be affirmed, that this campaign, as it was one of the longeſt, was alſo one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful that is to be found in modern hiſtory.

In the courſe of this year, Sardinia and Minorca were con-

conquered: the former by ſir John Leake; the latter by general Stanhope. Sardinia was intended to be given to king Charles; Minorca, at the concluſion of the war, was retained by Great-Britain; and in our poſſeſſion it continued till 1781, when it was reconquered by the Spaniards.

On the 18th of October died George prince of Denmark, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. His death was owing to an aſthma and dropſy, with the firſt of which he had been afflicted almoſt from his infancy. He was a prince poſſeſſed of many amiable and engaging qualities, brave, generous, modeſt, and humane; but deſtitute of great talents, and little qualified for making a figure in the world. He had always lived in great harmony with the queen, who, during the whole courſe of their marriage, and eſpecially in his laſt illneſs, approved herſelf a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection.

The French king was by this time reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſpair by the numerous loſſes he had ſuſtained, and a ſevere winter, which completed the miſery of his ſubjects, that he reſolved to ſacrifice all conſiderations of pride and ambition to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity; or, to ſpeak more properly, he determined to counterfeit ſuch a diſpoſition, in order to amuſe and cajole the allies, hoping, by that means, either to break the confederacy, or, at leaſt, to prevent them from taking the field ſo early as they might otherwiſe be inclined. With this he diſpatched the preſident Rouillé and the marquis de Torcy to *A. D.* 1709. the Hague; and theſe miniſters, in conjunction with thoſe of the emperor, of Great Britain, and of the ſtates-general, agreed to certain preliminary articles; but as it was ſtipulated, in one of theſe, that king Philip ſhould quit Spain in two months, Lewis the fourteenth rejected the conditions with diſdain, and declared, that he would expend his laſt farthing rather than agree to ſuch diſhonourable terms.

As it could not be ſuppoſed, that the French miniſters would aſſent to any conditions without the tacit permiſſion of their ſovereign, the allies concluded that the whole of Lewis's conduct in this affair was a groſs deception; and they therefore reſolved to bring him to reaſon, if not by ſtrength of argument, at leaſt by force of arms. Accordingly, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough having aſſembled the confederate army, advanced towards the enemy; but finding them ſo ſtrongly entrenched in the plain of Lens, under marſhal Villars, that they could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs, they inveſted the important city of Tournay, which, after a ſiege of two months, ſurrendered on the third of September. On the eleventh of the ſame month, they attacked the

the French army, which was advantageouſly poſted, and entrenched almoſt up to the teeth, at Blaregnies or Malplaquet, under the command of Villars and Boufflers. The fight was for ſome time maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and dreadful havock was made among the Dutch infantry; but at laſt the enemy were obliged to yield to the ſuperior valour of the Engliſh forces, who, led on by the earl of Orkney, general Withers, the gallant duke of Argyle, and others, ruſhed forward with irreſiſtible fury; drove the French from their ſtrongeſt entrenchments, and obtained over them a complete victory. This advantage, however, was dearly purchaſed with the loſs of 18,000 men, who fell in the action; among whom were count Lottum, general Tettau, the marquis of Tullibardine, and other officers of diſtinction. The enemy loſt about 15,000 men, and their number of wounded was ſo conſiderable, that they were altogether unable to give any relief to Mons, which had for ſome time been inveſted, and which ſurrendered to the allies on the twentieth of October.

IN the beginning of the year, Lewis made propoſals for renewing the negociations for a general *A. D.* 1710. peace; and conferences for that purpoſe were accordingly held at Gertrydenburgh from the month of March to that of July. Lewis now offered, (though probably without any deſign of performing his engagements) to abandon the cauſe of his grandſon, Philip, provided that that prince, in lieu of Spain, ſhould receive the kingdoms of Sardinia and Sicily; and though he would not conſent to aſſiſt with his forces in expelling him his dominions, he yet agreed to furniſh the confederates with a monthly ſum of money, towards defraying the expence of driving him out of Spain, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to quit it voluntarily. But the allies, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of theſe profeſſions, replied, that the reſtoration of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria was the grand object, for which the war was undertaken; that as Lewis had placed his grandſon on the throne of that kingdom, it was certainly in his power to make him reſign it; and that, without this condition, no treaty could be concluded. All hopes of accommodation being thus extinguiſhed, the conferences broke up; and both parties reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

NOTHING, however, of any conſequence happened this year in Germany. In Spain, indeed, ſome achievements were performed, that are more worthy of notice. General Stanhope, at the head of fifteen ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, attacked the whole cavalry and part of the infantry of the enemy at Almenara. Stanhope charged in perſon, and with his own

own hand ſlew general Ameſſaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spaniſh horſe were entirely defeated, together with nine battalions that eſcaped by favour of the darkneſs; and the main body of the army retreated with the utmoſt precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg purſued them to Saragoſſa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement enſuing, the enemy received a total defeat. Five thouſand of their men were killed, ſeven thouſand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards. King Charles entered Saragoſſa in triumph, while Philip, with the remains of his army, retired towards Madrid.

HAVING ſent his queen and ſon to Victoria, he repaired to Valladolid, in order to aſſemble his ſcattered troops, ſo as to compoſe another army. Stanhope propoſed, that a body of troops ſhould be poſted at Pampeluna, the only paſs by which the French could ſend ſuccours into Spain. But this meaſure was neglected; in conſequence of which the duke of Vendome arrived ſoon after with a ſtrong reinforcement of French troops, and aſſumed the command of the Spaniſh army. Vendome was a general of great reputation, and many volunteers flocked to his ſtandard. The Caſtilians, too, exerted themſelves with great induſtry, in order to ſupport their ſovereign, king Philip, (for they had almoſt univerſally acknowledged his title) ſo that this prince, in leſs than three months after his defeat at Saragoſſa, found himſelf in a condition to go in queſt of his rival. King Charles, on the other hand, was entirely neglected, both by the court of Vienna and of England. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected. The allies were unable to make head againſt the enemy, who overpowered them every where with ſuperior numbers. General Stanhope was ſurrounded in the town of Brihuega by the whole Spaniſh army, and was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and all his forces, amounting to two thouſand men, priſoners of war. General Staremberg, too, was attacked in the neighbourhood of the ſame place by an army double in number to his own; and though he was able to maintain the action ſo as to render it a drawn battle, he yet ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the encounter, that he found it neceſſary, in a little time after, to retire to Saragoſſa, and thence immediately into Catalonia. Thither he was followed by the duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, and obliged Staremberg to retreat to Barcelona. About the ſame time, the duke de Noailles laid ſiege to Gironne, which he took, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon; for it was now towards the end of November; ſo

that king Charles, who lately might have been maſter of all Spain, was confined to the ſingle province of Catalonia, and even that was expoſed to the invaſions of the enemy.

THESE multiplied diſaſters, following ſo cloſe upon the back of one another, furniſhed the tory, or mal-content party in England with a plauſible pretence for propoſing to put an end to the war, which they had never regarded with a favourble eye, eſpecially as the nation had engaged in it as a principal, contrary to their advice; and as the commencement of it had been attended with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, as ſeemed to have rivetted their political rivals, the whigs, in the perpetual and excluſive enjoyment of all places of truſt and profit.

AT the head of this diſcontented party was Robert Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, a man of great abilities, and the moſt inſinuating addreſs. He had been brought into office upon the whig-intereſt, and chiefly by the influence of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, who had procured for him the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate; from which, however, he had been diſmiſſed upon his endeavouring to undermine his benefactors. He continued, nevertheleſs, to enjoy the good graces of her majeſty, to whom he had free, though private, acceſs by means of one Mrs. Maſham, a new favourite of the queen, and one of her bed-chamber women. She was a near relation of the dutcheſs of Marlborough, who had reſcued her from indigence and obſcurity, kept her ſome time in her own family; and now had the mortification to ſee herſelf ſupplanted by the very perſon ſhe had thus generouſly patronized.

As Harley well knew, that he could not accompliſh the ſcheme he had formed without bringing about a change of miniſtry, and procuring at the ſame time a tory-parliament, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to effectuate theſe two objects. With this view, he repreſented to the queen the abſolute neceſſity of altering her meaſures. He ſaid, that ſhe was held in a ſlaviſh ſubjection by the whigs, and was in reality but a cypher in the government; that the duke and dutcheſs of Marlborough, in particular, exerciſed over her the moſt cruel tyranny, and had engroſſed to themſelves the entire diſpoſal of honours and employments; that the tories were her only true and ſincere friends, and were firmly attached to her perſon and government; and that ſhe could never reign with eaſe and independence, till ſhe had delivered herſelf from the hands of the whigs, and intruſted her affairs to the management of the tories.

THE queen, who of herſelf was ſufficiently inclined to liſten to

to theſe ſuggeſtions, immediately adopted his ſentiments; and accordingly, in a little time after, lord Somers was deprived of the preſidentſhip of the council, the duke of Devonſhire of the office of lord ſteward of the houſhold, and the earl of Wharton of the lieutenancy of Ireland. Even Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, ſon-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was removed from the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate; and the earl of Godolphin, whoſe only ſon had married the eldeſt daughter of the aforeſaid duke, was ſoon after deprived of his office of lord high-treaſurer. In a word, there was not a ſingle whig left in any office under the government, except the duke of Marlborough, and he too would have reſigned his command, had he not been diſſuaded by his friends from taking a ſtep, which might have proved prejudicial to the intereſt of his country.

THESE violent meaſures, however, would probably have been reſented by the nation at large, the great body of which certainly conſiſted of whigs, had it not been for a very ſingular incident that happened at this period. This was no other than the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, who, in a ſermon preached before the lord-mayor, and which was afterwards publiſhed, had advanced certain poſitions contrary to revolution-principles, to the preſent government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The houſe of commons, having examined this diſcourſe, voted it a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, and impeached the doctor before the houſe of peers, who, by way of puniſhment, prohibited him from preaching for three years, and ordered his ſermon to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. This affair, aſſiſted by the arts of deſigning men, raiſed ſuch a flame in the nation, that the people were at laſt brought to believe, that the church of England was in danger; and as the whigs were ſuppoſed to be low churchmen, and the tories high churchmen, the current of popular favour ran ſtrongly towards the latter party.

SACHEVEREL'S trial, indeed, happened towards the end of the preceding year; but the clamour, originally excited by it, was ſtill kept up, and was even increaſed by ſome additional circumſtances. The doctor had been lately preſented to a living in North Wales, and he now went to take poſſeſſion of it with all the pomp of a ſovereign pontiff. He was ſumptuouſly entertained by the univerſity of Oxford. He was received in ſeveral towns by the magiſtrates in their formalities. He was met at Bridgewater by four thouſand horſemen, and the like number of perſons on foot, wearing white cockades, and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. In a word, wherever he

paſſed, nothing was heard, but the cry of "Down with the whigs! High church, and Sacheverel for ever!"

WHILE the people laboured under this temporary phrenſy, the late ſudden change of men and meaſures not only paſſed without cenſure, but even with the ſeeming approbation of the public. Nor were the tories wanting to the tide of ſucceſs that flowed in upon them. They perſuaded the queen to diſſolve the old, or whig parliament, and to ſummon a new one, which proved to be entirely of their own principles, and enabled them to direct the affairs of the nation with uncontrouled authority during the remainder of this reign.

HARLEY was joined by two aſſociates, equally active and zealous as himſelf. Thoſe were ſir Simon Harcourt, who was firſt appointed lord-keeper, then lord high-chancellor, and at laſt made a peer of the realm; and Mr. Henry St. John, a man of extraordinary abilities, but of the moſt unbounded ambition, who was nominated ſecretary of ſtate, and afterwards created viſcount Bolingbroke. Theſe three miniſters were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Triumvirate; and they certainly held the queen in as great ſubjection as ever ſhe had been held by their predeceſſors in office. They did not, however, yet think it ſafe, at leaſt not prudent, to diſmiſs the duke of Marlborough from the command of the army; but that nobleman found himſelf ſo entirely neglected by them, that he could do little more the enſuing campaign than to force the French lines on the Schelde and the Sanſet, *A. D.* 1711. which they had fortified ſo ſtrongly, as to render them, in the opinion of moſt people, impenetrable. They uſed to call them, by way of bravado, the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. The duke, however, by his admirable conduct, entered them without the loſs of a ſingle man. Soon after he took the important, and, as it was then eſteemed, the impregnable fortreſs of Bouchain, in ſight of an enemy 100,000 ſtrong.

IN the courſe of this year an event happened, which furniſhed the miniſters with a more ſpecious pretext, than any they had yet found, for putting an end to hoſtilities. This was the death of the emperor Joſeph, and the advancement of his brother Charles, the preſent competitor for the crown of Spain, to the imperial dignity. The miniſters now ſaid, that the liberties of Europe would be much more endangered by uniting the imperial and Spaniſh crowns upon the head of Charles, than by beſtowing the latter crown upon a branch of the Bourbon family. But they ſeem not to have recollected, at leaſt not to have ſufficiently conſidered, that the imperial dignity was elective and not hereditary, and that therefore the union, which

which they ſo much dreaded, might probably ceaſe with the life of the emperor; whereas if once the crown of Spain was ſettled upon a branch of the Bourbon family, the conjunction between France and Spain would become ſo intimate, that it could never be diſſolved without producing a general war in Europe, if indeed even that violent expedient ſhould be found ſufficient to remedy the evil it was intended to cure.

THE miniſtry, however, laid hold of this plea for accepting a peace upon the conditions offered by monſieur Menager in the French king's name, and the preliminaries of which were accordingly ſigned in the month of October. Theſe preliminaries were readily approved in the lower houſe of parliament, but they met with a violent oppoſition in the upper; and the queen therefore, to overcome this difficulty, created, at once, no leſs than twelve new peers; and ſecretary St. John is reported to have ſaid, that if twelve would not do, he ſhould adviſe her majeſty to create twenty-four; ſo determined was he to carry every thing before him! Many of the peers, however, refuſed to agree to the meaſures, and among others the duke of Marlborough; for which reaſon he was, in a very abrupt manner, diſmiſſed from all his employments, and the command of the army beſtowed upon the duke of Ormond.

ORMOND ſeems to have been a man of real merit, and would probably have acted in his new ſtation with equal ſpirit and ſagacity, had he been allowed to follow the dictates of his own judgment; but ſuffering himſelf to be guided by thoſe who had raiſed him to power, he had no opportunity of diſplaying his military talents. The Engliſh miniſters were now bent upon a peace, and they therefore ſent orders to Ormond to refrain from all acts of hoſtility. In obedience to theſe orders, the duke refuſed to concur with prince Eugene in attacking the French army, or beſieging the town of Landreci; drew off the Engliſh forces from the confederates; publiſhed a ſuſpenſion of arms with France; and ſeized Ghent and Bruges for the uſe of his ſovereign: a conduct, which was attended with *A. D.* 1712. the moſt fatal conſequences to the allies, who, being now deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, were defeated at Denain, obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Landreci, and, in a word, were expelled from ſo many important towns, that they at laſt became ſenſible of their utter inability to carry on the war upon their own bottom.

THIS was the very point the Engliſh miniſtry aimed at. They had long been engaged in a private negociation with the

court of France, in order to ſettle the terms of peace; and every thing being at length, in ſome meaſure, adjuſted, they now reſolved publicly to conclude a formal treaty. For this purpoſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the emperor, the elector of Hanover, and of the ſtates-general, a congreſs was formed at Utrecht; and to this the confederates at laſt conſented, however unwillingly, to ſend their reſpective plenipotentiaries. Strong objections were made by theſe miniſters to the terms offered by France; but the queen of England and Lewis the fourteenth having previouſly agreed upon the conditions of peace, they compelled all the allies, who *A. D.* 1713. compoſed the grand alliance, to accede to them; all, I mean, except the emperor, who was afterwards obliged to conclude a ſeparate peace with France at Baden.

IT is needleſs to be particular in enumerating the different articles of the treaty of Utrecht; for ſo this treaty was called. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that it left king Philip in the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain; and that thus the grand object, for which the war had been originally undertaken, and proſecuted for the ſpace of nine years with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, was finally diſappointed. It may be likewiſe worthy of notice, that the celebrated Matthew Prior had a capital hand in bringing about this treaty. Prior is much better known as a poet than a politician; yet ſuch bad judges are the generality of men of the nature of their own talents, that Prior ſeems to have been more ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed in the latter than in the former of theſe capacities.

As the preſent miniſters had come into power rather from motives of private ambition, than from any regard to the public intereſt, they no ſooner thought themſelves ſecure of their places, than they began to quarrel among themſelves. Oxford and Bolingbroke in particular conceived againſt each other the moſt implacable hatred, and they took every opportunity of diſplaying it to the world. Nay, they carried their reſentment ſo far, that forgetting the reverence due to majeſty, and the obligations they lay under to their royal benefactreſs, they broke out into open invectives, even in the queen's preſence. Oxford was removed from his poſt of lord high-treaſurer, and Bolingbroke expected to become prime miniſter; but all his hopes were blaſted by the ſudden death of the queen, who, oppreſſed with the burden of her bodily infirmities, and further worn out with anxiety of mind, was ſeized with a kind of lethargic diſorder, of which ſhe expired on the firſt of Auguſt, 1714.

WHILE

WHILE the queen lay upon her death-bed, without hopes of recovery, the council aſſembled; and it is remarkable, that the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle made their appearance at the board without being invited. Hence it ſhould ſeem, that, upon extraordinary occaſions, privy-counſellors have a right to attend the council-board, whether they are ſummoned or not. Privy-councils are an old inſtitution; cabinet-councils are but of modern invention.

QUEEN Anne was of the middle ſtature, and well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ſanguine and ruddy, her features ſtrong and regular, her countenance rather round than oval, and her aſpect more comely than majeſtic. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, as appeared in the graceful delivery of her ſpeeches to parliament. She had a tolerable ear for muſic, and performed indifferently on the guitar, an inſtrument then greatly in vogue. Her character, viewed in a private light, is one of the moſt amiable to be found in hiſtory. She was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection; a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, and a munificent patron. Her public conduct, though not altogether free from weakneſs, was, in the main, laudable and praiſe-worthy. She ſeems, indeed, to have been deficient in that vigour of mind, which might preſerve her from the ſnares of ſycophants and favourites; but her regard for the happineſs of her people was never called in queſtion. She felt a mother's fondneſs for her people, by whom ſhe was beloved with a warmth of affection, which even the prejudice of party could not abate. Her reign may be ſaid to have been bloodleſs, no perſon having been executed, at leaſt none beheaded for treaſon, during the whole courſe of her adminiſtration; a circumſtance which cannot be affirmed of any other Engliſh monarch ſince the time of Edward the firſt.

QUEEN Anne bore to her huſband, George prince of Denmark, two ſons and four daughters, all of whom died in their infancy, except William, duke of Glouceſter, who attained to the eleventh year of his age, when he was carried off by a malignant fever, to the inexpreſſible grief of the whole nation.

CHAP. XXXVII.

GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714. QUEEN Anne was ſucceeded by George I. elector of Hanover, or Brunſwick-Lunenburg, who aſcended the throne in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was the ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt elector of Hanover, by the princeſs Sophia, daughter of Frederic the fifth, elector palatine, and king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to James the firſt, king of Great-Britain; and as all the popiſh branches of the royal family were excluded by the act of ſettlement, he was thus the true lineal heir to the crown. If the tories had formed any deſign in favour of the pretender, which yet is uncertain, they were all overturned by the ſudden death of the queen, and the ſpirited ſteps taken by the leaders of the whig party. For no ſooner had her majeſty expired, than the council of regency, conſiſting partly of the great officers of ſtate, but chiefly of the lords juſtices, nominated by the king previous to his acceſſion, met, and they iſſued orders for proclaiming him immediately in England, Scotland, and Ireland. They likewiſe diſpatched the earl of Dorſet to Hanover, to acquaint him with the queen's death, and his own elevation, and to deſire him to ſet out, with all convenient ſpeed, on his journey to England. At the ſame time, in order to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom, they ſent ſuch general officers as they could depend on, to their reſpective poſts; they reinforced the garriſon of Portſmouth; and appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary; while lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait at the door of the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and was ſoon after removed, with evident marks of diſpleaſure, from his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate.

THE parliament meeting, agreeable to the act of ſettlement, the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes in the name of the regency. In conſequence of this, addreſſes of condolence and congratulation were immediately tranſmitted to his majeſty, humbly requeſting, as ſoon as poſſible, his royal preſence in England; to which the king returned a very gracious anſwer, declaring, in the cloſe of it, that he would make it his conſtant care to preſerve the religion, laws, and liberties of his ſubjects inviolate, and to advance the honour and proſperity of his kingdoms. He ſet out from Hanover on the laſt day of Auguſt, and taking ſhipping in Holland under convoy of

of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, he arrived at Greenwich on the eighteenth of September. There he was received by the earl of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and by the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his houſe in Greenwich-park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and gentry, who had the honour to kiſs his hand. It was obſerved, however, that ſome of the late miniſtry, when they came to pay their reſpects to him, met with a very cold reception. On the twentieth of September he made his public entry into London, accompanied by the prince royal, who was ſoon after created prince of Wales, and whom he had brought over with him; and their coach was preceded on this occaſion by above two hundred coaches and ſix of the nobility and others.

His firſt care, after his arrival at St. James's, was the ſettlement of his miniſtry; and as the late one was ſuppoſed to be not very favourably inclined to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, an almoſt total change was made in every department under the government. The command of the army was reſtored to the duke of Marlborough, who was at the ſame time appointed colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, and maſter-general of the ordnance. The great ſeal was given to lord Cowper; the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton; and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Argyle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and Mr. Robert Walpole paymaſter to the army. In a word, there was hardly a ſingle member of the old miniſtry that was ſuffered to make a part of the new one. The old privy-council was diſſolved, and another appointed, of which the earl of Nottingham was made preſident. Soon after his majeſty declared, in council, his firm reſolution to ſupport the churches of England and Scotland, as by law eſtabliſhed; and he concluded with theſe words; "The good effects of making property ſecure are no where ſo clearly ſeen, and to ſo great a degree, as in this happy kingdom; and I aſſure you, there is not any among you that ſhall more earneſtly endeavour at the preſervation of it than myſelf."

The coronation was performed on the twentieth of October with the uſual ſolemnity; and the occaſion was obſerved with great demonſtrations of joy in all parts of the kingdom, except at Briſtol, and a few other places, where the rabble roſe in tumults, and committed the moſt ſhocking diſorders; breaking windows, pulling down meeting-houſes, and being guilty of many other outrages. The cry was "Down with the whigs! High church, Sacheverel, and Ormond for ever!" The pretender, encou-

raged by theſe marks of diſaffection in the Engliſh, tranſmitted a declaration to the dukes of Marlborough, Shrewſbury, Argyle, and others; but no further notice was taken of it, than a proclamation being publiſhed againſt papiſts and nonjurors.

THE old parliament having been diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned, the whigs and tories exerted their utmoſt efforts in influencing the elections; but the former gained the ſuperiority by a great number of voices. The parliament *A. D.* 1715. met in the month of March, and the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which, among other things, he ſaid, "The eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of my government; the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of my people, ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures, I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive me of that bleſſing, which I moſt value, the affection of my people."

THE firſt object that engaged the attention of the new parliament, after granting the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the current year, and ſettling 700,000 pounds upon his majeſty for the ſupport of his houſehold, was an enquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry. For this purpoſe, a committee of ſecrecy was appointed, of which Mr. Walpole was made chairman; and after a very minute ſcrutiny into every particular, Mr. Walpole moved, that a warrant might be iſſued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being both in the houſe, were immediately taken into cuſtody. He then impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treaſon. Several members ſeemed to be ſurprized at this laſt ſtep; but they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when lord Coningſby, riſing up, ſaid, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter; I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer of high treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors." At the ſame time the duke of Ormond was impeached of high treaſon, and the earl of Strafford of high crimes and miſdemeanors.

THE charge againſt theſe noblemen may be reduced to the following particulars: the clandeſtine negociation with Monſ. Menager, the French agent; in conſequence of which two ſets of preliminary articles were drawn up; the one private and ſpecial for Great Britain only, the other general for all the allies: the extraordinary ſteps taken to form the congreſs of Utrecht: the trifling conduct of the French plenipotentiaries there, by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters: the negociation

negociation relating to the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy: the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms: the ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the allies, and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negociate a ſeparate peace: the duke of Shrewſbury's and Mr. Prior's negotiations there: the haſty concluſion of the peace of Utrecht: and the promoting the pretender's intereſt.

Lord Bolingbroke and the duke of Ormond fled the kingdom, and were afterwards attainted by parliament. The earl of Oxford was thrown into the Tower, where he continued about two years, at the end of which he petitioned for a trial, and a day was accordingly appointed for the purpoſe. But a quarrel ariſing between the two houſes about their reſpective privileges, the commons refuſed to carry on the proſecution; the peers were determined to proceed with the trial: the earl's accuſers were ſummoned to come forth, but no one appeared; in conſequence of which his lordſhip was acquitted, and reſtored to his liberty. As to Prior, he ſurvived his reverſe of fortune about ſix years, which he ſpent chiefly at a ſmall ſeat he had purchaſed, called Down-hall, in Eſſex. He died on the 18th of September, 1721, not at his own villa, but at Wimple in Cambridgeſhire, the ſeat of the earl of Oxford.

His majeſty having acquainted the two houſes that deſigns were carrying on, both at home and abroad, in favour of the pretender, they paſſed a bill for ſuſpending the *habeas corpus* act, during the ſpace of ſix months; ſoon after which ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody; the coaſts were ſtrictly guarded; and an expreſs was ſent to the Dutch, demanding the 6000 men, which they were bound by treaty to furniſh to his majeſty. At the ſame time, another act was paſſed, called the riot-act, declaring it death for any perſons, to the number of twelve, to continue together for the ſpace of one hour, after proclamation being made for their diſperſing.

Notwithstanding theſe vigorous meaſures, the jacobites perſevered in the deſign they had formed. They thought they had already gone too great a length, to be able to retreat with honour or with ſafety. They therefore reſolved to try their fortune in the field; and accordingly a rebellion was ſoon after excited in Scotland, and another in England. The former was headed by the earl of Mar, the latter by Mr. Forſter. The earl, during the late reign, had been ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt who made profeſſions of loyalty to king George; but not meeting with the encouragement he expected, and knowing that his deſigns could not be much longer concealed, he withdrew privately to

his ſeat at Kildrummy in the Highlands; where being joined by the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Mareſchal, Southeſk, Traquair, Errol, and Seaforth, he openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion, and proclaimed the pretender by the name of James VIII. in Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, and other places. His partiſans, in the mean time, exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army 6000 ſtrong.

His proſperity, however, was of very ſhort continuance. The duke of Argyle, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland, immediately aſſembled all the regular troops which were in that kingdom; and though they did not exceed 3500 men, yet, with this ſmall force, he ventured, on Sunday the 13th of November, to attack, at Sheriff-muir, near Dumblain, the rebels, who now amounted to above 9000 men. A bloody battle was fought, and both ſides claimed the victory. This much is certain, that the left wing of both armies was defeated. It appeared, however, on the whole, that the king's army had the advantage, as the earl of Mar, immediately after the battle, retired with his forces to Perth. In this action the rebels loſt about 800 men in killed and wounded, beſides great numbers who were taken priſoners. The loſs of the king's army did not amount to above 500 men. A little before this battle lord Lovat diſpoſſeſſed the rebels of Inverneſs. This nobleman had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the pretender, though he now declared for the government; and he afterwards joined in the rebellion of 1745, when, being taken priſoner, he was executed on Tower-hill.

The rebellion in England was more eaſily ſuppreſſed than that in Scotland. Mr. Forſter, being joined by the earl of Derwentwater, and ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen, and by the earl of Widdrington, with a ſmall body of forces from Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. He then marched to Preſton, where, on the 13th of November (the very day on which the battle of Sheriff-muir happened) he was attacked by the king's forces, under the generals Wills and Carpenter. The rebels at firſt made ſome ſhow of reſiſtance; but finding all oppoſition to be in vain, Forſter ſent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to Wills, deſiring a capitulation. The general replied, that he could not treat with rebels, but in caſe of their ſurrendering at diſcretion, he would prevent his ſoldiers from putting them to the ſword, until he ſhould receive further orders. He granted them till next morning to conſider, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and brigadier Mackintoſh, who commanded

manded the Scots, as hoſtages. When Forſter ſubmitted, Mackintoſh declared, that he could not anſwer for the Scots ſurrendering in that manner. The general deſired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which caſe every man of them ſhould be cut in pieces. The Scottiſh leaders did not chuſe to run that riſk; and perſuaded the highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. One hundred and thirty of the king's forces were ſlain in the attack of the town; how many of the rebels is uncertain. About 1400 of them were taken priſoners, among whom were general Forſter, the earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, with ſeventy-five Engliſh gentlemen, the earls of Nithiſdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, viſcount Kenmure, and other Scotch noblemen and gentlemen, amounting in all to about a hundred and forty-three.

THE rebellion may be ſaid to have been entirely ſuppreſſed before the arrival of the pretender in Scotland. He landed there on the 22d of December, and was made to believe that he would ſoon be in a condition to repair the loſs which his adherents had ſuffered. On the 5th of January he entered Dundee on horſeback, having the earl of Mar on his right hand, and the earl of Mareſchal on his left, and attended by about three hundred gentlemen. On the 9th of the ſame month, he made his public entry into Perth, and retired in the evening to the palace of Scone, the place where the Scottiſh kings were anciently wont to be crowned. Here he began to eſtabliſh a regular council, and to perform ſeveral acts of ſtate. He publiſhed ſix different proclamations: one for a general thankſgiving, on account of his ſafe arrival; another, for praying for him in churches; a third, for the currency of foreign coins; a fourth, for ſummoning a convention of the eſtates; a fifth, ordering all fencible men to repair to his ſtandard; and a ſixth, appointing his coronation on the 23d of January. He afterwards conferred various degrees of honour, and received addreſſes from the epiſcopal clergy and laity. *A. D.* 1716.

HE continued for ſome time to exerciſe other acts of royalty; till hearing that the duke of Argyle, who had been lately reinforced by 6000 Dutch, was advancing againſt him, he ſuddenly quitted Perth, and proceeding to Montroſe, he embarked there on board a French ſhip, accompanied by the earls of Mar, Melfort, and others; and ſetting ſail with a fair wind, arrived ſafe, about five days after, at Gravelin in France. The deluded rebels, being thus deſerted by their leaders, diſperſed immediately, and returned to their ſeveral habitations: ſome ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and others were

were taken priſoners. The pretender, during his ſtay in Scotland, did not once attend the proteſtant worſhip.

THE priſoners of any note who had been taken at Preſton, were now brought to London, and committed to the Tower, Newgate, and the Fleet. Amongſt theſe were Forſter, their general, the earls of Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, viſcount Kenmure, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn. Thoſe of the inferior ſort were pinioned at Barnet; and their horſes being led by foot ſoldiers, they proceeded in that manner to their reſpective priſons. On the 10th of January the rebel lords, who had been impeached by the commons, were brought from the Tower to Weſtminſter-hall, where earl Cowper preſided as lord high ſteward on that ſolemn occaſion. They all pleaded guilty, and received ſentence of death, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to prepare for his trial. Lord Nithiſdale eſcaped in woman's apparel, which was brought to him by his mother the night before he was to have ſuffered. The lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill, February the 24th. Both of them died with great compoſure. The former profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic; the latter, a member of the church of England. The earl of Wintoun was tried in the month of March, and was found guilty by his peers; but he had the addreſs, like Nithiſdale, to eſcape from the Tower. Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn were reprieved, and received the benefit of the act of grace, which was afterwards paſſed.

GENERAL Forſter eſcaped out of Newgate; and though this may be ſuppoſed to have redoubled the vigilance of the keeper, yet brigadier Mackintoſh and ſome others forced their way out of the ſame priſon. The gaoler was tried for his negligence, but acquitted. Two and twenty were executed in Lancaſhire, viz. eleven at Preſton, ſix at Wigan, and five at Mancheſter. Colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Gaſcoigne, William Paul, a clergyman, and Mr. Hall, who had been a juſtice of peace, were executed at Tyburn. In a word, great numbers were found guilty, of whom ſome were tranſported, and others reprieved: ſome were tried and acquitted; and thoſe who remained untried, had the benefit of the act of indemnity. But the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, the marquis of Tullibardine, and lord John Drummond, were attainted by parliament.

As the preſent parliament was now drawing towards a concluſion, and it would have been dangerous to hazard a general election while the minds of the people were in ſuch a violent ferment, a bill was paſſed in the month of May, for diſcontinuing triennial, and eſtabliſhing ſeptennial parliaments. Tri-

ennial

ennial parliaments had ſubſiſted ever ſince the ſixth year of king William and queen Mary.

A pretender to the throne, eſpecially a pretender poſſeſſed of ſo plauſible a title as the Chevalier de St. George, is a circumſtance that muſt ever endanger the tranquillity of any country. The Swedes now laid hold of this ſpecious pretext for threatening Great-Britain with an invaſion; and their motive for engaging in this hoſtile attempt was as follows. The Danes having conquered the dutchies of Bremen and Verden from the Swedes, king George had purchaſed theſe two provinces from the former. Charles XII. of Sweden, provoked at this act of injuſtice, as he deemed it, reſolved to make a deſcent upon England, and, by the aſſiſtance of the jacobites, to eſtabliſh the pretender upon the throne of that kingdom. For this purpoſe baron Gortz, his favourite miniſter, and his reſident in Holland, began to purchaſe arms, and make other neceſſary preparations. But the plot being diſcovered, Gortz was ſeized, at the inſtance of Mr. Leathes, the Britiſh envoy at the Hague; and about the ſame time count Gyllenburg, the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Engliſh court, was likewiſe taken into cuſtody. The other foreign miniſters at London complained of this ſtep, as a manifeſt breach of the law of nations; but they ſeemed ſatisfied when they were told, that they ſhould ſoon be informed of the reaſons for taking ſo extraordinary a meaſure. Soon after, a bill was paſſed for prohibiting all commerce with Sweden; and a ſquadron of twenty-one Britiſh ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, was ſent to the Baltic, in order to obſerve the motions of the Swedes. The king of Sweden being thus diſappointed in his deſign, endeavoured to make a peace with his Britannic majeſty; and this was at laſt accompliſhed by the mediation of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who, for the greater ſatisfaction of the Britiſh court, obliged the pretender to quit Avignon, and retire beyond the Alps. *A. D.* 1717.

HITHERTO the convocation, that is, a repreſentative body of the clergy, had been accuſtomed to ſit at the ſame time with the parliament, in order to take care of the affairs of the church, in the ſame manner as the parliament did of thoſe of the ſtate; but their practices now were deemed ſo factious, that his majeſty prorogued them; and their meeting has been put off ever ſince by ſucceſſive prorogations; nor have they ever been allowed to ſit to do any buſineſs.

THE only event of the preceding year, that is worthy of notice, was the ſigning of the quadruple alliance between the emperor, Great Britain *A. D.* 1718.

Britain, France, and Holland. The deſign of this treaty was to re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Europe, which had lately been diſturbed by the Spaniards conquering from the emperor the iſland of Sardinia. Not ſatisfied with this acquiſition, they now fitted out a ſtrong armament, with which they made a deſcent upon Sicily, and ſoon reduced a great number of places in that iſland; but while they were employed in the ſiege of Meſſina, the Britiſh fleet, under ſir George Byng, attacked that of Spain off cape Paſſaro, and obtained over it a complete victory. In a little time after, the duke of Savoy, who was then king of Sicily, and afterwards king of Sardinia, acceded to the quadruple alliance. The Spaniards complained loudly of this breach of faith (as they called it) in the Britiſh court; but it was retorted upon them, that, by the invaſion of Sicily, they themſelves had violated the treaty of Utrecht, of which England was one of the guarantees. War was therefore declarred againſt Spain.

In order to retaliate this injury, cardinal Alberoni, the king of Spain's prime miniſter, projected a plan for an invaſion of England, in favour of the pretender, who coming to Madrid in one of his catholic majeſty's coaches, and attended by his life-guards, was received with all the honours that are uſually paid to a crowned head. The king being informed of this deſign by the regent of France, communicated the intelligence to parliament, and both houſes promiſed to ſupport him againſt all his enemies, foreign and domeſtic. A fleet was equipped to oppoſe the Spaniſh armament: troops were ordered to aſſemble in the north and weſt of England: 2000 men were landed from Holland; ſix battalions of imperialiſts from the Auſtrian Netherlands; and the regent of France made a tender to his majeſty of no leſs than twenty battalions for his ſervice.

A. D. 1719.

These precautions, however prudent, were altogether unneceſſary. The Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips of war and tranſports, having 6000 regular troops on board, under the command of the duke of Ormond, was totally diſperſed by a violent ſtorm near cape Finiſterre. The marquis of Tullibardine, indeed, with the earls of Seaforth and Mareſchal, and about 300 men, landed in Scotland, and aſſembled about 2000 highlanders. They made themſelves maſters of Donan-caſtle; but were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of it by captain Boyle; and general Wightman, coming up, drove them firſt from the paſs of Glenſhiel, then from that of Strachel; and chaſing them

them briſkly from rock to rock, obliged the rebels at laſt to diſperſe. The Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Tullibardine, Mareſchal, and Seaforth retired to the weſtern iſles, and from thence effected their eſcape into France.

THIS year the king went to Hanover, where he concluded a treaty with Sweden, by which the dutcheſſes of Bremen and Verden were for ever yielded to the electoral houſe of Brunſwick. During his ſtay abroad, he exerted himſelf, with equal induſtry and ſucceſs, in favour of the proteſtants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany. The emperor having now driven the Spaniards entirely out of Sicily, Philip was obliged to agree to a peace, and accede to the quadruple alliance. About the ſame time, the pretender married a daughter of prince Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of John Sobieſki, king of Poland.

NEXT year was diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt ſingular civil tranſactions that occurs in the hiſtory of England; I mean the affair of the South-ſea ſcheme, *A. D.* 1720. the nature of which was as follows. A plan had been formed for paying off the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The Bank of England and the South-ſea company delivered in their ſeveral propoſals to government for effecting this purpoſe. The two companies endeavoured to outbid each other; but at laſt the offers of the South-ſea company were accepted. A bill accordingly was paſſed in their favour, and in the month of April it received the royal aſſent. Upon this South-ſea ſtock roſe ſurpriſingly, and the number of buyers increaſed every day. Exchange-alley was filled with a confuſed crowd of ſtateſmen and mechanics, clergymen and officers, churchmen and diſſenters, whigs, tories, phyſicians, lawyers, and even multitudes of females. All other profeſſions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engroſſed by this and other chimerical ſchemes, which were known by the appellation of bubbles.

NEW companies ſtarted up every day, under the direction of ſome of the prime nobility. The prince of Wales was declared governor of the Welſh copper company: the duke of Chandos was placed at the head of the York-building company: the duke of Bridgewater formed a third for building houſes in London and Weſtminſter. About an hundred ſuch ſchemes were projected and ſet on foot, to the ruin of infinite numbers of families. They were afterwards, indeed, ſuppreſſed by proclamation; but little regard was paid to this prohibition.

hibition. The nation was ſo tranſported with the ſpirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the moſt impudent impoſtors. An obſure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous ſcheme, which, however, he did not think proper to explain, publiſhed propoſals for a ſubſcription, in which he promiſed, that, in one month, the particulars of his project ſhould be diſcloſed. In the mean time he declared, that every perſon, upon paying two guineas by way of earneſt, ſhould be entitled to the annual ſum of one hundred pounds for every hundred which he choſe to ſubſcribe. In one forenoon, this undertaker received a thouſand of theſe ſubſcriptions; and, in the evening, ſet out for another kingdom, leaving the ſubſcribers to carry on the ſcheme in the beſt manner they could. The enthuſiaſm of the public was carried to ſuch a height, that South-ſea ſtock, after riſing gradually from 100 to 890, advanced, in June, to 1000.

THIS project ſeems to have been borrowed from the famous Miſſiſſippi ſcheme in France, invented by John Law, a Scotchman; and it was attended at laſt with the ſame fatal effects. About the end of Auguſt, South-ſea ſtock began to fall, and ſunk, by Michaelmas-day, to 150. The amazement of the ſubſcribers is hardly to be expreſſed. Nothing was now heard but the ravings of grief, diſappointment, and deſpair. Public credit received a terrible ſhock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; ſucceſſive expreſſes were diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting to the king the ſtate of affairs, and earneſtly preſſing him to haſten his return. He accordingly ſhortened his intended ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England on the 11th of November. It is computed, that, by all theſe iniquitous ſchemes, the people were robbed of about a million and a half ſterling.

WHEN the parliament met, a committee was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the South-ſea company, and ſeveral perſons were accordingly examined; particularly Mr. Robert Knight, the company's treaſurer, and ſir John Blunt, the original projector of the preſent wicked ſcheme. Knight thought proper to retire out of the kingdom, and carried off with him the famous green book, containing the company's ſecrets; and though a reward of 2000 pounds was offered for ſeizing him, he could never be apprehended. He lived afterwards in great ſplendour in France; and being pardoned about twenty-three years after, was, for a paltry ſum of money, ſuffered to re-

A. D. 1721.

turn

turn to his native country, where he died. His ſon was even created a peer by the title of baron Luxborough in the kingdom of Ireland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the loſs of the green book, the committee informed the houſe of commons, "that they had already diſcovered a train of the deepeſt villainy and fraud, that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time would be laid before the houſe; and that, in the mean while, in order to enable them to make farther diſcoveries, they judged it highly neceſſary to ſecure the perſons of ſome of the directors and principal officers of the company, as well as to ſeize their papers." In conſequence of this report, Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer, and ſir George Caſwell, were expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower; and, in the month of July, an act was paſſed, to reſtrain the ſub-governor, directors, and other officers of the South-ſea company, from going out of the kingdom for one year; for diſcovering their effects, and for incapacitating them from holding any office or place of truſt under his majeſty.

THE parliament applied to the relief of the ſufferers the eſtates of the principal delinquents; allowing only to each ſuch part of them as was judged proper. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the leaſt guilty, had the largeſt ſhare. Sir Theodore Janſen, in particular, had 50,000 pounds. His eſtate was valued at 243,244 pounds. A little before this, many hundreds of the proprietors of the ſhort annuities came, in a riotous manner, to the door of the houſe of commons, to demand juſtice. The houſe was alarmed; the juſtices and conſtables were ordered to attend, and protect the members, and the proclamation againſt riots was twice read: upon which the petitioners diſperſed, crying aloud, "that they firſt picked their pockets, and then threatened to ſend them to jail for complaining."

IN the month of Auguſt a bill was paſſed for reſtoring the public credit, which was chiefly done by means of a ſcheme propoſed by Mr. Walpole, for ingrafting nine millions of the South-ſea ſtock into the Bank of England, and the like ſum into the Eaſt-India company, on certain conditions. Then the parliament was prorogued, and ſoon after diſſolved; and Mr. Walpole, as a reward of his ſervices in this intricate and important affair, was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, was afterwards created knight of the Bath and Garter, and continued prime miniſter during the remainder of this reign, and the firſt fifteen years of

of the next; when, being obliged to reſign, he obtained the title of earl of Orford.

The South-ſea ſcheme was injurious to the nation, not merely by the ruin which it brought upon many private families, and the ſhock which it gave to public credit, but likewiſe by its encouraging the jacobites to make a freſh attempt in favour of the pretender. His majeſty, in his *A. D.* 1722. ſpeech to the new parliament, declared, that he had received undoubted intelligence of another conſpiracy having been formed againſt his perſon and government. A committee, therefore, was immediately appointed to inquire into the plot, and they reported it as their opinion, that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, had formed a deſign for placing the pretender upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; that, in order to accompliſh this end, a body of foreign troops was to have been brought into the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but this project not ſucceeding, the conſpirators reſolved to make the attempt, when his majeſty, it was ſuppoſed, would be abſent in Hanover: that this ſcheme being likewiſe diſappointed by the king's putting off his journey, by the forming of a camp at London, by ſending for troops from Ireland and Holland, and by the duke of Ormond's being hindered from coming over to head the inſurrection; the plotters determined to effect their wicked purpoſe by tampering with the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and endeavouring to debauch them from their allegiance to his majeſty. In conſequence of this report, the earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord North and Grey, and the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower for high treaſon. Soon after, Dr. Friend, John Plunket, George Kelly, Dennis Kelly, and Chriſtopher Layer, counſellor at law, were likewiſe ſeized and impriſoned. They were all of them, however, admitted to bail, and diſcharged, except Atterbury, who was baniſhed; George Kelly and Plunket, who were impriſoned for life; and Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn.

Next year was not remarkable for any event of importance; but in the courſe of the enſuing one, foreign *A. D.* 1724. miniſters, peers, and members of parliament were deprived of the privilege they had hitherto enjoyed of granting written protections. Peers, however, have ſtill a power of protecting their own ſervants. The ſum of 1,407,280 pounds was raiſed by the ſale of the forfeited eſtates of

of the late South-ſea directors, and 62,236 pounds by that of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland. This ſummer the king inſtituted a profeſſorſhip for the modern languages in both univerſities. Mr. Harris was nominated for that of Cambridge, Mr. Gregory for that of Oxford. Each of them had a ſalary of 400 pounds a year. They were obliged to maintain two teachers in either univerſity, and twenty pupils in each were to be inſtructed *gratis*.

EVERY deviation from the rigid letter of the law, if it be attended with advantage, is apt, in time, if not properly checked, to ſwell into a groſs enor- *A. D.* 1725. mity. This was now found to be the caſe with the practice, which had long prevailed in chancery, of ſelling the offices of maſters in that high court. For this crime, Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, the chancellor, was deprived of his place, and was impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors. He was accuſed of having embezzled the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics; of having raiſed the offices of maſters in chancery to an exorbitant price; of truſting in their hands large ſums of money belonging to ſuitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his unreaſonable demands; and of having made, in ſeveral inſtances, divers irregular orders. For theſe breaches of truſt he was tried by his peers, and being found guilty, was ſentenced to pay a fine of 30,000 pounds, and to be impriſoned in the Tower, till he ſhould pay that ſum; which having done about ſix weeks after, he was diſcharged from his confinement. He was ſucceeded in the office of chancellor by lord King.

ABOUT two years before this, lord Bolingbroke had obtained his majeſty's pardon, and had returned to his native country; and he was now enabled, by an act of the legiſlature, to recover the poſſeſſion of his family eſtate. This ſummer his majeſty revived the ancient and honourable order of knights of the Bath. The whole number, including the ſovereign, was thirty-eight.

THE czar of Muſcovy dying this year, was ſucceeded by his conſort, the empreſs Catharine. This princeſs was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having formed a deſign to dethrone the king of Sweden, as alſo to make ſome attempt in favour of the pretender. The courts of Vienna and Madrid too were ſuppoſed to have been concerned in this latter project In order, therefore, to prevent the execution of theſe ſchemes, three ſquadrons were fitted out in England; one to overawe the Ruſſians; another, to alarm the coaſts of Spain; and a third, to block up the plate-fleet in the Weſt Indies. The command of the

the firſt was given to ſir Charles Wager; the conduct of the ſecond to ſir John Jennings; and that of the third to admiral Hoſier.

A. D. 1726. Sir Charles ſailed firſt to Copenhagen, and afterwards to Stockholm, at both which places he was received with diſtinguiſhed marks of honour. He then directed his courſe to the iſland of Nargen, about three leagues from Revel, whence he diſpatched an expoſtulatory letter from his maſter to the czarina, in which his majeſty told her, that he was fully apprized of the deſigns ſhe had formed, and had ſent a fleet into thoſe ſeas, in order to prevent her from carrying them into execution. The empreſs finding her ſchemes diſconcerted, diſavowed her intentions; and ſir Charles having continued near Revel till the month of October, returned with his ſquadron to England. The other two admirals executed their commiſſions with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs.

A. D. 1727. In the courſe of next year Gibraltar ſuſtained a vigorous ſiege for the ſpace of four months, during which it was inveſted by the Spaniards with an army of 20,000 men; but the garriſon, headed by their governor, the old earl of Portmore, made ſo gallant a defence, that they ſet the enemy at defiance; and an end at laſt was put to hoſtilities by an amicable treaty, which was ſigned firſt at Paris, and afterwards at Vienna.

As the king had not viſited his German dominions for upwards of a twelvemonth, he reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity of enjoying that pleaſure. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third of June, accompanied by the earl of Iſlay and lord Townſend. On the ſeventh he landed at Vaert in Holland, where he lay that night. Next day he proceeded on his journey to Hanover; and on the ninth of June, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance in perfect health. He ſupped there very heartily, and eat an orange, but no melon, as was reported; and having reſted very well that night, ſet out from Delden about four next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, and perceiving that one of his hands hung motionleſs, ſaid, "I cannot move this hand." Monſieur Fabrice, who ſat with him in the coach, rubbed it with both his, but to no purpoſe; upon which he called the ſurgeon who followed on horſeback, and who rubbed it with ſpirits. In the mean time, the king's eyes began to ſtare, his mouth to be diſtorted, and his tongue to ſwell, ſo that he was deprived of the faculty of ſpeech. He was inſtantly ſeized with a fit of the palſy; and, though recovered a little by opening a vein, he ſoon after became lethargic,

lethargic, and was conveyed, in a ſtate of inſenſibility, to the palace of his brother, the duke of York, in Oſnaburg; where, about one next morning, June the eleventh, he expired in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His body being wrapped in lead, was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his anceſtors.

GEORGE the firſt was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs, grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. He is ſaid to have been the only prince of his time who knew what it was to enjoy the ſweets of private friendſhip; a pleaſure from which ſovereigns in general are, by the elevation of their rank, excluded. He had given a proof of his political abilities before his arrival in this iſland. Naturally inclined to juſtice and equity, though he was abſolute and deſpotic in his hereditary dominions, he ruled them with all the lenity and moderation of a limited monarch. He conſidered civil and religious liberty as the unalienable right of mankind; and therefore he indulged it to a people, who pleaded no other claim to it than the known goodneſs and humanity of his temper. Poſſeſſed of theſe noble and generous ſentiments, though his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne enlarged his ſphere of action, it did not alter his plan of conduct. That was uniformly and invariably the ſame, both before and after his advancement to that high dignity. In a word, it may be affirmed, that no prince was ever better qualified to ſway the ſceptre over a free people, nor any who ever exerciſed the virtues of a great and good governor with more diſtinguiſhed ability, or more uninterrupted ſucceſs.

GEORGE had for his conſort Sophia Dorothea, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell; by which marriage he acquired poſſeſſion of that dutchy. She bore to the king one ſon, named George, afterwards George the ſecond of Great-Britain, and a daughter, called Sophia Dorothea, who was married to the king of Pruſſia.

WE ſhall now mention a few detached events that happened in the courſe of this reign, and which could not ſo properly be interwoven into the body of the hiſtory.

IN 1718 was hanged at Tyburn, for the murder of his footman, the marquis de Paleotti, an Italian nobleman, and brother to the dutcheſs of Shrewſbury. Great interceſſion was made for him, but the people became ſo clamorous for his execution, that it was thought dangerous to grant him a pardon. This is a proof that the life of man, as well as his liberty and property, is much better ſecured in England than in any other country in the world.

IN

In 1719 an attempt was made to limit the number of peers. A bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of lords, but happily miſcarried. The intent of it was to tie up the hands of the prince of Wales, who then happened to be upon bad terms with his father, and prevent him, when he came to the throne, from enjoying the power which all ſovereigns ever did, and ever ought to enjoy, of increaſing the number of peers to any amount they think proper, in order to overturn any ariſtocratical faction that may be formed in the upper houſe to impede the neceſſary meaſures of government.

In 1722 died the great duke of Marlborough, the only general either in ancient or modern times, of whom it can be ſaid, that he never fought a battle that he did not gain, nor ever beſieged a town that he did not take. His body was interred with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey. By his conſort, Sarah, daughter of Richard Jennings, eſq. in the county of Hertford, he had one ſon, named John, who died at Cambridge in 1703; and four daughters.

In 1725 the levying of the malt tax cauſed great diſturbances in Scotland, particularly at Glaſgow, where ſeveral of the rioters were killed. The clans in the highlands were diſarmed by general Wade. The ſame year was preſented to the king a young ſavage, bred in the woods of Hanover, and who uſed to walk on all fours like a brute.

On the 20th of March, 1727, died that great mathematician and natural philoſopher, ſir Iſaac Newton, the glory of his age and nation. At the time of his death he was maſter of the mint, and preſident of the royal ſociety.

The other moſt eminent writers that flouriſhed in Great-Britain ſince the revolution were Atterbury, Clarke, and Whiſton, able divines: Locke, well known for his Eſſay on Human Underſtanding: Shafteſbury, author of an elegant Syſtem of Moral Philoſophy: Halley, Keil, Flamſtead, profound mathematicians and aſtronomers: Friend and Mead, learned phyſicians: Steel and Addiſon; the former the author of ſeveral comedies; the latter, of the tragedy of Cato; and both of them diſtinguiſhed for their excellent papers in the Spectator, Guardian, and Tatler: Swift, noted for his ſatirical writings, both in poetry and proſe: Congreve, Vanburgh, Farquhar, and Rowe. The other moſt celebrated poets were Philips, Prior, Pope, Parnel, Garth, and Gay. Bentley acquired a good ſhare of fame by his criticiſms and commentaries, and particularly by his ſermons at Boyle's lectures. The moſt remarkable political writers were Bolingbroke, Davenant, Hare, Gordon, and Trenchard.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

GEORGE II.

AS the whigs had had the chief hand in originally placing, and afterwards eſtabliſhing the Brunſwick family upon the throne of Great-Britain; it is natural to conclude, that they ſhould be principally conſulted by all the ſovereigns of that houſe who underſtood their own intereſt. Accordingly we find, that king George the ſecond, who ſucceeded his father in the forty-fourth year of his age, continued to employ the very ſame miniſters that had occupied the chief departments of ſtate towards the latter end of the preceding reign. The duke of Newcaſtle and lord Townſhend, were ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Pelham was ſecretary at war; the duke of Devonſhire, preſident of the council; lord Torrington, firſt lord of the admiralty; the earl of Cheſterfield, ambaſſador to the ſtates-general; and lord Carteret, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Sir Robert Walpole retained the offices of chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury; and by the union of theſe two great poſts in his perſon, he was univerſally conſidered as prime miniſter. *A. D.* 1727.

BY an act paſſed in the fifth of queen Anne, it was ordained, that the parliament in being at the death of any ſovereign ſhould not be determined or diſſolved by that event; but ſhould continue, and immediately meet, ſit, and act, notwithſtanding ſuch death or demiſe, during the ſpace of ſix months, unleſs ſooner prorogued or diſſolved by the new ſovereign. The parliament having aſſembled, agreeable to this act, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, the commons reſolved, on account of his majeſty's large and increaſing family, to grant him, for the ſupport of his houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of his crown, the entire revenues of the civil liſt, amounting to about 800,000 pounds. In a few days after, a proviſion was made for her majeſty, queen Caroline, in caſe of her ſurviving the king, viz. 100,000 pounds per annum; together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands of Richmond Old-park. The public buſineſs being now finiſhed, the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for electing a new one.

WHEN the new parliament aſſembled, which it did on the twenty-third of January, the commons choſe, for their ſpeaker, Arthur Onſlow, eſq. knight of the ſhire for Surrey, a gentleman, equally *A. D.* 1728.

diſtinguiſhed for the abilities of his head and the virtues of his heart, grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that important office; which he continued to enjoy till the month of March, 1761, when he reſigned the chair, after having received from the houſe the moſt honourable teſtimony of their ſatisfaction with his conduct. Little was done either in this or the next ſeſſion of parliament, that is worthy of notice, except an inquiry, carried on by a committee of the lower houſe, (chiefly at the inſtance of general Oglethorpe) into the ſtate of the public gaols; and from this it appeared, that great cruelties had been exerciſed on the priſoners, particularly on ſir William Rich, who was found in the Fleet-priſon loaded with irons, by order of the warden. For theſe, and the like barbarities, Thomas Bambridge, the then acting warden, John Huggins, the late one, and ſeveral of their accomplices, were committed to Newgate; and a bill was brought in for regulating the Fleet-priſon.

A. D. 1729.

THE great object that engaged the attention of parliament, and indeed of the public in general, during the firſt thirteen years of this reign, were the depredations committed by the Spaniards upon our ſhipping in the Weſt-Indies, where, under pretence of their carrying on an illicit trade with their colonies, they ſearched almoſt every Engliſh veſſel that fell in their way, even while they were ſolely employed in ſailing from one of our own ſettlements to another. The miniſtry ſeem to have been rather too averſe to procure reparation for this national inſult by force of arms, and endeavoured for a long time to obtain it by treaties and negociations. The firſt treaty for this purpoſe was that which was concluded at Seville, between their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic majeſties. By this treaty, all former conventions between Great-Britain and Spain were confirmed; every thing relating to the ſhips and effects, taken by ſea on either ſide, was to be amicably decided by commiſſaries; and, in order to induce Spain to perform her part of the agreement, 6000 Spaniſh troops were permitted to garriſon Leghorn, Porto-Ferraio, Parma, and Placentia, in order to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the infant Don Carlos to theſe ſtates.

THIS treaty, however, gave little ſatisfaction either to the Engliſh, or to ſuch foreign powers as were not immediately concerned in it. The emperor, in particular, was ſo highly offended at the contracting parties preſuming to take upon them to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the above-mentioned ſtates without his conſent, that he began to prepare for war; but as

as he was in want of money, he ſet on foot a negociation for a loan in England of 400,000 pounds. The miniſtry were alarmed at this circumſtance. They were afraid that the money would be employed in diſturbing the repoſe of Great-Britain; and they therefore brought in a bill, to prevent the ſubjects of England from lending money to any foreign powers, without the king's licence under his privy ſeal, or ſome greater authority.

An attempt was likewiſe made this ſeſſion *A. D.* 1730.
to obtain a place and penſion bill; that is, a bill to diſable all placemen and penſioners from ſitting in parliament. The bill indeed was paſſed by the commons, but was rejected by the lords. It ſurely is not neceſſary, that ſo many members of parliament ſhould be either placemen or penſioners; but it ſeems, nevertheleſs, to be indiſpenſably requiſite, that ſome placemen, ſuch as the chancellor of the exchequer, and a few other great officers of the crown, ſhould have ſeats in parliament, otherwiſe it is difficult to conceive how the public buſineſs could ever be carried on. This ſummer the charter of the Eaſt-India company was renewed, and extended to the year 1766, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſeveral eminent merchants, who endeavoured to lay the trade to that part of the world open.

As the miniſtry were firmly eſtabliſhed in *A. D.* 1731.
their places, and their antagoniſts had no chance of ſupplanting them, a regular oppoſition was now formed to the meaſures of government. It was headed by ſir William Wyndham; Mr. William Pulteney, afterwards earl of Bath; Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Daniel Pulteney. Theſe gentlemen, not ſatisfied with oppoſing the meaſures of the miniſtry in parliament, attacked them in pamphlets and periodical writings, particularly in the Craftſman, a famous anti-miniſterial paper, which appeared about this time, and which, with all its imperfections, muſt be allowed to contain a greater ſtore of political knowledge than any other book perhaps that ever was publiſhed. The profeſſed author was one Amherſt, a man of ſome wit, but little learning; but the principal writers were lord Bolingbroke and Mr. William Pulteney.

Whether it was owing to the ſpirit of profligacy introduced by the South-ſea ſcheme, or to whatever other cauſe, certain it is, that ſome of the higher orders of ſociety were at this time guilty of ſuch acts of meanneſs and villainy as are a diſgrace to the age. This appeared evidently in the affair of the charitable corporation; an inſtitution which had firſt taken place in 1707. The intention of it was to lend money,

at legal intereſt, to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of better rank, upon indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. The capital was at firſt limited to 30,000 pounds; but by licences from the crown was afterwards increaſed to 600,000 pounds, though the charter of the company was never confirmed by parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſq. member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-man of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral courts, and appointed a committee to enquire into the ſtate of their affairs; and upon examination it was found, that no leſs a ſum than 580,000 pounds had been embezzled by ways which they could not diſcover, the value of the goods lying in pawn amounting to no more than 30,000 pounds. For their concern in theſe iniquitous practices ſir Robert Sutton and ſir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe of commons. About the ſame time ſerjeant Birch and Dennis Bond underwent the ſame puniſhment for the frauds they had committed in the ſale of the Derwentwater eſtate.

A. D. 1732.

A. D. 1733.

NEXT year was diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt memorable civil events that occurs in the hiſtory of this reign. What I allude to, is the famous exciſe ſcheme, projected by ſir Robert Walpole, for raiſing an inland duty upon tobacco, and preventing the frauds and abuſes that prevailed in that branch of the cuſtoms, to the prejudice of the fair trader, and the diminution of the revenue. It was brought into the lower houſe on the fourteenth of March, and gave riſe to one of the longeſt and moſt violent debates that ever happened in that aſſembly. The ſcheme was defended by ſir Robert Walpole, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, and ſir Philip Yorke, afterwards earl of Hardwicke; it was oppoſed by alderman Perry, Mr. Bulteney, ſir William Wyndham, ſir John Barnard, and others. Petitions were preſented againſt it by the city of London, and by almoſt all the towns and corporations in the kingdom. The houſe of commons was ſurrounded by great crowds of people, who inſulted the perſons, and even endangered the lives of all who appeared to favour the project; and ſir Robert Walpole, in particular, was ſo eagerly preſſed upon by the enraged multitude, that, had it not been for the ſpirit of Mr. Cunningham, a Scotch member, who kept off the mob with his drawn ſworn, he would probably have been trod to death.

IN the courſe of the debate, ſir William Wyndham compared ſir Robert Walpole to thoſe rapacious miniſters, Emp-

ſon

ſon and Dudley. Sir Robert made a very ſmart reply, and went ſo far as to inſinuate, that he looked upon the great crowds of people that beſet the houſe as no better than ſturdy beggars. The nation was wrought up to the higheſt pitch of reſentment: many conſidered the bill as a prelude to arbitrary power; and had it paſſed into a law, it would probably have given occaſion to ſome dangerous inſurrection. It was therefore dropped at the ſecond reading. The event was celebrated with public rejoicings; the monument was illuminated; and the miniſter was burned in effigy.

NEXT year was not remarkable for any event of importance. The parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for electing a new one. Several changes were now made in the miniſtry. The earl of Cheſterfield reſigned the poſt of ſteward of the houſhold, which he had held for ſome time. Mr. Talbot was appointed lord high-chancellor of Great-Britain; ſir Philip Yorke, lord chief-juſtice of the king's bench; and both of them were honoured with a peerage. In the month of March the prince of Orange eſpouſed the princeſs royal of England, who had a fortune of 80,000 pounds, and an annual penſion of 5000 pounds during her life. *A. D.* 1734.

WHEN the new parliament met, which it did on the fourteenth of January, the king in his ſpeech informed the two houſes of the then critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, and of the neceſſity there was for Great-Britain putting herſelf in a poſture of defence. In conſequence of this, 30,000 ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the year. The mutiny-bill now received a material alteration. As the bill ſtood formerly, any magiſtrate had it in his power to throw a poor fellow into a dungeon, if, after receiving the inliſting-money, while perhaps he was drunk, he refuſed to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money, and to pay all charges. By the bill, as it was now altered, every officer, who inliſted men, was obliged, within a certain number of days, to carry the perſon inliſted before one of the next juſtices of the peace, where the man ſhould be at liberty to declare his diſſent, and upon his returning the inliſting-money, and paying all expences, he was to be diſcharged. *A. D.* 1735.

SEVERAL members complaining that their letters were opened at the poſt-office, a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter; and this gave occaſion to a curious diſcovery. It appeared, that, when the commons paſſed the bill, granting the poſt-office revenue to king Charles II. they annexed to it a clauſe, reſerving to themſelves the pri-

vilege of franking, in the ſame manner as they enjoy it at preſent. When this bill was carried to the upper houſe, the lords, offended that no ſuch proviſion was made for them, paſſed the bill without the clauſe annexed. This alteration would certainly have occaſioned the miſcarriage of the bill in the lower houſe, had not the miniſtry aſſured the members, that their letters ſhould be permitted to go free from poſtage. Thus, by the jealouſy, not of the crown, but of the two houſes, the members of both were obliged to depend upon the ſole will and pleaſure of the ſovereign for the privilege of franking, which they meant to have reſerved to themſelves by an expreſs law. Nevertheleſs they have always conſidered this privilege as their own proper and inherent right, and independent of the royal favour. Secretaries of ſtate, however, have a right to open any letter, in order the better to diſcover conſpiracies.

As England now enjoyed a profound peace, the tranſactions of parliament, with a few other civil events, are almoſt the only matters that deſerve to be mentioned. The national debt, as it ſtood at Chriſtmas this year, amounted to 47,938,298l. 3s. 3¼d. and many ſchemes were now propoſed for lowering the intereſt. In the courſe of next ſeſſion ſeveral ſalutary laws were enacted; particularly one, laying a duty on all ſpirituous liquors, in order to prevent their exceſſive uſe; another, to reſtrain the diſpoſition of lands in mortmain, or dead hands; with an exception, however, in favour of the two univerſities, and the colleges of Weſtminſter, Eton, and Wincheſter; a third, repealing the old ſtatutes of England and Scotland againſt conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil ſpirits; and a fourth, for the building of Weſtminſter bridge.

A. D. 1736.

In the month of April, the prince of Wales eſpouſed Auguſta, ſiſter to the duke of Saxe Gotha. Addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to their royal highneſſes upon this occaſion by the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and by the two houſes of parliament; when Mr. George (afterwards lord) Lyttleton, and Mr. William (afterwards ſecretary) Pitt, and at laſt lord Chatham, pronounced elegant panegyrics on the prince and his amiable conſort. This was the firſt ſpecimen which theſe two young members gave of their oratorical abilities, which afterwards ſhone out with ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

In the month of September a remarkable riot happened at Edinburgh, occaſioned by the execution of one Wilſon, a ſmuggler. Porteous, captain of the city-guard, a man of a bru-

a brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, being provoked at ſome inſult he had received from the populace, commanded his ſoldiers, without uſing the previous formalities of the law, to fire among the crowd; by which precipitate order ſeveral innocent perſons were killed. Porteous was tried and condemned to death; but obtained a reprieve from the queen, who was then regent, his majeſty being at that time abſent in Hanover. The mob, however, were determined to execute the ſentence. They accordingly roſe in a tumultuous manner, forced open the priſon doors, dragged forth Porteous, and hanging him on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations. For this inſult upon the authority of government, Alexander Wilſon, eſq. lord provoſt of Edinburgh, was afterwards diſabled, by act of Parliament, from holding any place of magiſtracy in Great-Britain, and the city was obliged to pay 2000 pounds to the widow of Porteous for the outrage they had committed in putting him to death. *A. D.* 1737.

THE meaſures of government had for a long time been attacked in a number of pamphlets and periodical writings; but a more powerful engine was now employed againſt them. They were ridiculed and burleſqued in ſome comedies and farces that had been acted upon the ſtage; and as things preſented to the eye make always a ſtronger impreſſion than what is only offered to the ear, the miniſter was ſenſible of the danger ariſing from this new battery. In order, therefore, to ſilence it, a bill was brought in, for limiting the number of play-houſes, and ſubjecting all dramatic performances, exhibited on the ſtage, to the inſpection of the lord chamberlain, without a licence from whom no play ſhould be ſuffered to be acted. This meaſure was ſtrongly oppoſed by great numbers in both houſes, particularly by the earl of Cheſterfield, who conſidered it as a reſtraint upon the liberty of the preſs; but notwithſtanding all their arguments againſt it, the bill paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

THE chief object, that engaged the attention of parliament during the enſuing ſeſſion was an enquiry into the affair of the Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt-Indies, which had now riſen to an intolerable height. Petitions were preſented againſt them by the merchants of London, and by moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom. From theſe it appeared, that Britiſh ſhips had been unlawfully ſeized on the high-ſeas, in the direct courſe of their voyages to and from the Engliſh colonies; that the ſhips had been plundered and confiſcated; and the ſailors robbed, impriſoned, and enſlaved, *A. D.* 1738.

to the great loſs of the merchants, to the obſtruction of trade, and to the diſhonour of the nation.

THE debate was carried on with great warmth in both houſes. The miniſter was unwilling to engage in a war; the oppoſition were eager to puſh him into that meaſure. The people exclaimed againſt the puſillanimity of the government, and were all on fire to revenge the inſults they had received from the Spaniards. Their reſentment too was ſtill farther inflamed by the fate of one Jenkins, who was ſaid to have had his ears cut off by the crew of a Spaniſh guarda-coſta, and who now appeared at the bar of the lower houſe. In the upper, lord Carteret made an excellent ſpeech on the ſubject, in which he proved that the baſis of all European commerce in America conſiſted in each nation's reſerving to itſelf an excluſive right to trade with its own colonies and plantations; and that therefore no ſhip, which was not actually in the ports or harbours of Spain, could, with any pretence of juſtice, be either ſearched or ſeized by the Spaniards. Both houſes addreſſed the king, earneſtly beſeeching him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours in procuring ſatisfaction to the injured nation; his majeſty aſſured them he would comply with their requeſt; and in order to ſhew his readineſs to do ſo, he immediately ſent a fleet to the Mediterranean under the brave Admiral Haddock.

THE court of Spain, alarmed at this vigorous ſtep, was glad to agree to certain preliminaries, which afterwards formed the baſis of a treaty, that was ſigned *A. D.* 1739. at Pardo in the beginning of the ſubſequent year. By this convention plenipotentiaries were to be appointed on both ſides; and theſe were to ſettle the reſpective pretenſions of the two crowns, as well as thoſe of their ſubjects; the king of Spain too was to pay to his Britannic majeſty the ſum of 95,000 pounds, as a balance due to the crown and ſubjects of Great-Britain: but in oppoſition to this claim his Catholic majeſty ſtarted a claim of 68,000 pounds, which he pretended the South-ſea company owed him.

THIS convention was immediately ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons, and a committee was appointed to enquire into its contents. The moſt material objection to it was, that it left to a future and precarious diſcuſſion the moſt important right of the Britiſh traders and ſubjects, that of navigating their ſhips from one part of his majeſty's dominions to another, without being ſubject to ſearch; and, by that means, rendered it doubtful, whether or not they ought really to enjoy any ſuch right. Strong exceptions were taken

to

to this clauſe, and indeed to the whole convention: petitions were preſented againſt it by the Weſt-India merchants, by the city of London, and by moſt of the towns and corporations in the kingdom. The people exclaimed againſt it as a moſt ſhameful agreement: the general cry was, "*No ſearch, No ſearch*;" and when a reſolution was taken in parliament to approve of the convention, Sir William Wyndham and about ſixty other members retired from the houſe, and declared their intention of never returning to it more.

UNSATISFACTORY, however, as the convention was, the Spaniards diſcovered no inclination to fulfil the conditions of it. On the contrary, they now inſiſted upon the right of ſearching all Britiſh ſhips in the American ſeas without exception. The Engliſh miniſtry, therefore, finding it impoſſible to bring them to reaſon by gentle means, were determined to do ſo by force of arms; and accordingly letters of marque and repriſal were immediately iſſued againſt them, and captain Vernon, a gentleman of abilities, and a good ſea-officer, being appointed rear-admiral of the blue, was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies, in order to annoy their ſettlements in that part of the world. Vernon executed his commiſſion with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. With ſix ſhips only he reduced the town and caſtle of Porto-Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien; and not thinking the place worth keeping, he blew up the fortifications with the powder taken from the enemy. The news of this victory was received in England with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh. At this time ſir Robert Walpole was ſo extremely unpopular in the city, that ſir George Champion, the ſenior alderman who had not ſerved the office of mayor, was, merely on account of his attachment to that gentleman, deprived of his turn; and ſir John Salter advanced in his room.

THE parliament meeting in the month of November, the two houſes joined in an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly beſeeching him never to agree to a peace with Spain, unleſs the right of the Engliſh to navigate the American ſeas, without being viſited or ſearched, ſhould be fully acknowledged. The ſeceding members, now thinking they had gained their point by the declaration of war againſt Spain, reſumed their ſeats in the lower houſe, and Mr. Pulteney undertook to vindicate their conduct. Sir Robert Walpole replied, that if they were returned only to oppoſe and perplex, he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee them ſecede again. The practice of impreſſing ſeamen has always been conſidered as a very great grievance, and a groſs violation of the liberty of the

ſubject; and many ſpecious plans have been propoſed for remedying the evil. Sir Charles Wager now introduced a bill for this very purpoſe into the lower houſe; but it was rejected, as being of French origin. The fact is, that no ſcheme has been hitherto deviſed for preventing the neceſſity of impreſſing, that would not, in the opinion of ſenſible people, be productive at laſt of much greater evils than thoſe it was intended to cure.

ADMIRAL Vernon was connected with the gentlemen in the oppoſition; and the miniſtry, in ſending him out with ſo ſmall a force, had flattered themſelves with the hopes of his miſcarrying in the enterprize, and of his thereby bringing diſgrace upon the whole party. Finding, however, their expectations diſappointed, and hearing, at the ſame time, that the admiral boaſted of his being able, if ſupplied with an additional force, to perform ſome exploits of the utmoſt conſequence, they now reſolved to ſupport him in reality. For this purpoſe, in the month of October, ſir Chaloner
A. D. 1740. Ogle ſailed from England with twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, tenders, and tranſports, having on board about 6000 marines, and detachments from ſome old regiments, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great popularity, and an excellent ſoldier. His lordſhip, on his arrival at Dominica, was unhappily carried off by a bloody-flux; and his death was ſuppoſed to be one of the chief cauſes of the miſcarriage of the expedition. He was ſucceeded in command by general Wentworth, a man of courage, but by no means qualified for ſuch an important office. About the ſame time commodore Anſon ſet ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips for the South-ſea, in order to annoy the Spaniſh trade, and co-operate with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien.

THE oppoſition in parliament had now become ſo ſtrong, that they reſolved to make a perſonal attack upon the miniſter. Accordingly on the eleventh of
A. D. 1741. February, Mr. Sandys informed him, that, in two days, he intended to bring a charge againſt him in public. Sir Robert received the intimation with great indifference, and quoted the following paſſage of Horace;

Nil conſcire ſibi, nulli palleſcere culpæ.

Mr. Pulteney, who ſat upon the bench with him, ſaid, that that was falſe Latin. Sir Robert wagered a guinea, that it was not; and a copy of Horace being produced, and the words of the author appearing to be

——————— *nullâ palleſcere culpâ,*

Mr.

Mr. Pulteney took the guinea, and holding it up, ſaid, with a ſneer, that it was the only guinea of the public money he had received for many years. Mr. Sandys was as good as his word. On the thirteenth of February he made a motion in the houſe of commons, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the right honourable ſir Robert Walpole from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. A like motion was made in the upper houſe by lord Carteret. Many arguments were urged both for and againſt the motion; but, after a long and violent debate, it was rejected by a great majority. Sir Robert Walpole himſelf, during the whole diſpute, behaved with uncommon temper and moderation. He was the laſt that ſpoke on the ſubject; and he concluded his ſpeech with the following expreſſions: "Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotiſm; a venerable word, ſir, when rightly underſtood. But I am ſorry, ſir, to ſay, that, of late, it has been ſo much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into diſgrace. The very idea of true patriotiſm is loſt; and the term has been proſtituted to the very worſt of purpoſes. A patriot, ſir! Why, patriots ſpring up like muſhrooms. I could raiſe fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I have raiſed many of them, ſir, in one night. It is but refuſing to gratify an unreaſonable or an inſolent demand, and up ſtarts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots, ſir; but I diſdain and deſpiſe all they can do."

By this time the fleet under ſir Chaloner Ogle had joined admiral Vernon, and the combined ſquadrons now amounted to 115 ſhips, with 15,000 ſailors, and about 12,000 land-forces on board. With this mighty force the admiral ſailed from Jamaica, in order to attack Carthagena; and, on the fourth of March, he caſt anchor in Playa-Grande, to the windward of that town. General Wentworth, who commanded the land-forces, was (as we have ſaid) a man of courage, but of no great abilities. Vernon, though a good ſea-officer, was proud, haughty, and imperious, and held the general in the utmoſt contempt. A mortal antipathy now broke out between theſe two gentlemen; and to this unhappy circumſtance the failure of the expedition was in a great meaſure owing. They took, indeed, five of the inferior fortreſſes; but they were repulſed from fort St. Lazar with conſiderable loſs. In theſe ſeveral attacks above a thouſand men were killed; and among the reſt the colonels Douglas and Watſon, and the gallant lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, and brother to the duke of St. Alban's. More

of them, however, fell by the unhealthineſs of the climate than by the ſword of the enemy. They were now ſeized with ſuch a mortal diſtemper, that, according to the account of the general himſelf, no leſs than 3,445 men died of it in the ſpace of two days. This terrible calamity determined the council of war to return to Jamaica with the utmoſt expedition. Accordingly, the fortifications being demoliſhed, the fleet ſet ſail, and, on the nineteenth of May, arrived in Port-Royal in that iſland. Such, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, was the concluſion of an enterprize, the greateſt that ever had been undertaken in thoſe parts of the world. Vernon was afterwards reinforced with four ſhips of war, and about 4000 ſoldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of his great character, and the public began to ſuſpect, that they had over-rated his abilities. Above 20,000 Britiſh ſubjects are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in this expedition.

A new parliament had been lately ſummoned, and the ſeſſion was opened in the month of December, when the commons re-choſe Mr. Onſlow for their ſpeaker. The miniſter had been extremely negligent with regard to the elections; and the oppoſition, taking advantage of this omiſſion, had exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry, that they obtained an equality, if not a majority of voices. The affair of the Weſtminſter election was of great ſervice to them. A riot having happened upon that occaſion, the juſtices had called in the aſſiſtance of the military power; and this circumſtance being ſoon known over the whole kingdom, inflamed the people highly againſt the meaſures of the government.

SIR Robert Walpole, foreſeeing that he ſhould not be able to maintain his ſuperiority in the new parliament, reſolved to reſign all his places; after having done every thing poſſible to ſerve his friends, and to prevent an impeachment by any violent reſolutions. He continued, therefore, to give his attendance till the ſecond of February, when the
A. D. 1742. deciſion of the Chippenham election was carried againſt him by one vote only; and having been treated, in the courſe of the debate, with great ſeverity, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby proteſted, that he would never enter it more. In this reſolution he was further confirmed by the ſteadineſs of the prince of Wales, who was now at the head of the oppoſition, and declared, that he conſidered ſir Robert Walpole as ſo great an obſtacle to a good underſtanding between his majeſty and his ſubjects, that he would never agree to any terms till that gentleman

gentleman was removed. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February, ſir Robert reſigned all his places, after having been created by his majeſty baron of Houghton, viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford.

A few changes were now made in the miniſtry, but none took place in the meaſures of government. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Wilmington, firſt lord of the treaſury; the earl of Harrington, preſident of the council; lord Carteret, ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Winchelſea, firſt lord of the admiralty; the duke of Agyle, maſter-general of the ordnance, and commander in chief of his majeſty's forces; and Mr. Pulteney was reſtored to the dignity of a privy-counſellor, of which the king had formerly deprived him. Some members of the oppoſition propoſed violent meaſures againſt the late miniſter; but Mr. Pulteney recommended moderation, ſaying that government was not to be taken by ſtorm; upon which the duke of Argyle threw up all his places, and was ſucceeded in the command of the army by the earl of Stair. The people, enraged at this circumſtance, exclaimed, that the nation was betrayed, and ſir Robert Walpole ſcreened. To gratify them, therefore, with ſome ſhadow of inquiry into that gentleman's conduct, a committee was appointed, with full power to call for all the treaſury books and papers, and for every thing elſe that might enable them to make diſcoveries. They accordingly ſummoned before them Mr. Paxton and Mr. Scrope; the former, late ſolicitor; the latter, late ſecretary to the treaſury. The firſt was accuſed of having given, in 1735, the ſum of 500 pounds to one Boteler, to enable him to carry his election for Wendover. The other was queſtioned with regard to 1,052,211 pounds, which, in the ſpace of ten years, had been traced into his and ſir Robert Walpole's hands. Both of them refuſed to give any anſwer, without his majeſty's permiſſion, about the diſpoſal of money iſſued for ſecret ſervice. Paxton was committed to Newgate; Scrope was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. Gwyn Vaughan too, a confident of ſir Robert Walpole's, was examined with reſpect to a practice, which had been charged upon that miniſter, namely, his obliging the poſſeſſor of a place or office to pay a certain ſum out of the profits of it to ſome perſon or other recommended to him by the miniſter. Vaughan begged to be excuſed anſwering, and was diſmiſſed from the bar. A bill was next introduced for indemnifying ſuch perſons as ſhould make diſcoveries concerning the diſpoſal of public monies or offices. It paſſed the lower houſe, but was rejected by the upper; a circumſtance, which created a ſtrong ſuſpicion,

cion, that a compromiſe had been made between the late and preſent miniſtry; and that the facts, which would have proved ſir Robert Walpole's guilt, had been induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed. The great charge againſt that gentleman was, that he had employed bribery at elections.

THE continent of Europe was now involved in a war, in which Great-Britain thought it neceſſary to take a part. The emperor, Charles VI. dying in 1740, was, agreeable to the terms of the pragmatic ſanction, ſucceeded, in his hereditary dominions, by his eldeſt daughter, the arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Though this ſettlement had been guaranteed by all the powers of Europe, the young king of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Sileſia at the head of 30,000 men; and though he declared he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic ſanction, he yet made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that province, of which, it muſt be owned, his anceſtors had been formerly poſſeſſed. The French too laid hold of this opportunity to reduce the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and to increaſe that of the family of Bourbon; and with this view they raiſed to the imperial throne the elector of Bavaria, who, depending upon them entirely for ſupport, would, they knew, be ſubſervient to their intereſt. The new emperor being joined by a body of 70,000 French, made himſelf maſter of Bohemia, of which he was crowned king; he even threatened Vienna with a ſiege.

IN this forlorn condition, the queen of Hungary fled with her eldeſt ſon to Preſburg, and implored the aſſiſtance of her Hungarian ſubjects; and theſe were ſo deeply affected at her miſerable plight, that they ſwore they would defend her with their lives and fortunes. Accordingly old *A. D.* 1742. count Palfy marched to the relief of Vienna with 30,000 men; count Khevenhuller raiſed a body of 12,000; prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, and others, exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of their injured ſovereign. By this means ſhe was enabled to check the progreſs of the enemy, and even to obtain ſome advantages over them; and by the aſſiſtance which ſhe afterwards received from England, ſhe ſoon turned the balance entirely in her favour, and reduced her antagoniſt, the new emperor, to the ſame ſituation, in which ſhe herſelf had been ſo lately placed. She totally diſpoſſeſſed him of her hereditary dominions, and obliged him to take refuge in Frankfort, where he continued to live for ſome time in the greateſt obſcurity.

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The king of England now began to reflect, that the liberties of Europe would be expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, ſhould the French be allowed to ſucceed in their ambitious ſchemes. To prevent them, therefore, from accompliſhing their views, he reſolved to eſpouſe the cauſe of her Hungarian majeſty, and preſerve, at leaſt, ſome ſort of equality among the different powers on the Continent. Accordingly he ſent a body of 16,000 men, under the earl of Stair, into Germany, who, immediately on their arrival there, were joined by an equal number of Hanoverians, and 6000 Heſſians; and in order to render the ſervice of theſe troops the more effective, he himſelf followed ſoon after. The king of France being informed of theſe circumſtances, commanded the marſhal de Noailles to march into Germany with an army of 60,000 men. On the 9th of June his Britannic majeſty, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, arrived in the camp of the confederates; and on the 26th of the ſame month he attacked the enemy at the village of Dettingen, when, after a fierce and bloody diſpute, he put them to a total rout. The loſs of the allies amounted to 2000 men; that of the French was almoſt three times the number. King George expoſed his perſon in the hotteſt part of the fight, and the duke of Cumberland was wounded in the calf of the leg. *A. D.* 1743.

But it was not merely by his land forces in Germany, that the king of England aſſiſted her Hungarian majeſty; he ſupported her cauſe with equal ſpirit and equal ſucceſs by his naval power on the coaſts of Italy. For when the king of Spain, on the demiſe of the emperor, laid claim to all the Auſtrian dominions in Italy, and, in order to make good his pretenſions, invaded that country with an army of 15,000 men, who were joined by a body of 20,000 Neapolitans, the king of England ſent a fleet into the Mediterranean under admiral Mathews, with orders to acquaint his Neapolitan majeſty, that if he did not immediately withdraw his troops from thoſe of Spain, the city of Naples ſhould be laid in aſhes. This peremptory demand had the deſired effect. The Neapolitan forces were inſtantly recalled, and the Spaniards thereby prevented, at leaſt for the preſent, from executing their purpoſe.

The French were ſo highly provoked at ſeeing all their ſchemes of ambition thwarted by the vigilance and activity of the Engliſh miniſters, that they reſolved to make a deſcent upon Great-Britain, and eſtabliſh the pretender on the throne of that kingdom. The *A. D.* 1744.

plan

plan was projected by cardinal Tencin, who had ſucceeded Fleury as prime-miniſter of France, and was a declared partiſan of the Stuart family. Roquefeuille was to command the fleet; count Saxe, the land forces; and the pretender's eldeſt ſon, then in the 23d year of his age, was to head the expedition. A great number of tranſports was collected at Dunkirk, and about 15,000 men aſſembled at that place. In order to guard againſt the impending danger, the coaſts of England were properly ſecured; and 6000 auxiliary troops were ſent for from Holland. At the ſame time, ſir John Norris was diſpatched with a ſtrong ſquadron to attack the French fleet, which was diſperſed by a ſtorm; and thus the intended invaſion was happily defeated. The French having, by this attempt, loſt all pretences to a neutrality, which they had hitherto affected, declared war againſt Great-Britain on the 20th of March; and on the 31ſt of the ſame month, a like declaration of war againſt France was publiſhed at London.

THIS ſummer commodore Anſon returned from his famous voyage round the world. He had ſailed from England in September, 1740, as we have obſerved, with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, conſiſting of the Centurion of ſixty guns; the Glouceſter, the Severn, the Pearl, the Wager, and the Tryal ſloop; with two victuallers, and about 1470 land forces, under the command of colonel Cratcherode. The Severn and Pearl were ſeparated from him on the coaſt of Brazil, whence they returned to England. All the other ſhips, except the Centurion, were either loſt or deſtroyed for want of hands to navigate them. He burned the town of Paita, in Peru, where he found a good deal of plunder. He likewiſe took the rich Acapulco ſhip, or Manila galleon, valued at 400,000 pounds. And, after undergoing an incredible number of hardſhips, he arrived at Spithead on the 15th of June. His treaſure was conveyed in a triumphant manner to London, where it was received amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people. He himſelf was ſoon after made a peer.

IN the beginning of the enſuing year died the emperor Charles VII. and this produced a conſiderable change in the ſtate of affairs in Europe. The grand duke of Tuſcany, conſort to her Hungarian majeſty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown; while his pretenſions were ſtongly oppoſed by the French king, who wanted to raiſe to that dignity, either the young elector of Bavaria, or the king of Poland. Both theſe princes, however, declined the offer; and the grand duke, in ſpite of all the intrigues of the French court, was elected emperor towards the cloſe of the year.

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It was not merely in Italy and Germany, that the queen of Hungary experienced the friendſhip of his Britannic majeſty: ſhe felt it no leſs ſenſibly in Flanders, which was now invaded by the French king at the head of a numerous army. The firſt enterprize, which the enemy undertook, was the ſiege of Tournay; and this brought on the famous battle of Fontenoy, in which the allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, were, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, defeated with the loſs of 12,000 men. The loſs of the enemy was ſtill more conſiderable. The latter, however, gained the point they aimed at; they obliged the garriſon of Tournay to ſurrender; they likewiſe reduced a number of other places; and the French king, after a long and ſucceſsful campaign, returned in triumph to Paris.

In the month of June, the fort of Louiſburgh, the bulwark of the French empire in America, was taken by a body of 6000 New-Englanders under Mr. Pepperel, aſſiſted by a Britiſh fleet of ten ſhips of war, commanded by commodore Warren. The garriſon conſiſted of 1200 regulars. The beſiegers loſt 100 men; the beſieged 240.

But the moſt important event of this year was the rebellion excited by the young pretender, and of which we now, therefore, proceed to give an account. This bold adventurer reſolved to renew the attempt he intended to have made in the courſe of the preceding year; and accordingly embarking on board a frigate, with ſeven adherents only, and with arms for nine hundred men, he ſet ſail from port St. Lazare in Brittany, and landing on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, was immediately joined by Cameron of Lochiel, the titular duke of Perth, the viſcount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray (brother to the duke of Athol), and by ſeveral other chieftains. The government was no ſooner informed of theſe circumſtances, than they ſent orders to ſir John Cope, who commanded the king's forces in Scotland, to cruſh the rebellion in its infancy. With this view, ſir John ſet out for the north; but the pretender, giving him the ſlip, advanced ſouthward, and entered Perth on the third of September. Here he proclaimed his father, and reviewing his forces found them amount to about 3000 men; but moſt of them very ill provided with arms. Soon after he continued his march towards Edinburgh, the magiſtrates of which had been at ſome pains to put the place in a poſture of defence; and for that purpoſe had employed Mr. Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, who was then one of the profeſſors in the univerſity: but when the enemy approached, the people, unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the

hazard

hazard of an aſſault, ſurrendered the city at the firſt ſummons. The pretender, being now maſter of the capital, cauſed his father to be proclaimed at the croſs of Edinburgh, and publiſhed three manifeſtoes, which, after promiſing to diſſolve the union, which the jacobites regarded as a national grievance, conſtituted Charles regent of Scotland, England, and Ireland. His forces had now increaſed to about 4000 men.

By this time ſir John Cope had returned towards Edinburgh, and taken poſt with his army, amounting to about 3000 men, in the neighbourhood of Preſton-pans. Here, on the morning of the twenty-firſt of September, the rebels attacked him ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity, that, in leſs than ten minutes after the battle began, his forces were broken and totally routed. About 500 of the king's troops were killed; and among theſe the brave colonel Gardiner, who, when abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, which fled at the firſt onſet, alighted from his horſe, and fought on foot, till he fell covered with wounds in ſight of his own threſhold. Above 1200 were taken priſoners, together with the train of artillery, tents, baggage, and military cheſt, containing 6000 pounds in ſpecie. The loſs of the enemy did not amount to above 80 men. Sir John Cope was afterwards tried by a court martial, and acquitted. The rebels made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was defended by general Gueſt, a brave and experienced officer. In a few days after the battle, the pretender received a ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition from France. About the ſame time he was joined by Gordon of Glenbucket, the lords Elcho, Ogilvie, Pitſligo, and Balmerino; and finding his army now amount to 6000 men, he reſolved to march into England.

The news of the loſs which the king's forces had ſuſtained at the battle of Preſton-pans had hardly any other effect in England than to arouſe the zeal and activity of every friend to government, who certainly formed the great majority of the people. Addreſſes, filled with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty and affection, were preſented to the king by the two houſes of parliament, by the city of London, and moſt of the towns and corporations in the kingdom. Large ſums were ſubſcribed by the public companies, and by many private perſons, for cloathing his majeſty's troops in the north. Aſſociations were formed by the gentlemen of Yorkſhire, and of ſeveral other counties, for the ſupport of government. The lawyers, headed by lord chief-juſtice Willes, made a tender of their ſervice to the king. In a word, the whole nation ſeemed to unite as one man, in defence of his majeſty's perſon and government. A camp, conſiſting of 14,000 men, was formed at Newcaſtle,

Newcaſtle, under general Wade. A ſtrong ſquadron was ſtationed in the channel, under admiral Vernon, in order to prevent an invaſion from France. A proclamation was iſſued for apprehending jeſuits and popiſh prieſts; and every other precaution taken, that could be deemed neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

To avoid the royal army that lay at Newcaſtle, the rebels, to the number of 6000 foot and 260 horſe, entered England by the weſtern border, in the month of November; and after having made themſelves maſters of Carliſle, advanced as far as Derby, within 122 miles of London. Hearing, however, that great preparations were made to oppoſe them, and that the king intended to erect the ſtandard of England upon Finchley-common, they took a reſolution of returning to Scotland; and this ſcheme they executed with ſo much diſpatch, that though they were purſued by the duke of Cumberland at the head of 13,000 men, he found it impoſſible to overtake them till he arrived at the village of Clifton, where he had a ſkirmiſh with their rear-guard, in which ſeveral were ſlain on both ſides. The duke thinking the rebellion, if not entirely ſuppreſſed, at leaſt effectually checked, contented himſelf with the recovery of Carliſle, and then returned to London. In this, however, he was greatly diſappointed. The rebels, though obliged to retire from England, could not ſo eaſily be perſuaded to relinquiſh the footing they had gained in Scotland. Being now joined by the Fraſers, under the maſter of Lovat, who had been drawn into the rebellion by his father, the famous lord Lovat, and being likewiſe reinforced by ſix or ſeven hundred men in the French king's pay, they laid ſiege to the town of Stirling, which they took; but were unable to make any impreſſion upon the caſtle, which was gallantly defended by general Blakeney. Upon this a new army of 10,000 men was raiſed by the government, and the command of it given to general Hawley, who was ordered to relieve the caſtle of Stirling. Hawley ſeems to have been an officer of more courage than conduct. He had repeatedly boaſted, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the enemy from one end of the kingdom to the other. The greater, therefore, was the diſgrace he incurred, when, being *A. D.* 1746. met by the rebels at Falkirk, on the ſeventeenth of January, his army was totally routed with the loſs of 400 men killed, and about 300 taken priſoners. Among the former were ſir Robert Monro, colonel Whitney, and ſome others officers of diſtinction. The rebels loſt in all about 200.

The government now began to look upon the rebellion as a much more ſerious matter than they had at firſt conceived it. The duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief againſt

againſt the enemy; and accordingly his royal highneſs ſet out from St. James's, on the twenty-fifth of January, at one in the morning, accompanied by the lords Cathcart and Bury, and colonels Conway and Yorke. On the thirteenth he arrived at Edinburgh, and next day began his march againſt the rebels, who, alarmed at his approach, abandoned the ſiege of Stirling-caſtle, blew up their magazines, and retreated to Inverneſs. Thither they were quickly purſued by the duke, who took his route, however, by the eaſtern coaſt, and after paſſing through Aberdeen, and croſſing the deep and rapid river Spey, arrived at Nairn in the month of April. The rebels lay at Culloden, in the neighbourhood, to the amount of 8000 men. The royal army was nearly of the ſame force.

On the ſixteenth of April, early in the morning, the whole royal army marched from Nairn in four columns. The rebels formed their front in thirteen diviſions, being ſo many clans under their reſpective chiefs. About one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill ſerved, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the charge, and about five hundred of the rebels attacked Barrel's and Monro's regiments with their uſual impetuoſity; but were ſoon driven back with conſiderable loſs. At the ſame time Hawley's dragoons and the Argyleſhire militia pulled down a park-wall that covered their right-flank, and falling in among them ſword in hand, completed their confuſion. The French forces on the left did not fire a ſhot, but ſtood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The young pretender, though his corps de reſerve was ſtill entire, galloped off without making the leaſt reſiſtance. A large body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with pipes playing: the reſt were routed with great ſlaughter, no leſs than twelve hundred of them being killed in the action and purſuit. The king's forces had been highly exaſperated by their former loſſes and diſgraces; and to this circumſtance was probably owing the greatneſs of the carnage. Of the royaliſts there fell about three hundred, and among theſe lord Robert Kerr, ſon to the marquis of Lothian. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken on the field of battle; lord Balmerino ſurrendered himſelf a few days after. The marquis of Tullibardine followed his example; but the moſt extraordinary part of the priſoners were four ladies, who had been very inſtrumental in procuring friends for the pretender; and one of them in particular, the lady Mackintoſh, though her huſband was at that time an officer in the king's army, had forced

a great

a great many of her clan to join in the rebellion. The young pretender retired to Aird, where he held a conſultation with lord Lovat and ſome other chieftains; and as 40,000 louis d'ors had lately arrived from France, a propoſal was made for renewing the rebellion: but their affairs were now ſo deſperate, that the ſcheme was deemed impracticable.

EVERY man, therefore, was obliged to conſult his own ſafety in the beſt manner he could; and in doing this the pretender particularly underwent ſuch a ſeries of difficulties and dangers as no other perſon perhaps ever out-lived. According to the narrative of his eſcape, as given by himſelf, he fled firſt to fort Auguſtus, and thence to Glenbias-dale, where he paſſed ſeveral days and nights without ſleep, and almoſt without ſuſtenance. Though he was obliged to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and a price of 30,000 pounds was ſet upon his head; yet could not that great ſum tempt the meaneſt of them to ſeize or betray him. At one time he aſſumed the character of a ſhip-wrecked merchant; at another he appeared in a female dreſs, and paſſed for the ſervant of a young gentlewoman, named Flora Macdonald, in croſſing the water with whom he was fired at by the militia. Underſtanding, however, that his diſguiſe was diſcovered, he aſſumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and in that condition wandered about among the woods and heaths, in continual danger of being ſeized by his purſuers. On the eighteenth of June he got into the very center of a detachment of the king's troops, whom he heard relieving the guard, and talking to one another. Here a young man permitting himſelf to paſs for Charles, and refuſing to ſurrender, was killed upon the ſpot. This contributed greatly to ſave the life of the pretender, who afterwards travelled by ſeveral camps, and even paſſed between the centinels of one. In the courſe of his peregrinations, he was frequently obliged to lie all night upon the bare rocks, and to live on ſalt fiſh and the coarſeſt proviſions.

In a word, he was ſometimes reduced to ſuch extremity, that he was almoſt tempted to ſurrender himſelf to general Campbell. At laſt, after having wandered about from the ſixteenth of April till the nineteenth of September, he arrived at Lochnanaugh in Moidart, where a French ſhip, the Bellona of Nantz, lay ready to receive him. On board of this veſſel, he himſelf, with a few other exiles, embarked. He was then in a very bad ſtate of health, and was clad in a ſhort coat of black frize thread-bare, over which was a common highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a piſtol and a dagger. He immediately ſet ſail for France;

France; and after having been chaſed by two Engliſh ſhips of war, he ſafely landed at Roſcau near Morlaix in Bretagne. Having there equipped himſelf, he repaired to the court of Verſailles, where he was ſeemingly careſſed. Himſelf and his brother (afterwards cardinal of York) had appointments juſt ſufficient to ſupport them with decency. The French found their account in providing for his followers, who entered into their armies.

The rebellion being now entirely ſuppreſſed, the government was at leiſure to call thoſe to account who had had ſo capital a hand in diſturbing the peace of their country. The priſoners taken at Culloden being brought up to London, the noblemen were committed to the Tower, and thoſe of inferior rank to Newgate. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with lord Balmerino, were indicted by their peers, and found guilty. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed upon Tower-hill. Cromartie's life was ſpared; and he was ſentenced to a mild impriſonment, and allowed a moderate penſion. Lord Lovat, who was taken a little after the battle, had been ſo very cunning, that the government found it difficult to proceed againſt him, as they had done againſt the other noblemen, by way of indictment; and the commons were therefore obliged to impeach him before his peers. Murray, the pretender's ſecretary, appeared as an evidence againſt him; and the priſoner's guilt being inconteſtably proved, he was condemned to loſe his head. After his condemnation, he made ſome attempts to procure a pardon; but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he avowed himſelf a jacobite and a papiſt. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was remarkably chearful, and even facetious. He ſurveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jeſted with the executioner; and after repeating, though with very little propriety, the famous line from Horace, *dulce & decorum eſt pro patria mori*, he laid his head upon the block with the utmoſt indifference.

Courts of judicature were opened in Southwark, and in the north of England, for the trial of the rebels of inferior note. Out of forty-three, who were condemned at London, no more than ſeventeen were executed. They ſuffered upon Kennington-common. The like lenity was ſhewn to the rebels in other parts of the kingdom; nor were any put to death, except thoſe whoſe conduct was attended with ſome circumſtances of a very aggravating nature. In November, Mr. Ratcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former ſentence paſſed againſt him in 1716; and the identity of his perſon

perſon being proved, a rule was made for his execution, and he ſuffered on the eighth of the ſucceeding month.

THE flames of war ſtill continued to rage on the continent; and many a bloody battle was fought between the French and Spaniards on the one hand, and the allied armies on the other: but as a particular relation of theſe would, in ſome meaſure, be foreign to a brief hiſtory of England, we ſhall be content with mentioning thoſe of them only in which the Engliſh had the moſt conſiderable ſhare.

TOWARDS the end of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, the commons beſtowed an additional revenue of 25,000 pounds a year upon the duke of Cumberland for the ſervice he had done the nation in defeating the rebels at Culloden. Acts were likewiſe paſſed for diſarming the highlanders; aboliſhing the highland dreſs; obliging all ſchoolmaſters in Scotland to take the oaths to the government; and reſtraining the exerciſe of the epiſcopal religion in that kingdom, where moſt of the epiſcopiſts were profeſſed jacobites. And in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, an act was made for aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions, and taking away the tenor of Ward-holdings in Scotland; which, being a ſpecies of ſlavery, were deemed an inconſiſtency in a free government, inveſted the ſuperiors with a dangerous power over their dependents, and were reckoned one of the principal ſources of all thoſe rebellions, which had broke out ſince the revolution.

IN the month of September, a deſcent was made upon the coaſt of France by 5800 land forces under general Sinclair, attended by a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of the line under admiral Leſtock. The general laid ſiege to port l'Orient, but was not able to take it; and he returned to England, without performing any action of importance.

ON the ſecond of June of next year, was fought the battle Val or Laffeldt, in which the allies were defeated with the loſs of 6000 men. The French *A. D.* 1747. loſt almoſt double the number. The confederate army muſt have been entirely ruined, had not ſir John Ligonier, at the head of a few ſquadrons of horſe, charged the whole line of the French cavalry, and by that means ſecured the retreat of the allies. The confederates, however, took ſeven ſtandards, eight pair of colours, and about 700 priſoners, ſixty of whom were officers. Both the Dutch and Auſtrians behaved ſcandalouſly in this battle; almoſt the whole loſs fell upon the Engliſh, the Heſſians, and Hanoverians: ſo that the French king was heard to ſay, "That the Engliſh not only paid all, but fought all."

ON

On the fifteenth of July, count Lowendahl, with 36,000 men, inveſted Bergen-op-Zoom, eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Dutch Brabant, and defended by a numerous garriſon under old baron Cronſtrom. On the ſixteenth of September, the place was taken by aſſault; and ſuch was the negligence of the governor, that, had it not been for the bravery of lord John Murray's highlanders, who fought till two-thirds of them were killed upon the ſpot, Cronſtrom muſt have been taken priſoner in his bed.

The tranſactions by ſea were more honourable for the Engliſh. In the month of May, a Britiſh fleet of fifteen men of war, under the admirals Anſon and Warren, defeated, off Cape Finiſterre, a French ſquadron of ten ſhips of war, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere and M. de St. George. The Engliſh took ſeveral ſhips, containing a great deal of treaſure. Admiral Anſon was created a lord; ſir Peter Warren was made a knight of the Bath. In the month of October, admiral Hawke, with fourteen men of war, defeated, near the ſame place, another French fleet, and took ſix of their ſhips. The fight was long and obſtinate: 800 of the enemy were killed or wounded, and about 3000 taken priſoners. Of the Engliſh 154 were killed, and 558 wounded.

The war had now continued for the ſpace of eight years, and had hardly produced any other effect, than to convince the Engliſh and French, the two principal parties concerned in it, of each other's ſtrength and reſources.

A. D. 1748. Theſe two powers, therefore, being equally inclined to peace, a negociation for that purpoſe was begun at Aix-la-Chapelle; and this ſoon after terminated in the treaty, which goes by that name, and the principal articles of which were: That all priſoners on either ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed, without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or of his dying without male iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria: that the king of Great-Britain ſhould, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conqueſts which his Britannic majeſty ſhould have achieved in the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were ſigned: that the Aſſiento contract, with the article of the annual ſhip, ſhould be confirmed for four years, during which time the enjoyment of that privilege had been ſuſpended

ſuſpended ſince the commencement of the preſent war: that Dunkirk ſhould remain fortified on the land ſide; and towards the ſea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he at preſent poſſeſſed them; and they likewiſe engaged to ſecure the empreſs-queen in the poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic ſanction. This treaty was very little agreeable to any of the parties concerned, and leaſt of all to the Engliſh. Nothing was concluded in favour of the Britiſh commerce; the very object for which the war had been undertaken: the reſtitution of Louiſburg was extremely unpopular: and the granting hoſtages to France, for the performance of articles, was deemed a national diſgrace; though precedents may be found for it in the Engliſh hiſtory. A little before the ceſſation of hoſtilities, 37,000 Ruſſians arrived in Germany, to the aſſiſtance of the allies; but the peace was no ſooner ſigned, than their march was countermanded, and they returned to their own country. At the ſame time, notice was given to the young pretender, that, in conſequence of an article in the late treaty, he muſt immediately quit France: but as he refuſed to comply with this order, and even threatened to piſtol the firſt perſon that ſhould preſume to arreſt him, he was one evening, while ſtepping out of his coach into the opera-houſe, ſeized by a party of French guards, who, having tied him with a cord, like a common felon, conducted him, firſt to Vincennes, and thence to the frontiers of the kingdom.

THE five following years preſent us hardly with any thing that is worthy of notice, except ſome civil or domeſtic tranſactions, which, though not ſo ſplendid or dazzling as the hiſtory of wars, battles, and ſieges, are not perhaps, on that account, leſs entertaining, or leſs inſtructive.

IN the courſe of next ſpring, a civil government was eſtabliſhed in Nova Scotia, chiefly by the patriotic endeavours of the earl of Halifax, firſt lord of trade and plantations. The encouragement given to the ſettlers was ſo great, that above four thouſand perſons with their families engaged themſelves to go over to that colony. The greateſt part of them arrived there in June, under the conduct of colonel Cornwallis, their governor; and, in a little time after, a town was built, which was denominated Halifax, in honour of the founder. *A. D.* 1749.

WHEN the parliament met this year, which it did on the ſixteenth of November, it paſſed ſeveral very ſalutary acts; and one, in particular, for reducing the intereſt of the na-

tional debt; by which it was ordained, that the public creditors ſhould receive four *per cent.* for one year; three and a half *per cent.* for ſeven years; and three *per cent.* ever after. The merit of this excellent ſcheme was chiefly due to Mr. Pelham, firſt lord of the treaſury, and ſir John Barnard, one of the members for London. Another act of great conſequence was paſſed, namely, that for encouraging the Britiſh white herring and cod fiſheries. It imported, that a capital, not exceeding 500,000 pounds, might be ſubſcribed; the proprietors to receive three and a half *per cent.* upon the ſums paid in, during fourteen years. A bounty of 30 ſhillings, and afterwards of 50 ſhillings *per* ton was allowed. The affairs of the ſociety were to be managed by a council, conſiſting of thirty perſons. The prince of Wales, who favoured the undertaking, was choſen governor.

A. D. 1750. In February and March of the preceding year, two ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in London; which, though no ways violent, filled the people with the moſt terrible apprehenſions; and theſe were ſtill farther increaſed by the ridiculous predictions of an enthuſiaſtic ſoldier, who foretold, that, in a little time, another ſhock would happen, which would lay all London and Weſtminſter in ruins. The conſequence was, that theſe two great cities emptied themſelves of their inhabitants, who ran out into the fields in the greateſt conſternation, and could hardly be perſuaded to return, even when the time prefixed for the completion of the prophecy was paſt. So unaccountable and incurable is the credulity of mankind! In May an infectious diſtemper broke out in Newgate, which proved fatal, at the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey, to ſir Samuel Pennant, lord-mayor; to one of the aldermen, to two of the judges, to many of the lawyers, and to moſt of the jury.

A. D. 1751. Next year was diſtinguiſhed by an incident, that ought not to paſs unnoticed. What I allude to, is the Weſtminſter election. Lord Trentham, one of the repreſentatives for that city, having accepted a place under the government, had thereby vacated his ſeat in parliament. He again offered himſelf as a candidate, as did likewiſe ſir George Vandeput, who was ſupported by all the anti-miniſterial party. After a violent ſtruggle, lord Trentham was declared duly elected. The party in oppoſition, however, had been guilty of ſo many outrages, that Mr. Crowle, an attorney, and Mr. Murray, brother to lord Elibank, the principal leaders of the mob, were ſummoned before the houſe of commons. They were both of them required to kneel. Mr. Crowle did ſo, and received a reprimand from the ſpeaker; and when he roſe, he

he wiped his knees, and ſaid that he had never been in ſo dirty a houſe in his life; alluding, as the wits of the day ſaid, rather to the character of the members, than to the dirtineſs of the floor, and thus amply repaying himſelf for the mortification he had ſuffered. Mr. Murray refuſed to kneel; and for this contempt of the authority of the houſe, he was committed priſoner to Newgate, where he remained during the whole courſe of the ſeſſion; at the end of which he returned home in triumph. He would probably have been re-committed to the ſame place at the next meeting of the parliament, but he thought proper before that time to retire out of the kingdom.

THE prince of Wales dying * in the month of March, and his eldeſt ſon being then only in his thirteenth year, a bill paſſed for ſettling a regency, in caſe of the king's demiſe before his ſucceſſor attained to the age of eighteen. The princeſs of Wales was appointed regent, and was to be aſſiſted by a council of regency, compoſed of the duke of Cumberland, and the great officers of ſtate.

THIS year produced a ſhocking proof of the extreme ignorance and cruelty of the populace. They murdered a poor old woman at Tring, in Hertfordſhire, under the ridiculous notion of her being a witch. Indeed, according to the manner in which they try a perſon ſuſpected of that crime, it is abſolutely impoſſible ſhe can eſcape with life. They firſt throw her into the water; if ſhe ſinks, ſhe is declared innocent, but then ſhe is drowned; if ſhe ſwims, ſhe is pronounced guilty, and then ſhe is knocked on the head: ſo that let her be innocent or guilty, ſhe is ſure to be put to death.

NEXT year was not diſtinguiſhed by any other event than the paſſing of two unpopular bills; one to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh *A. D.* 1752.

* The prince of Wales left behind him five ſons, and three daughters, viz. princeſs Auguſta, born Auguſt 11, 1737, and married, in 1764, to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick; George, our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign, born May 24, 1738; Edward, duke of York, born March 14, 1739, and who died in Italy 1767; princeſs Elizabeth Caroline, born December 30, 1740, ſince dead; prince William Henry, duke of Glouceſter, born November 14, 1743; prince Henry Frederick, now duke of Cumberland, born October 27, 1745; princeſs Louiſa Anne, born March 8, 1749; and prince Frederick William, born May 13, 1750: the two laſt are ſince dead. The princeſs of Wales, at the time of her huſband's death, was far advanced in her pregnancy, and ſhe was afterwards delivered of a princeſs, named Matilda, late queen of Denmark.

As all theſe events happened before the alteration of the ſtile, which took place in 1752, they are marked according to the old ſtile, that is eleven days earlier than the dates they now bear.

religion to be naturalized by parliament; another for preventing clandeſtine marriages. The former act was repealed in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion; the latter ſtill continues in force.

As the laſt war originated from the inſults given us by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, ſo a new war was now going to break out on account of the encroachments which the French made upon us in America and the Eaſt Indies. Ever ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and even long before that period, the French had been endeavouring, and with but too much ſucceſs, to ſtrip the Engliſh of all their poſſeſſions in North America. With this view, they had debauched from the Britiſh intereſt the Indians, called the ſix nations. Theſe and other ſavages they had inſtigated, by preſents and promiſes, to commit all kinds of cruelty upon the Engliſh planters; and they had even offered a reward of three pounds ſterling for every Engliſh ſcalp that was brought in by a Canadian. Upon the concluſion of the peace, commiſſaries were appointed by Great Britain and France, for ſettling the limits of their reſpective poſſeſſions in North America; but the French geographers had arbitrarily contrived boundaries, marked out rivers, and given names to nations in ſuch a manner, as to exclude the Engliſh almoſt entirely from Nova Scotia.

Nor were the French leſs active in extending their encroachments, in other parts of America. They had built a long chain of forts, ſuch as Crown Point, fort du Queſne, fort Frontiniac, &c. upon the back of the more ſouthern colonies; that is, upon grounds, which either belonged to the Britiſh crown, or to the Britiſh Indians. The Engliſh planters had tamely connived at the building of theſe forts; and ſome of them were even built before it was known that they were begun.

In a word, it appeared from the whole proceedings of the French in North America, that they had formed a regular and well concerted plan for making themſelves maſters of all that part of the world. Repeated complaints of theſe encroachments had been made by the Britiſh miniſtry to the court of Verſailles; but no regard was paid to their remonſtrances. They therefore reſolved to adopt more vigorous meaſures. Major Waſhington, who has ſince rendered himſelf ſo famous, was ſent, with a ſmall body of troops, to diſlodge the French from a ſettlement, which they had made upon the Ohio; but he was defeated, with the loſs of the beſt part of his men. Inſtructions were then tranſmitted to the Britiſh governors in America to form a ſort of political confederacy, and to repel force by force; but ſuch was the jealouſy, which

at

at that time prevailed among the different colonies, that it was found extremely difficult to effect the wiſhed-for union.

We muſt now ſay a few words as to the ſtate of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies previous to the commencement of hoſtilities. The French had been long carrying on the ſame deſigns in that part of the world as in America; and the Britiſh intereſt in Indoſtan was reduced to the very loweſt ebb, when, in 1751 and 1752, it was ſuddenly, and almoſt miraculouſly, reſtored by the courage and conduct of Mr. (afterwards lord) Clive. This gentleman, the ſon of an attorney in London, had entered into the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, only as a writer; and was conſidered as a perſon but very indifferently qualified for ſucceeding in any civil ſtation. He now offered his ſervice in a military capacity; and though totally unacquainted with the art of war, he defeated the French, and the French Indians, in ſeveral engagements; and being aſſiſted by major Laurence, who had lately come over from England, he puſhed on his conqueſts with ſuch incredible rapidity, that he ſoon raiſed the Britiſh name to a much higher degree of importance than it had ever before poſſeſſed in that part of the world. In a word, his ſucceſs was ſo great, and ſo unexpected, that Mr. Pitt, when ſpeaking of him in the houſe of commons, gave him the name of the heaven-born general. The enemy, humbled by their multiplied loſſes, were at laſt obliged to agree to a peace, which was concluded in 1753, between the Engliſh and the French Eaſt India companies. By this treaty it was ſtipulated that the two companies ſhould reciprocally reſtore the territories taken by the troops of either ſince the year 1748, except certain diſtricts, which the Engliſh retained for the convenience of their traffic; that the nabobs, advanced through the influence of either party, ſhould be acknowledged by both; and that, for the future, neither ſhould interfere in the differences between the princes of the country.

As a war with France was now unavoidable, general Braddock was ſent to North America, with a body of regular forces, which were there to be joined by the provincial troops. Braddock was a man of courage, but haughty, poſitive, and difficult of acceſs; qualities ill ſuited to the temper of the people among whom he was to command. Upon his arrival in America, he ſet out at the head of about 2200 men againſt the French forts on the Ohio; but when he had advanced within ten miles of fort du Queſne, he was ſuddenly attacked by a party of the enemy, who had poſted themſelves in ambuſh, and was totally routed. Braddock himſelf, ſir Peter Halket, the greateſt part of the officers, and about 700 of the common ſoldiers, fell in the engagement. *A. D.* 1755.

Governor Shirley, who commanded another expedition, was equally unſucceſsful, though not ſo unfortunate. He had marched with a good body of troops againſt the French fort at Niagara, but he was not able to ſucceed in the attempt; and even his retreat would probably have been cut off, had not Mr. Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided in America, obtained, with a body of 5000 provincials, a complete victory over the French near lake George, where baron Dieſkau, their commander, was wounded, and taken priſoner. Johnſon was afterwards created a baronet, and had a preſent of 5000 pounds voted him by the parliament. At the ſame time colonel Monckton drove the French, with great bravery, out of all their forts in the bay of Fundy; and obliged 15000 Acadians, or French neutrals, to deliver up their arms.

BUT though the Engliſh and French had thus commenced war againſt each other in America, they ſtill affected to be at peace in Europe; and the latter, in particular, were deſirous of wearing the maſk of amity for ſome time longer, that ſo they might enjoy the better opportunity of ſtrengthening their garriſons in the new world. The Engliſh miniſtry, however, were too well appriſed of the ſecret deſigns of the French court to ſuffer them quietly to be carried into execution; and accordingly hearing, that a large fleet, with a number of land forces on board, was ready to ſail from Breſt and Rochfort for America, they immediately diſpatched admiral Boſcawen, with a ſtrong ſquadron, in order to intercept it. The duke de Mirepoix, the French ambaſſador in England, was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he publickly declared, that the firſt gun, that ſhould be fired, would be conſidered by his maſter as a declaration of war. This menace, inſtead of intimidating the Engliſh miniſtry, only made them redouble their warlike preparations. Admiral Boſcawen fell in with the French fleet on the banks of Newfoundland, and though he was prevented, by a thick fog, from diſcovering and attacking their whole ſquadron, he yet made prize of two of their capital ſhips, the Lys and Alcide.

AT the ſame time orders were iſſued by the Britiſh miniſtry, for making repriſals general, in Europe as well as in America; and theſe orders were executed with ſo much ſpirit and punctuality, that, before the end of the year, 300 of the enemy's merchant ſhips, and about 8000 of their ſailors, were taken. The French exclaimed loudly againſt theſe captures, which they were pleaſed to call piracies; but all reaſonable men allowed, that they were no more than a proper retaliation for the injuries which the French had done us in America; and that the conduct

duct of the Engliſh, in this particular, was as juſtifiable as it was prudent.

The French monarch, among the other plans he had formed for diſtreſſing the Engliſh, made no ſecret of his intention of attacking his majeſty's German dominions. Theſe countries evidently had no ſort of connection with the matters, which gave riſe to the war; but being ſubject to the ſame ſovereign with England, the French imagined, that in order to ſave Hanover from the danger with which it was threatened, his majeſty might be frightened into a relaxation of his rights in America. Their politics however, in this inſtance, proved as unſucceſsful as they were unjuſt. His majeſty refuſed to make any abatement of his claims in America; he took other methods for ſecuring the tranquillity of Germany. The Britiſh ſubjects, by their repreſentatives, not more generouſly than reaſonably, reſolved to defend the Hanoverians, if attacked in their quarrel. To anſwer this purpoſe, his majeſty entered into a ſubſidy treaty with the Empreſs of Ruſſia; in virtue of which ſhe was to hold in readineſs 55,000 men, and forty or fifty gallies, to be employed as the king of Great Britain ſhould direct. The alliance with Ruſſia was choſen for reaſons which were then ſufficiently plauſible; though it is to be hoped they will never exiſt again. The miſunderſtanding, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and England, and the cloſe connection of that prince with the court of Verſailles, raiſed no ill-grounded apprehenſions, that he might be tempted to act a dangerous part on this occaſion. Ruſſia was, therefore, a proper ally, as being both a political and perſonal enemy to that monarch, and one that would not fail to employ a formidable power againſt him.

But this ſyſtem was, in a ſhort time, totally reverſed. The two empreſſes of Germany and Ruſſia had formed a deſign of making a partition of his Pruſſian majeſty's dominions. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, acceded to this treaty; but his Britannic majeſty, though often invited, refuſed to agree to ſuch an iniquitous project. The king of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of theſe circumſtances, than he declared, that he would draw his ſword againſt any foreign troops, French as well as others, who ſhould preſume to enter Germany. Matters were, therefore, very ſoon explained between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties; and a treaty was concluded between them to keep all foreigners out of that country. Theſe treaties with Ruſſia and Pruſſia were cenſured as inconſiſtent with each other; but, in reality, nothing could be more conſiſtent, as they aimed preciſely at the ſame object, namely, the oppoſing the

ſchemes projected by France, for diſturbing the peace of Germany.

If, however, there was ſomething unexpected in the alliance between Great-Britain and Pruſſia, it was ſoon followed by another alliance of a nature infinitely more ſurpriſing. This was a treaty offenſive and defenſive between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political ſyſtem of Europe aſſumed a new face. The conteſt was now no longer, as formerly, between the rival houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; but between thoſe of Auſtria and Pruſſia. The treaty between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties was highly acceptable to all thoſe who wiſhed well to the Proteſtant intereſt in Europe. At the ſame time his majeſty entered into another treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, for taking into Britiſh pay 8000 Heſſians; and this number was afterwards increaſed to 12,000.

Towards the end of this year an event happened, which, though not immediately connected with the hiſtory of England, is of too ſingular and important a nature to be paſſed over in ſilence. What I allude to, is the dreadful earthquake, which, on the firſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal, and many other parts of Europe; and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. Nothing could be more tremendous than the ſpectacle which that city preſented to view. About 10,000 perſons periſhed on the occaſion; but as it happened to be a holiday, when no buſineſs was done, the Engliſh then reſident in Liſbon had retired to their country-ſeats, and conſequently ſuffered the leaſt of any of the inhabitants. His majeſty was no ſooner informed of this terrible calamity, than he imparted it to the parliament, who, with a generoſity truly noble, voted a gift of 100,000 pounds, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed people of Portugal. What enhanced the merit of this gift was, that though the Engliſh were themſelves, at that very time, in great want of grain, a conſiderable part of the ſum was remitted in corn, flour, rice, and Iriſh beef; ſupplies, which came very ſeaſonably for the poor Portugueze; and for which the king of Portugal returned his thanks, in the warmeſt terms, to the Britiſh crown and nation.

A. D. 1756. As the French threatened Great-Britain with an invaſion, and the few regular troops that were then in the iſland might poſſibly be wanted for other ſervices, and a militia, the true conſtitutional defence of the country, could not be immediately raiſed, a body of Heſſians and Hanoverians was brought over for the greater ſecurity of the kingdom. The French, however, inſtead of invading

ing England, made a deſcent upon Minorca, with an army of 16,000 men, under the duke de Richlieu, eſcorted by a fleet of twelve ſhips of the line, commanded by M. de la Galliſoniere. The troops were no ſooner landed, than Richlieu laid ſiege to fort St. Philip, which was defended by a ſmall garriſon under general Blakeney. The Britiſh miniſtry being informed of theſe particulars, diſpatched admiral Byng, with ten ſhips of the line, to the relief of Minorca. On the 9th of May, Byng came to an engagement with Galliſoniere's ſquadron off cape Mola; but neither ſide behaved with any great ſpirit. Fort St. Philip ſurrendered on the twenty-eighth of June, and general Blakeney was created a lord for his bravery. Byng was ſuperſeded by the admirals Hawke and Saunders, was ſent home in arreſt, was confined in Greenwich-Hoſpital, was tried for miſconduct, and condemned to be ſhot; and this puniſhment he actually ſuffered on the fourteenth of March of the enſuing year, on board the Monarque man of war at Portſmouth.

Byng's fate ſeems to have been ſevere; but it had certainly a good effect, as it convinced all commanders in chief for the future, that when they were ſent out upon a hazardous expedition, they had no other alternative than either to conquer or die. It has long been a queſtion among political writers, whether a rich or a poor man is likely to behave with moſt courage in the day of battle. But the deſire of acquiring is certainly ſtronger than that of preſerving; and beſides a rich man may preſerve his fortune, whether he accepts of a dangerous command or not. But if a poor man accepts, or, to ſpeak more properly, if he can obtain ſuch a command, he knows, that there is no other way of riſing either to fame or fortune, than by fighting even to a degree of deſperation. And hence it is that the firſt founder of a family, who is always poor, is commonly found to be a much greater man than any it afterwards produces; and as Byng was poſſeſſed of a very large fortune, the miniſtry were blamed for entruſting the command to a man who had ſuch powerful motives to attach him to life.

By this time Great-Britain and France had mutually declared war againſt each other; and hoſtilities were therefore carried on in almoſt every quarter of the globe. In America the forts of Oſwego and Ontario were taken by the French, under the marquis de Montcalm, notwithſtanding all the efforts of lord Loudon, who commanded the Engliſh forces in that part of the world. In the Eaſt-Indies, Calcutta was taken by the nabob of Bengal, a cruel tyrant, who ſhut up the Engliſh garriſon, amounting to 146 perſons, in a ſmall

room of about eighteen feet ſquare, called the Black-hole. To deſcribe all the various ſpecies of miſery which theſe unhappy people ſuffered, would be ſhocking even to the leaſt delicate humanity. Suffice it to ſay, that before the priſon-door was opened, not leſs than 123 of them had periſhed for want of freſh air and water. The loſs, however, ſuſtained upon this occaſion, was, in ſome meaſure, compenſated by the reduction of Geriah, the reſidence of the famous pirate Angria, which was taken by admiral Watſon, and the gallant colonel Clive. Calcutta too was ſoon after recovered from the enemy. As all fears of an invaſion had now ſubſided, the Heſſians and Hanoverians were ſent back to their own country; and, in order to prevent the neceſſity of any ſuch foreign aid for the future, in caſe the French ſhould actually preſume to make a deſcent upon this iſland, a militia bill was immediately paſſed, by which the number of militia men for England and Wales was fixed at 32,340.

THE war, though in the main ſucceſsful, had not hitherto been carried on with ſo much ſpirit and activity, as the liberal ſupplies, which the parliament granted, intitled the people to expect. This was, in a great meaſure, owing to the difference of opinion that prevailed among the miniſters, ſome of whom were for embarking in a continental war without reſerve, while others loudly declaimed againſt all continental connexions. Mr. Pitt, in particular, who now filled the office of ſecretary of ſtate, is ſaid to have declared, that, with his conſent, not a man, not even half a man, ſhould ever be ſent from this country to Germany. For this oppoſition to the ſentiments of his colleagues, and no doubt to the inclinations of his ſovereign, he was deprived of
A. D. 1757. his office, as was likewiſe Mr. Legge, who occupied the poſt of chancellor of the exchequer. Such, however, was the popularity of theſe two gentlemen, that the whole nation ſeemed to riſe up in vindication of their honour. The city of London, and moſt of the corporations in the kingdom, preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, in golden boxes. In a word, the popular clamour became ſo loud and ſo general, that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reſtored to their places; and the former, in a little time, either from a conviction of the abſurdity of his opinion, or perhaps from a deſire of gratifying his ſovereign, not only engaged in continental connexions, but even proſecuted them to a much greater height that any of his predeceſſors had ever preſumed to do.

THIS ſummer an expedition was undertaken againſt the coaſt of France. The fleet conſiſted of eighteen ſhips of the line;

line; the land-forces of ten regiments of foot. The former was commanded by ſir Edward Hawke; the latter by ſir John Mordaunt. The deſign miſcarried; the army having done nothing but demoliſh a fort in the little iſland of Aix. Sir John Mordaunt was tried for his conduct in this enterprize, and acquitted. This year, however, was diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral gallant actions, performed by the commanders of ſingle veſſels. Captain Death, in the Terrible privateer, maintained a deſperate engagement with a French ſhip of much ſuperior force, called the Vengeance privateer of St. Maloe's. Captain Death was killed, with all his crew, (amounting to 200 men) except 26, who were grievouſly wounded. The crew of the French ſhip met with nearly the ſame fate. Captain Gilchriſt likewiſe, in the Southampton man of war, fought five French privateers with the moſt undaunted courage.

As the king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding his gallantry and heroiſm, by which he has rendered his name immortal, inſtead of being able to protect Hanover, was not even in a condition to ſecure his own dominions from the united attacks of the French, the Auſtrians, the Swedes and Ruſſians, an army of obſervation was now formed for the defence of the electorate, which the French were preparing to invade. This army, conſiſting of thirty-ſeven battalions, and thirty-four ſquadrons was commanded by the duke of Cumberland: the French army, amounting to ſeventy battalions, and forty ſquadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, was conducted firſt by marſhal D'Etrees, and afterwards by the duke de Richlieu. The enemy attacked his royal highneſs in his paſſage over the Weſer, but were repulſed with ſome loſs. They afterwards fought him in a pitched battle at Haſtenbeck, where they laid claim to the victory. His royal highneſs retreated with a view to cover Bremen and Verden; and to keep open the communication with Stadt, whither the archives of Hanover had been removed. At laſt he was hemmed in, in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to agree to the famous convention of Cloſter-Seven, for ſecuring the neutrality of Hanover; by which the allied forces laid down their arms, and were diſtributed into quarters of cantonment. This treaty was very little agreeable either to the king or the miniſtry of England; and accordingly the duke, upon his return from abroad, met with ſo cold a reception, that he threw up in diſguſt all his military employments.

The French, however, themſelves were not very ſtrict in obſerving the conditions of the treaty they had made, or rather dictated. On the contrary, they ſoon began to vio-

late them in the moſt ſcandalous manner; upon which the allied forces reſumed their arms under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; and this accompliſhed general, in conjunction with his nephew, the hereditary prince, expelled the French entirely from the electorate of Hanover. Upon their retreat from that city, the duke de Randan, the French governor, with a generoſity truly noble, inſtead of burning his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, cauſed it either to be ſold at a low price, or diſtributed gratis among the poor inhabitants.

In America M. de Montcalm took fort William Henry, where the moſt ſhocking barbarities were committed by the Indians in the French ſervice. In the Eaſt-Indies, colonel Clive, aſſiſted by admiral Watſon, depoſed Sourajah Dowla, nabob of Bengal, and advanced Jaffier Ali Khan in his place. By this revolution the Eaſt-India company, Mr. Clive, and all the officers, gained immenſe riches. Soon after, admiral Watſon dying, was ſucceeded in the command by rear-admiral Pococke.

A. D. 1758. The enſuing year, as uſual, was diſtinguiſhed by a number of brave and heroic exploits performed by the commanders of ſingle veſſels. Theſe are perhaps better teſts of the ſpirit and intrepidity of the officers and ſailors, than even the iſſue of great battles, upon which the fate of the nation more immediately depends; and therefore, for the honour of thoſe who achieved them, they ought not totally to be paſſed over in ſilence. Captain Lockart, of the Tartar man of war, took a great number of French privateers; for which he was rewarded with a ſplendid piece of plate by the merchants of London, and with a gold cup by thoſe of Briſtol. It is remarkable of this officer, that he always attacked privateers, and never trading or merchant ſhips; from whence we may conclude, that glory, and not gain, was the object of his ambition. The Foudroyant man of war, with the French admiral Du Queſne on board, was taken by the gallant captain Gardener, of the Monmouth, who loſt his life in the engagement. But the joy, ariſing from theſe and the like ſucceſſes, was conſiderably damped by the terrible diſaſter that befel the Prince George man of war, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick. She was burnt in her paſſage to the Mediterranean. The admiral, the captain, and about 300 of the crew, were ſaved; but 500 of them periſhed miſerably in the ocean.

This ſummer an expedition was undertaken againſt the coaſt of France. The fleet was commanded by the admirals Anſon

Anſon and Hawke, and commodore Howe: the land-forces by the duke of Marlborough. The troops were landed at Cancalle, near St. Maloe's. They were too weak to reduce the town; but they deſtroyed about 100 ſail of ſhipping in the harbour. Soon after, another deſcent was made upon the French coaſt. The land-forces were commanded by general Bligh; the fleet by commodore Howe, with whom prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, entered himſelf as a volunteer, in order to learn the rudiments of the ſea-ſervice. The troops were landed at Cherburg, where they deſtroyed its baſon and fortifications, and burnt all the ſhips in the harbour. They likewiſe took about twenty pieces of braſs cannon, which were expoſed to the view of the populace in Hyde-park, and afterwards depoſited in the tower of London. The fleet then ſailed towards St. Maloe's, and the troops landed in the neighbourhood of that place. They penetrated a good way into the country; but being attacked, while they were re-embarking at St. Cas, by the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, about 600 of them were killed, and 400 taken priſoners. Among the former were ſir John Armitage, of Yorkſhire, and general Dury, who, being dangerouſly wounded, ran into the ſea, where he periſhed.

In Africa, the Engliſh took Senegal and Goree. The conqueſt of the former was originally projected by Mr. Cumming, a quaker; and though of a profeſſion, the votaries of which have always been remarkable for their averſion to war, Mr. Cumming had even the ſpirit to ſuperintend the expedition. The latter was reduced by commodore Keppel. In the Eaſt-Indies, admiral Pococke beat M. d'Apché, the French commodore; but fort St. David's was taken by the enemy under Mr. Lally.

In North America, Louiſburgh was beſieged by the Engliſh. The fleet was commanded by admiral Boſcawen; the land-forces, by general Amherſt. The place ſurrendered on the twenty-ſeventh of July; and the garriſon, conſiſting of 5637 men, were made priſoners of war. Five ſhips of the line were deſtroyed in the harbour, and one taken. The Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in other parts of America. General Abercrombie advanced towards Ticonderago, in his march to which the gallant lord Howe was ſlain. He attacked the French entrenchments at that place, but with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that he was obliged to retire with the loſs of 1800 men. He afterwards diſpatched colonel Bradſtreet, with about 3000 provincials, againſt fort Frontiniac, which that officer took, and demoliſhed. In another quarter, general Forbes marched againſt fort du Queſne, which the French, imme-

immediately on his approach, abandoned. Having changed the name of the place into Pittſburgh, in honour of Mr. Secretary Pitt, he returned to Philadelphia, where he ſoon after died, his conſtitution having been broken by the fatigue of the expedition.

A. D. 1759. By this time the Engliſh arms had acquired ſuch a ſuperiority over thoſe of France in almoſt every quarter of the globe, that nothing could withſtand them. The ſquadron of M. de la Clue was defeated near Gibraltar, by the brave admiral Boſcawen, who took three ſhips of the line, and deſtroyed two others. But the moſt ſignal defeat, which the enemy ſuſtained, was that given them by the gallant admiral Hawke, who, on the twentieth of November, attacked their fleet under M. de Conflans; took or ſunk ſix of their capital ſhips; forced ſeven of them up the river Vilaine; and entirely diſperſed the reſt. This was one of the moſt glorious naval victories, that ever was gained in any war, or by any admiral. It defeated an invaſion, which the French intended to have made upon Great-Britain; and it gave a finiſhing blow to the navy of France. Sir Edward Hawke received the thanks of both houſes of parliament; a penſion of 2000 pounds a year was ſettled upon him and his two ſons; and he was afterwards, for this and his other eminent ſervices, very deſervedly advanced to the peerage.

In the Weſt-Indies, commodore Moore and general Barrington reduced the iſland of Guadaloupe, together with thoſe of Deſeada, Los Santos, and Marigalante. In America, Ticonderago and Crown Point were taken by general Amherſt; and Niagara by ſir William Johnſon, who defeated the French in a pitched battle. The moſt important conqueſt, however, that was made this campaign, and indeed during the whole courſe of the war, was that of Quebec, the capital of the French empire in North America; which was taken in September by the heroic general Wolfe, who loſt his life on the occaſion. General Monckton, the ſecond in command, was dangerouſly wounded. The place ſurrendered to general Townſhend. The death of general Wolfe was lamented in England as a national loſs; and a vote was paſſed in the houſe of commons, for erecting a monument to his memory in Weſtminſter-Abbey, which has accordingly been ſince done.

Though prince Ferdinand had had the good fortune to drive the French from the electorate of Hanover, he had not yet been able to expel them the empire, and he therefore continued to watch all their motions with the ſtricteſt attention.

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In the beginning of this year he fought a drawn battle with them in the neighbourhood of Bergen, where the prince of Iſenburgh loſt his life. He afterwards, on the firſt of Auguſt, attacked, at Minden, their whole army, commanded by marſhal Contades; and, after a fierce and obſtinate diſpute, obtained over it a complete victory. The enemy are ſaid to have loſt about 10,000 men in this battle; and their loſs would probably have been greater, had it not been for a circumſtance that ſtill remains in obſcurity, and perhaps may never be cleared up. Lord George Sackville was at the head of the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe. When prince Ferdinand ſaw the enemy's ranks begin to break, he ſent orders to lord George to advance with the cavalry, thinking that if he did ſo, he ſhould be able to throw the French into irretrievable confuſion. Lord George, however, either not underſtanding, or pretending not to underſtand, theſe orders, neglected to obey them; in conſequence of which the enemy were enabled to make a much more regular retreat than they could otherwiſe have done. Lord George was afterwards tried by a court martial for his behaviour on this occaſion, and being found guilty, was declared incapable of ſerving his majeſty, for the future, in any military capacity.

It may not be improper to mention, that a French partizan, of the name of Thurot, had for ſome time infeſted the weſtern coaſts of England and Scotland, where he had made a great many captures; though it muſt be owned, to his honour, that he always treated his priſoners with the greateſt humanity. In the beginning of the ſubſequent year, he made a deſcent upon Ireland *A. D.* 1760. with about 6000 men. He took Carrickfergus, and raiſed contributions. He then re-embarked his troops, and ſet ſail for France with three frigates, which compoſed his whole fleet; but being attacked, near the Iſle of Man, by captain Elliot, with the ſame number of frigates, Thurot was killed, and all his ſhips taken.

Though the power of the French may be truly ſaid to have been quite broke in North America by the reduction of Quebec, yet they had not loſt that bold and enterprizing ſpirit, for which they have ever been remarkable. They now made an attempt to recover that important fortreſs, which was defended only by a ſmall garriſon under general Murray. In this, however, they were happily diſappointed. The general marched out, and gave them battle; and though he was worſted in the engagement, he yet compelled them, in a very little time, to abandon the enterprize. In the month of September, general Amherſt reduced the town and

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iſland of Montreal, and thus completed the conqueſt of all Canada. Hence he has been ſometimes dignified with the title of Conqueror of America. But as Americus Veſpucius gave his name to the new world, though he certainly had no claim to the original diſcovery of it, the merit of which was entirely due to Columbus; ſo it may be affirmed, that the title of conqueror of America more properly belongs to general Wolfe, than to general, now lord Amherſt, as from the taking of Quebec, which Wolfe reduced, the French had it evidently not in their power to make any farther reſiſtance to the Britiſh arms in that part of the world. In a word, general Wolfe may be ſaid to have reaped the full harveſt of glory in America; general Amherſt only came in for the gleanings.

In the Eaſt-Indies, colonel Coote reduced Pondicherry, and obliged M. Lally, the French governor, to ſurrender himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war. Nothing of any conſequence happened this year in Germany between the French troops and the allied army, except the battle of Warbourg, in which the former were defeated with the loſs of about 1500 men killed, and as many wounded.

As his majeſty had given, in the earlier part of his life, undoubted proofs of his military proweſs, he may be ſuppoſed to have enjoyed, with peculiar pleaſure, the many ſtriking inſtances he now ſaw of the ſame heroic virtue in his ſubjects. Indeed, viewing his character in this light, he may be pronounced to be the happieſt monarch that ever ſat upon the Britiſh throne, and to have actually expired in the arms of victory; for on the 25th of October, without having diſcovered any preceding ſymptoms of illneſs, he was ſuddenly cut off in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He had riſen at his uſual hour, called his page, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as if anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; ſoon after which he fell ſpeechleſs on the ground, and being laid on his bed, expired in a few minutes. The immediate cauſe of his death was the rupture of the ſubſtance of the right ventricle of the heart, as the ſurgeons found upon opening his body; and by this the circulation was inſtantly ſtopped.

The character of king George the ſecond, like that of all other men, will appear in a very different light, according to the paſſions or prejudices of thoſe by whom it is drawn; and it is a melancholy, though at the ſame time an undoubted truth, that few hiſtorians are poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength of mind to be able to riſe ſuperior to theſe unworthy motives. The beſt way of forming a juſt eſtimate either of the abili-

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ties of his head or the qualities of his heart ſeems to be by carefully peruſing the tranſactions of his reign; and from theſe it will appear, that, if he was not a man of lively parts, he was certainly endued with a ſound underſtanding; and, if not very remarkable for the practice of the more popular or ſplendid virtues, he was never known to be deficient in thoſe of a more ſolid and ſubſtantial nature. If he was rarely generous, he was never unjuſt; and if not very forward in granting the requeſts of thoſe who applied to him for favours, he was never known to make a promiſe of this kind that he did not faithfully perform. Beſides, he conſidered, that generoſity in a prince, is, in moſt caſes, ſo far from being a virtue, that it actually partakes of the nature of a vice; ſince all the money he beſtows upon a few worthleſs, or even deſerving favourites, muſt be ultimately taken from the pockets of the people. His perſon was ſomewhat below the middle ſize; but he was well ſhaped and ſtraight, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high noſe, and a fair complexion. His temper is ſaid to have been rather violent; but this, though it influenced his private behaviour, made no impreſſion on his public conduct, which was always ſufficiently deliberate, and attentive to his own intereſts, and thoſe of his ſubjects.

GEORGE the ſecond had, by his queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who arrived at the age of maturity, viz. Frederick, prince of Wales, father to his preſent majeſty; William, duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs royal, married to the prince of Orange; Mary, landgravine of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, afterwards queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

THE moſt celebrated writers that flouriſhed in England during this reign were Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, Leland, Conybeare, Warburton, and Foſter, learned divines; Maclaurin, Stuart, and the two Simpſons, excellent mathematicians; Huxham, and Pringle, ſkilful phyſicians; Hunter, Monro, Cheſelden, and Sharpe, ingenious anatomiſts. The moſt eminent poets were Young, Thomſon, Akenſide, Armſtrong, Glover, Wilkie, Brown, Mallet, Home, Cibber, Hoadley (ſon of the divine), Maſon, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons. The earl of Orrery and lord Lyttleton diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their literary productions. The moſt remarkable hiſtorians were Guthrie, Ralph, Carte, Smollet, Robertſon, and Hume. Johnſon rendered himſelf famous by his dictionary of the Engliſh language, and his admirable eſſays in the Rambler. The principal novel writers were Fielding, Smollet, and Richardſon; the laſt

laſt of whom, particularly in his Clariſſa and Grandiſon, diſcovers a ſurpriſing knowledge of human nature, and command over the paſſions. The art of muſick was ſucceſsfully cultivated by Handel, Geminiani, Green, Howard, Arne, and Boyce. The moſt noted painters were Hogarth, Hudſon, Reynolds, Ramſay, Pine, Wooton, Weſt, Seymour, Lambert, Scot, and the two Smiths. Many fair monuments of ſculpture or ſtatuary were raiſed by Ryſbach, Roubilliac, and Wilton.

To this hiſtory of the reign of George the ſecond we ſhall ſubjoin a few of the detached events that happened in the courſe of it.

In 1732, Richard Norton, of Hampſhire, eſq. left his real eſtate of 6000 pounds a year, and a perſonal eſtate of 60,000 pounds, to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes by the parliament.

In conſequence of an act, paſſed in 1736, Weſtminſter-bridge was begun to be built about two years after, and was finiſhed in 1750. The whole expence amounted to 380,000 pounds, which was defrayed by the parliament.

On the 25th of October, the firſt ſtone of the manſion-houſe, for the reſidence of the lord-mayor of London, was laid by Micajah Perry, who then filled the chair. The ſame year Mr. Whitfield's followers made their firſt appearance, under the name of Methodiſts.

The cloſe of the year 1739, and the beginning of 1740, were diſtinguiſhed by as ſevere a froſt as had ever been known in England. The Thames was froze over; and was covered with ſhops and carriages. Fowls and fiſhes were found frozen to death. Many poor people periſhed through the extremity of the cold; and as the price of proviſions was exceſſively high, many more muſt have periſhed of hunger, had they not been relieved by the benevolence of the rich, who ſupplied their wants with the utmoſt generoſity. The Foundling-hoſpital was erected in 1739, and opened for the reception of children in 1740.

In 1744 the Victory man of war, of 110 guns, commanded by ſir John Balchen, and eſteemed the fineſt firſt-rate in the world, was caſt away on the coaſt of Alderney; and the admiral himſelf, with all his crew, amounting to 1100 choice ſeamen, 100 of whom were volunteers and gentlemen of fortune, periſhed in the ocean. The ſame year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of the celebrated poet, Mr. Pope, and of Sarah, the old ducheſs of Marlborough; the former of whom died in June; the latter, in October, aged 85.

In the beginning of 1745, died the famous ſir Robert Walpole,

Walpole, earl of Orford, who had occupied the two important places of firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer, for the ſpace of twenty years; and though he had had, during ſo long a time, the management of the public treaſure, yet were his circumſtances far from being affluent. If, therefore, he was rapacious, as his enemies gave out, he does not appear to have been niggardly, as he retained ſo little to himſelf.

In 1752 the new ſtile was introduced into Great-Britain; by which eleven days were ſtruck out of the calendar, the third of September being counted the fourteenth.

In 1753 ſir Hans Sloane's collection of curioſities, together with his library, was purchaſed by the public for 20,000 pounds, and the Harleian collection of manuſcripts for 10,000 pounds. Theſe two, being joined to the Cottonian and royal libraries, were converted into the Muſeum, which is now to be ſeen at Montague-houſe, under the direction of its truſtees and governors.

This year is likewiſe remarkable for the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety of arts, manufactures, and commerce; an excellent and patrotic inſtitution, which has already produced, and, it is hoped, will continue to produce the greateſt national advantages.

In order to put a ſtop to the horrid practice of robbery and murder, which was then very prevalent, a police, or plan of civil government, was eſtabliſhed in 1754, conſiſting, not in the exerciſe of arbitrary power, but in the ſtrict execution of laws already in force. This plan was drawn up by the celebrated Henry Fielding, and has ſince been happily executed by his brother and ſucceſſor, ſir John Fielding, and others.

In January 1757, one Damien, an obſcure fellow, who appears to have been diſordered in his ſenſes, ſtabbed the French king in the breaſt with a knife. The wound did not prove mortal; but Damien was put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures.

In May 1758 was inſtituted, upon a plan drawn up by ſir John Fielding, the Aſylum, or houſe of refuge, near Weſtminſter-bridge, for orphan girls, from the age of ten to thirteen years, reſiding within the bills of mortality, whoſe ſettlements cannot be found. And in Auguſt following, was opened the Magdalen-houſe, in Preſcot-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, now removed to St. George's-fields, for the reception of penitent proſtitutes. About the ſame time a conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of his Portugueſe majeſty, who,

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on the night of September the third, was attacked by two ruffians, and dangerously wounded.

In May 1760, Laurence Shirley, earl Ferrers, was hanged at Tyburn, for the murder of Mr. Johnson, his steward. There is no country in the world, where the life, the liberty, and the property of the subject are so well secured as in England. In most other countries, the murder of a common man by one of the nobility would be passed over as a trivial occurrence: at least, ways would be fallen upon to prevent any very serious inquiry into the matter, and, at all events, to screen the delinquent from the punishment due to his enormity; but in England the life of the meanest subject is as sacred, in the eye of the law, as that of the first nobleman in the kingdom, and the taking it away is as severely punished.

Towards the end of this year, the new bridge over the Thames, at Black-friars, began to be built: it was finished in 1770, and cost the sum of 152,840 pounds, which has since been discharged by a toll.

CHAP. XXXIX.

GEORGE III.

A. D. 1760. THE accession of king George the third, who succeeded his grandfather in the twenty-third year of his age, was the more acceptable to the nation, as he was the first prince of the Brunswick line that had been born in the island, and consequently was regarded as a native; a circumstance, which, however trivial in itself, is sometimes apt to make a much stronger impression upon the minds of the people than matters of infinitely greater importance. King James the first was not a native of England; yet was he certainly a much better sovereign, than either of his grandsons, Charles the second, or James the second, both of whom were born in this country; for as to his son and immediate successor Charles the first, neither was he born in England. King William too was born abroad; yet no candid or impartial man will deny, that he was upon the whole an excellent sovereign. His majesty, however, or more properly speaking, his ministers, by whose advice he acted, wisely took advantage of this popular prejudice; and in his first speech to the parliament, he made use of the following, among other, expressions—"Born and educated in this country,

country, I glory in the name of Briton. The civil and religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me, with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue."

In return for theſe gracious ſentiments, the parliament ſettled the annual ſum of 800,000 pounds on the king for his civil liſt, that is, for the ſupport of his houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of his crown; and this grant they ordered to continue in force during his majeſty's reign. The whole ſupply for the ſervice of the enſuing year amounted to 19,616,119l. 19s. 9¼d. an immenſe ſum! greater by far than this nation had ever raiſed before; greater than any but a free and commercial nation could poſſibly raiſe; and yet perhaps not at all greater than the various, important, and extenſive military operations we were then carrying on demanded.

As his majeſty was reſtrained, by the act of ſettlement, from marrying a Roman catholic, he was obliged to look out for a conſort among the proteſtant princes of Europe; and as none of the great ſovereigns of that perſuaſion had then any daughters of a ſuitable age, he found it neceſſary to ſearch the courts of the petty princes of Germany; and he accordingly choſe for his future ſpouſe a ſiſter of the duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, the ſovereign of a ſmall but independent ſtate in the north-weſtern part of the empire. In this reſpect princes are more unhappy than their ſubjects. The latter may pleaſe their own taſte in the choice of a wife; the former muſt ſacrifice their particular taſte to the welfare of their people: but this is no more than the tax which they both do and ought to pay for their greatneſs. It would be mortifying, indeed, to the reſt of mankind, if while ſovereigns enjoy all the advantages of power, ſplendour and affluence, they were to be freed from the inconveniences inſeparably attached to their elevated ſtation. The princeſs was immediately brought over to England: the nuptials were celebrated on the eighth of September; and the coronation was performed with great pomp and magnificence on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month. *A. D.* 1761.

Nothing of any conſequence happened this year in Europe, except a victory which prince Ferdinand gained over the French army at Kirch-Denckern, where the enemy loſt about 5000 men. In the Eaſt Indies, Jaffier Ali Cawn, nabob of Bengal, was depoſed; and his ſon-in-law, Coſſim Ali Cawn, advanced in his room.

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THE Spaniards acted nearly the ſame part towards the latter end of this war, as they did afterwards in that between us and the Americans. They affected at firſt to be entirely neuter; but it was abundantly evident to all men of ſenſe, that they were extremely partial to the French nation. They even entered into a ſecret alliance (known by the name of the family compact) with that ambitious people, by which all the branches of the Bourbon family were knit together, and by which they engaged mutually to aſſiſt each other in all their wars, either offenſive or defenſive. This was what the patriots foreſaw, and indeed foretold, as the infallible conſequence of the treaty of Utrecht, at the time of concluding that pacification. The tories, indeed, affected to laugh at it as an imaginary evil; but time has ſhewn, that the ſuſpicions of the patriots, or (which was then the ſame thing) the whigs, were but too well founded. Theſe ſecret manœuvres of the French and Spaniſh courts did not eſcape the obſervation of Mr. Pitt, who was as remarkable for his political ſagacity as for his other eminent qualities. He plainly perceived, that the latter only waited for a favourable opportunity of taking England by ſurprize, and then declaring war againſt her in form. He therefore reſolved to be beforehand with them, and he accordingly propoſed that a fleet ſhould be ſent into the Mediterranean, in order to intercept the Spaniſh flota, or ſtrike ſome other blow of importance, in caſe the miniſtry of Spain refuſed to give inſtant ſatisfaction to the court of Great Britain. In this propoſal, however, he had not the good fortune to be ſeconded by any member of the cabinet except by earl Temple; upon which both he and that nobleman threw up their places; the former, as ſecretary of ſtate; the latter, as privy-ſeal. This, in all probability, was the very point which the other miniſters aimed at. They had long been mortified by the ſuperiority which Mr. Pitt aſſumed over them, and they were therefore glad to get rid of an aſſociate, who, by means of his popularity and the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, had acquired an aſcendancy in parliament, and even in the council, that, in ſome meaſure, annihilated the hereditary influence of all the oldeſt, moſt wealthy, and moſt powerful families in the kingdom. That a man, however, who had ſo long conducted the affairs of the public with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, might not be allowed to retire from office without ſome mark of royal as well as national gratitude, a penſion of 3000 pounds a year was ſettled upon him for three lives; and at the ſame time a title was conferred upon his lady, who was created baroneſs Chatham.

IT is natural to think, that the other miniſters muſt have been

been almoſt as fully convinced, as even Mr. Pitt himſelf, of the inſidious deſigns of the Spaniſh court; for theſe, indeed, were now become ſo glaring, that they could hardly be concealed from any body. The earl of Briſtol, therefore, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, was ordered to demand a communication of the family-compact; or, at leaſt, a declaration, that it contained nothing prejudicial to Great Britain; or, in the laſt reſort, an aſſurance, that Spain had no intention of taking part with France in the preſent war. But to all theſe demands he met with a flat refuſal: the earl, therefore, left Spain in the month of December, and war was declared againſt that nation in the beginning of the enſuing year.

THE old parliament being now diſſolved, and a new one elected, ſir John Cuſt, member for Grantham in Lincolnſhire, was choſen ſpeaker of the lower houſe, in the room of Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long and ſo worthily filled the chair. The principal act of this ſeſſion was the ſettling an annuity of 100,000 pounds, together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe, (afterwards changed for Buckingham-houſe) and the lodge and lands of Richmond old park, upon the queen during her life, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty. The ſupply for the ſervice of the current year amounted to 18,299,153l. 18s. 11½d. *A. D.* 1762.

FROM the time of Mr. Pitt's reſignation, and indeed from the very commencement of this reign, a cry had been raiſed and induſtriouſly kept up, that the king was ſtrongly inclined to favouritiſm, and particularly that he was unreaſonably attached to the earl of Bute, who was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a larger ſhare of his ſovereign's good will than any other nobleman. No motive, it was ſaid, but ſuch a partiality, could poſſibly be aſſigned for appointing him one of the ſecretaries of ſtate in the room of the earl of Holderneſs, eſpecially as his lordſhip, though a man of learning and even of abilities, had never diſcovered the leaſt turn or talent for politics; had rarely attended the upper houſe, of which he was a member, as one of the ſixteen Scottiſh peers; and had hardly even opened his mouth in it.

WHATEVER foundation there might have been for this report, there ſeems to have been ſome better ground for another opinion that was propagated, viz. that a ſtrong prejudice had been conceived againſt thoſe who were intruſted with the direction of public affairs towards the latter end of the preceding reign, and particularly againſt the Pelham family. A reſolution therefore, it is affirmed, was now taken to get rid of that family and all its connections. The duke of Newcaſtle, accordingly, was made ſo uneaſy in his ſituation, that he reſigned his poſt of firſt lord of the treaſury, which was immediately beſtowed

ſtowed upon the earl of Bute; and this laſt appointment tended ſtill farther to confirm the people in the opinion they entertained of the king's partiality towards his lordſhip.

UNPOPULAR, however, as theſe meaſures might ſeem to be, and undoubtedly were, the war ſtill continued to be carried on with the ſame vigour and ſucceſs as formerly. The ſpirit of the people was now fully arouzed. They had been ſo long accuſtomed to victory and conqueſt, that they thought no undertaking exceeded their ability; and the parliament was in the habit of granting ſuch ſupplies as were equal to the execution of any enterprize. Two expeditions were now undertaken againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements; the one againſt the Havannah in the gulf of Mexico, the other againſt Manila in the Eaſt Indies; and both of them were crowned with the moſt complete ſucceſs. In that againſt the Havannah, the fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, was commanded by admiral Pococke; the land forces, amounting to 14,000 men, were conducted by the earl of Albemarle. The troops landed in the iſland on the ſeventh day of June; the trenches were opened on the firſt of July; and the place ſurrendered on the thirteenth of Auguſt. The treaſure and merchandize, found in the town, was valued at three millions ſterling; not to mention nine ſhips of the line, which were likewiſe taken. The expedition againſt Manila proved equally ſucceſsful. Admiral Corniſh commanded the fleet; general Draper, the army. The troops were debarked on the twenty-fourth of September; the place was inveſted in a few days after; and on the ſixth of October it was taken by ſtorm. The town was ranſomed for a million ſterling. A large galleon, valued at half that ſum, and bound from Manila to Acapulco in America, was likewiſe taken.

THIS was the laſt conqueſt made by the Engliſh during this very extenſive war; one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful wars, that ever was carried on in any age or by any nation. In the ſpace of ſeven years, ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of the whole continent of North America: ſhe had conquered twenty-five iſlands, all of them diſtinguiſhable for their magnitude, their riches, or the importance of their ſituation: ſhe had won, by ſea and land, twelve great battles: ſhe had reduced nine fortified cities and towns, and near forty forts and caſtles: ſhe had deſtroyed or taken above an hundred ſhips of war from her enemies; and acquired, as is ſuppoſed, about twelve millions in plunder. Uncommon, however, as were her ſucceſſes, ſhe was far from being averſe to a peace. The grand object, for which the war had been originally undertaken, the ſecurity of our American colonies, was now fully accompliſhed.

ed. Her ſupplies of money, however great, were by no means equal to her expences; and ſhe began to feel a ſenſible deficiency in her ſupplies of men, which were not procured but with ſome difficulty, and at a heavy charge. The other belligerent powers, for more ſolid and ſubſtantial reaſons, were ſtill more pacifically inclined. The navy of France was almoſt annihilated; and her dominions were exhauſted of men and money. Spain had nothing to hope, but every thing to fear, from a continuance of hoſtilities; and Portugal, who had lately been drawn into the quarrel, and attacked by the Bourbon family, was in a ſtill worſe condition. All parties, therefore, concurring in theſe pacific ſentiments, conferences for a peace were opened at Paris; and after ſome negociation, it was finally concluded on the tenth of February. Great Britain received Florida in exchange for the Havannah. She retained Canada, Cape Breton, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, the Grenades, and Senegal on the coaſt of Africa; but ſhe reſtored all her other conqueſts. A peace was ſoon after concluded at Hubertſburgh between the empreſs queen of Hungary and his Pruſſian majeſty; and thus the general tranquillity of Europe was happily re-eſtabliſhed. At the concluſion of the war the national debt of Great Britain amounted to about one hundred and forty-eight millions; the annual intereſt to little leſs than five millions. *A. D.* 1763.

THOUGH lord Bute poſſeſſed ſo large a ſhare of the royal favour, he had never been able to gain the confidence of the public. They ſtill regarded him with a jealous eye, as a man who had been raiſed to his preſent high ſtation, not as a reward of his former ſervices, nor from any proof he had given of his talents for ſuch an office, but merely from an opinion (perhaps well founded) which his majeſty had formed of his virtue and ability. He had been, from his firſt introduction into power, becoming every day more unpopular; and a tax, which he now ventured to lay upon cyder, ſerved at laſt to complete his downfall. He reſigned his place as firſt lord of the treaſury in the month of April, and was ſucceeded by Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple.

THE terms of the peace, though approved by the parliament, and by a great part of the nation, did not appear to give general ſatisfaction. They were violently attacked in ſeveral periodical writings; particularly in a paper called the North Briton, conducted, it is ſaid, and principally compoſed by Mr. Wilkes, member of parliament for Ayleſbury, a man of wit and ſpirit, originally born to a very competent fortune, which he had diſſipated by his extravagance, and who now ſeems

to have engaged in the war of politics merely with a view of bettering his private circumſtances. This gentleman having, in Number 45 of the North Briton, attacked the king's ſpeech to the parliament with an indecent freedom, the miniſters thought they could not paſs it over in ſilence. A general warrant was therefore iſſued for taking up the authors, printers, and publiſhers of that paper. In conſequence of this, Mr. Wilkes was ſeized and committed to the Tower. Several innocent printers were at the ſame time apprehended; but they afterwards brought their actions againſt the meſſengers who had ſeized them, and obtained conſiderable damages. Mr. Wilkes too, upon bringing his *habeas corpus* before the court of Common-pleas, was releaſed from the Tower by a deciſion of that court, the judges of which unanimouſly declared, that privilege of parliament extended to the caſe of writing a libel.

THE houſe of commons, however, were of a different opinion. They reſolved, that Number 45 of the North Briton was a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and that privilege of parliament did not extend to the caſe of writing ſuch a libel. The lords alſo concurred in this reſolution; though not without a violent debate, a proteſt being entered againſt it by ſeventeen peers. As a farther proof of their diſpleaſure, the two houſes ordered the North Briton to be burnt at the Royal-exchange by the hands of the common hangman; and this order was accordingly executed, though not without ſome difficulty and danger.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe vigorous proceedings, Mr. Wilkes commenced an action, in the court of Common-pleas, againſt Mr. Wood, under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers, and a verdict was given in his favour with a thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit. A ſtop, however, was put to the progreſs of this affair by an unfortunate accident. Mr. Wilkes having, in the courſe of his writings, reflected, with great ſeverity, upon Mr. Martin, a member of parliament, and late ſecretary to the treaſury, a duel enſued between theſe two gentlemen, when Mr. Wilkes was dangerouſly wounded in the belly with a piſtol-bullet. He had no ſooner recovered than he retired into France. In a *A. D.* 1764. little time after he was expelled the houſe of commons. A complaint was likewiſe exhibited againſt him in the upper houſe for affixing the name of the learned Dr. Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, to a book, full of indecent and obſcene ribaldry, which book Mr. Wilkes had privately printed, and diſperſed among his friends. The peers proceeded againſt him for breach of privilege; while he was indicted in the courts below for blaſphemy. And now expelled

expelled by one houſe; under the cenſure of the other; under a double proſecution for a libel and for blaſphemy, he began to be abandoned even by many of his warmeſt friends. In a few months after, he was run to an outlawry for not appearing to the indictments againſt him; and the ſuits, which he had commenced againſt the ſecretaries of ſtate, fell of courſe to the ground. General warrants were afterwards declared to be illegal by a reſolution of both houſes; and this, indeed, ſeems to be the chief advantage reſulting from this violent diſpute between Mr. Wilkes and the miniſtry.

In the beginning of this year the princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, was married at St. James's to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. Her portion was 80,000 pounds. This connection gave great ſatisfaction to the nation in general, who looked upon it as the means of ſtill farther ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt. About the ſame time a noble legacy was left to the univerſity of Cambridge. Sir Jacob Gerard Downing bequeathed an eſtate of 6000 pounds a year for the purpoſe of building and endowing in it a new college. The legality of this bequeſt was afterwards diſputed by the heir at law; but a deciſion was given in favour of the univerſity.

In the Eaſt Indies, Coſſim Ali Cawn, the new ſubah of Bengal, was depoſed, and Mir Jaffier reſtored to the throne. Major Adams, at the head of the company's forces, defeated thoſe of Mir Coſſim in ſeveral engagements. That ruffian, enraged at his repeated overthrows, and unable to avenge himſelf in the field, iſſued orders for maſſacring all the Britiſh priſoners that were then in his hands. Above forty gentlemen, beſides a great number of perſons of inferior rank, were put to death in the moſt cruel manner. One Somers, a German, a deſerter from the company's ſervice, ſuperintended the execution of this barbarous deed.

That all the members of a ſtate ought to contribute to the expences of its government, in proportion to their abilities, ſeems to be a truth that cannot be diſputed. It is equally certain, that, in a free ſtate, taxes for this purpoſe ſhould be impoſed upon none but thoſe who are either actually or virtually repreſented in the legiſlature of the country. Notwithſtanding this laſt poſition, which appears to be incontrovertible, the Britiſh parliament now ventured to impoſe a ſtamp-duty upon the American colonies, who were certainly not repreſented in the Engliſh houſe of commons. *A. D.* 1765.

They, therefore, conſidered the tax as illegal, and almoſt unanimouſly refuſed to ſubmit to it; and though this act was never ſtrictly enforced, nor the duty intended to be raiſed by it ever

levied, yet it laid the foundation of that unhappy quarrel which afterwards broke out between Great Britain and her colonies, and which finally terminated in the complete ſeparation of thoſe valuable dependencies from the Britiſh crown and nation.

To what cauſe it was owing; whether to an attempt to introduce men into the public offices of the ſtate, that did not poſſeſs the confidence of the nation; or to the rendering the oſtenſible ſervants of the crown ſubject to ſome ſecret influence that directed and controuled all their public motions, and thereby made them reſponſible for meaſures which they never adviſed, and perhaps even diſapproved of, we will not take upon us to determine: certain it is, that the earlier part of this reign was diſtinguiſhed, or rather indeed diſgraced, by a mutability of miniſters, and conſequently of meaſures, that is not to be found in any other period of the Engliſh hiſtory. The Grenville adminiſtration was obliged to make way for that of the marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in the room of Mr. Grenville; and the chief buſineſs of this new miniſtry was to undo all that their predeceſſors had done, particularly repealing the ſtamp and cyder acts; as, on the other hand, all that they now did, was, in its turn, undone by their ſucceſſors in office. Nor was it long before they had the mortification of giving place to ſucceſſors. For

A. D. 1766. the very next year the duke of Grafton was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne, ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the duke of Richmond; lord Camden, lord high chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington; Charles Townſend, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of William Dowdeſwell; and Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham, lord privy ſeal.

The affairs of the Eaſt-India company were, at this time, greatly embarraſſed by the avarice and rapacity of their ſervants; vices, indeed, to which they had always been addicted, but which they now ſeem to have carried to a greater height than ever. Under the ſpecious pretence of preſents, they had got into the habit of extorting large ſums from the princes of the country, by which means the very name of an Engliſhman was become ſo odious, that it was greatly to be feared a general combination of the natives would be formed to expel us from our ſettlements in that part of the world. Lord Clive, therefore, was ſent out to India, in order to put a ſtop to this growing evil, which, upon his arrival there, he effectually did; and ſoon after concluded ſuch an advan-

advantageous treaty with the mogul, as put the company in poſſeſſion of a clear revenue of 1,700,000 pounds a year. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe orders could be executed without giving offence to many of the company's ſervants. They clamoured loudly againſt his lordſhip's proceedings. They ſaid, he ſeemed firmly determined that no one ſhould make a fortune in the eaſt but himſelf. His lordſhip, it is true, had made as large a fortune in Indoſtan as perhaps ever was made there by any other Britiſh or European ſubject; but at the ſame time, in doing ſo, he had performed the moſt ſignal and important ſervices to the company: others, and ſome of them ſprung from the very loweſt ranks of life, have amaſſed princely fortunes in that part of the world; the ſervices they have done, either to their country, or to the Eaſt-India company, are yet to be diſcovered.

THE quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies continued to grow every day more and more violent. An act of parliament had been lately made, enjoining the colonies to furniſh his majeſty's troops with neceſſaries in their quarters. This act the colony of New-York had refuſed to obey; and another act was now therefore paſſed, reſtraining the aſſembly of that province from making any laws until they had complied with the terms of the firſt-mentioned ſtatute. The Americans, on their ſide, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction at this reſtraint by coming to ſome ſevere reſolutions againſt the importation of European, by which they no doubt meant Britiſh, commodities. *A. D.* 1767.

THOUGH it be not the buſineſs of civil hiſtory to give an account of the phenomena of nature, yet an event of the latter kind happened this year in Italy, of ſo ſingular and ſurpriſing a nature, that it would be altogether unpardonable to paſs it over in ſilence. What I allude to is an eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which took place on the nineteenth of October, and is ſaid to have been one of the moſt terrible known in the memory of the oldeſt man living. Stones of an enormous ſize were thrown up from the mouth of the volcano to the height, it is ſuppoſed, of an Engliſh mile, and fell at leaſt half a mile from it. The lava, or river of melted ore, extended in length about ſeven miles; its breadth, in ſome places, was two miles; and its depth in general about forty feet. The king of Sicily and his court were obliged to remove from Portici to Naples; and the aſhes fell in ſuch quantities, even in this laſt city, as to cover the ſtreets and houſes more than an inch deep.

IN the courſe of the next ſeſſion of parliament, which

commenced on the twenty-fourth of November, an attempt was made to paſs a bill, entitled the *Nullum Tempus* bill, the occaſion of which was as follows: the firſt earl of Portland had obtained from king William the third a grant of the manor of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, and the appurtenances thereunto belonging; in which were ſuppoſed to be comprehended the foreſt of Inglewood, and the manor and caſtle of Carliſle. It was now, however, pretended, that neither this foreſt, nor this manor or caſtle, were included in that grant; and upon an application from ſir James Lowther, a leaſe of them for three lives was given to that gentleman by the crown. The Portland family had been poſſeſſed of theſe eſtates for almoſt ſeventy years, and were therefore ſuppoſed to have, if not ſtrictly a legal, at leaſt a preſcriptive right to them. True it is, there was an old maxim in the law, which ſaid *Nullum Tempus occurrit regi*; that is, no length of time or poſſeſſion can be a bar againſt the claims of the crown. But, in order to guard againſt the dangerous uſe which might be made of this principle, an act was paſſed in the reign of James the firſt, ordaining, that the quiet and uninterrupted enjoyment of an eſtate for ſixty years ſhould be a bar to the crown from any right of ſuit to recover it, under pretence of any flaw in the grant, or other defect in the title. This act, however, was only retroſpective; that is, it regarded only grants that had been made before the act took place. The intention, therefore, of the preſent bill was to make it look forward as well as backward, and to eſtabliſh, for the future, a quiet poſſeſſion for ſixty years, as an effectual bar againſt the claims of the crown. The attempt, indeed, miſcarried for the preſent, but it ſucceeded in the following ſeſſion; though a clauſe was inſerted in the bill, which virtually, though not expreſsly, excluded the duke of Portland from deriving any benefit from it. A very popular bill paſſed this winter in Ireland, limiting the duration of parliaments in that kingdom to eight years. Formerly, the Iriſh parliament continued during a whole reign, and as vacancies occaſionally happened, they were filled up by new elections; ſo that the Iriſh had only a new parliament at the acceſſion of a new king, and conſequently, except in the very beginning of the parliament, could hardly be ſaid to have any real repreſentatives at all.

As the natural date of the Britiſh parliament was now near expiring, it was diſſolved in the ſpring, and *A. D.* 1768. writs were iſſued for aſſembling a new one. The elections were carried on with tolerable order in moſt parts of the kingdom, except at Preſton, and a few

few other places, where ſome outrages were committed. Mr. Wilkes, who had remained abroad an outlaw ever ſince the year 1763, now returned home, and even while the outlawry was in full force, offered himſelf a candidate, firſt for the city of London, where he failed, and afterwards for the county of Middleſex, where he ſucceeded, being choſen in preference to ſir William Beauchamp Proctor, one of the former members, by a very great majority. Doubts were at firſt entertained whether an outlaw could be choſen a member of parliament; but ſo many precedents were produced in the affirmative as rendered the legality of the practice altogether indiſputable. Being now ſecure, as he thought, of a ſeat in parliament, Mr. Wilkes ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's-bench, by whom the outlawry was reverſed, and he was ſentenced to ſuffer an impriſonment of two years, and to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds. As he was eſteemed by many perſons as a kind of martyr in the cauſe of public liberty, a ſubſcription was opened by ſome merchants of London, and other gentlemen of property, for paying his fine, ſupporting him while in priſon, and compounding his debts, amounting to above 20,000 pounds; and all theſe purpoſes were, in the end, completely accompliſhed.

This year his majeſty eſtabliſhed the Royal Academy of Arts, for inſtructing young men in the principles of architecture, ſculpture, and painting. The artiſts had, long before this, formed themſelves into a ſociety, and had carried their reſpective arts to a very high degree of perfection under the patronage of the public. The new inſtitution therefore had, for ſome time, little other effect than to ſplit the artiſts into parties. At laſt, however, they were happily re-united; and they now bid fair for rendering Great-Britain as eminent for her excellence in the fine arts, as ſhe has long been for every other circumſtance that raiſes one nation above another.

The mutual jealouſy, that had for ſome time taken place between Great-Britain and her American colonies, continued every day to grow more and more incurable. The former ſuſpected, that the colonies aimed at independence: the latter, on the other hand, believed, at leaſt affected to believe, that Britain meant entirely to deprive them of their liberties. By an act of parliament lately paſſed, certain duties were impoſed upon glaſs, paper, and a few other articles imported from England into the colonies; and for the purpoſe of collecting theſe duties, cuſtom-houſes were eſtabliſhed in their ſea-ports. Provoked at this violation of their rights, as they conſidered it, they now came to a direct, as they had for-

merly done to an indirect, reſolution to diſcontinue the uſe of Britiſh commodities, until theſe duties ſhould be repealed; to effect which, the aſſembly of Boſton wrote circular letters to all the other aſſemblies, propoſing an union of councils and meaſures. For this ſtep the aſſembly of Boſton was diſſolved, and a new one convened: but this proved as refractory as the former, and was therefore, in a little time, likewiſe diſſolved. The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms were ſo roughly handled by the populace, that they thought proper to leave the town, and retire to fort William. In a word, the ſpirit of diſcontent became ſo prevalent at Boſton, that two regiments of foot were ordered thither from Halifax, and as many from Ireland.

A. D. 1769.

When the new parliament met, which it did on the tenth day of May, a great number of people aſſembled in St. George's-fields, near the king's-bench priſon, where Mr. Wilkes was confined, in expectation that that gentleman would go up to the houſe, as one of the members for Middleſex. The Surrey juſtices ſoon came among them, and the riot-act was read; but the mob refuſing to diſperſe, a party of the guards was ſent for; when the people becoming ſtill more outrageous, and even proceeding to throw ſtones and brick-bats at the juſtices, the ſoldiers were ordered to fire; in conſequence of which ſeveral perſons were ſlightly wounded, two or three mortally, and one was killed upon the ſpot. Lord Weymouth, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, ſent a letter to the juſtices, thanking them for their ſpirited conduct in this affair. Mr. Wilkes, who was no incurious, nor, we may believe, unconcerned ſpectator of the whole ſcene, took this opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment againſt the miniſtry, whom he regarded as the authors of all the perſecutions he had ſuffered. He publiſhed lord Weymouth's letter, with a few remarks of his own prefixed to it, in which he termed the affair of St. George's-fields a horrid maſſacre; and this ſtep was either conſidered as a reaſon, or was made a pretence for expelling him the houſe. The freeholders of Middleſex, however, ſeem to have been of a very different opinion from the commons; for they immediately and unanimouſly re-elected him their repreſentative. This election was declared void, and a new writ was iſſued. The freeholders ſtill perſevered in their former ſentiments; and Mr. Wilkes was elected a third time without oppoſition. A gentleman, indeed, of the name of Dingley, intended to have oppoſed him; but the popular current ran ſo ſtrong in favour of Mr. Wilkes, that he could not find a ſingle perſon to put him in nomina-

nomination. This election was declared void, as well as the preceding; and, leſt the freeholders of Middleſex and the houſe of commons ſhould go on for ever, the one in electing Mr Wilkes, the other in declaring his election invalid, colonel Luttrel, ſon to lord Irnham, and a member of parliament, was perſuaded to vacate his ſeat by the acceptance of a nominal place, and to offer himſelf a candidate. He did ſo; and though he had only 296 votes, and Mr. Wilkes 1143, yet he was declared in the houſe, by a great majority, to be the legal member.

The people, however, were by no means ſatisfied with this deciſion of the commons: they even queſtioned their right to reject any member, after he had been choſen by a clear majority of voices, and was known to be poſſeſſed of the legal qualifications. They ſaid, that if ſuch a doctrine were once admitted, it would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It would enable an ambitious prince, or a corrupt miniſter, to convert the houſe of commons from a real repreſentative of the people into a mere court junto, ready to lend the weight of its authority to every meaſure of government, however inconſiſtent with the true intereſt or welfare of the nation. They therefore inſiſted upon it, that Mr. Wilkes, notwithſtanding his being rejected by the commons, was ſtill the real member for Middleſex, and that till he was admitted to take his ſeat in the houſe, the parliament was by no means complete. This they maintained in a variety of remonſtrances, which they preſented to the crown. In theſe they firſt petitioned for a diſſolution of the parliament; and not being able to obtain that point, they proceeded to deny the legality of the preſent one, the validity of its acts, and the obligation of the people to obey them. In a word, they aſſerted, that the government was actually diſſolved.

The miniſtry had now brought themſelves into a moſt diſagreeable dilemma. They ought either not to have proceeded ſo far, or they ought to have gone farther. They ought either not to have furniſhed the people with any juſt cauſe, nor even with a plauſible pretence, for preſenting ſuch remonſtrances, or they ought to have puniſhed them for daring to preſent them. This, however, they did not think it prudent, nor perhaps even ſafe, to do. The conſequence is obvious. While the authority of government was thus vilified and deſpiſed at home, can it be imagined, that it ſhould be much reverenced or reſpected abroad? While it was openly inſulted and brow-beat in the very metropolis, and under the eye of the legiſlature, could it be expected, that it ſhould be able to maintain its uſual force and vigour in the extreme parts of the empire? The ſuppoſition is abſurd.

It muſt, therefore, be evident to every man of ſenſe, that the raſhneſs and puſillanimity of the miniſters, with regard to the Middleſex election, was, if not the primary, at leaſt the great ſecondary cauſe of the American war, and even laid the foundation of thoſe bold claims, which the Iriſh afterwards ventured to prefer, and which they found means, in the end, effectually to make good. Nay, ſome of the freeholders of Middleſex attempted to carry their
A. D. 1770. ſpeculative principles on this ſubject into practice. They refuſed to pay the land tax, and the matter was brought to a trial; but the jury determined, that they were obliged to pay it, and in ſo doing they ſhewed more firmneſs and fortitude than their rulers.

A new phenomenon appeared at this time in Aſia. One Hyder Ally, who had raiſed himſelf from the rank of a common ſeapoy to that of a ſovereign prince, commenced hoſtilities againſt the Eaſt-India company. He broke into the Carnatic, which he ravaged with fire and ſword. He even advanced within a few miles of Madraſs. He afterwards fought a battle with the company's forces, at a place called Mulwaggle, where though the latter in the end gained the victory, yet was it not without conſiderable loſs, and till after a diſpute of upwards of ſix hours. A peace was at laſt concluded with this enterprizing adventurer. The company's ſervants, however, in this part of the world had been guilty of ſo great miſmanagements, as well in the beginning as in the progreſs of this war, and in ſeveral other matters, that Eaſt-India ſtock in England fell no leſs than 60 *per cent.* and three gentlemen, therefore, viz. Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Scrafton, and colonel Ford, were appointed to go out to Bengal, with the title of ſuperviſors, and with full power to reform all abuſes. But the ſhip, in which they ſailed, ſeems either to have foundered at ſea, or to have been caſt away on ſome unknown coaſt; for neither ſhe, nor any perſon on board, has ever been heard of ſince.

In the courſe of this year a very important act was paſſed for regulating the proceedings of the houſe of commons in controverted elections. Theſe uſed formerly to be determined by the houſe at large, and by a majority of votes, ſo that they were conſidered as mere party-matters, and the ſtrongeſt party, which was always that of the miniſter, was ſure to carry the point, without paying the leaſt regard to the merits of the queſtion on either ſide. But by the bill which was now paſſed, commonly called the Grenville-act, as it was drawn up and brought in by Mr. George Grenville, they were ordered for the future to be decided by a committee of thirteen members choſen by lot, and under the ſacred obligation of an oath;

oath; and ſince the enacting of this law, the public appear to have been very well ſatisfied with the equity of the deciſions.

We have already obſerved, that the early part of this reign was diſtinguiſhed by frequent and ſudden changes of miniſtries. That of the marquis of Rockingham, the moſt popular and patriotic that had yet taken place, was obliged in a little time to make way for the preſent adminiſtration, in which the duke of Grafton occupied the poſt of firſt lord of the treaſury, the earl of Shelburne that of ſecretary of ſtate, lord Cambden the office of lord high chancellor, and Mr. Pitt, (lately created earl of Chatham) had the cuſtody of the privy ſeal. This laſt nobleman, indeed, is ſuppoſed to have had the principal hand in forming the miniſtry, and by his advice they are ſuppoſed to have been directed in all their meaſures. For ſome time paſt, however, they had affected to ſtand upon their own bottom, and neglected to conſult him as uſual. Provoked, therefore, at this mark of contempt, as he eſteemed it, he thought proper to abandon them entirely, and reſigned his poſt of lord privy ſeal, which was beſtowed upon the earl of Briſtol.

The duke of Grafton, in a few months, followed his example, and threw up his office as firſt lord of the treaſury, which was conferred upon lord North; and thus, unhappily for the nation, was formed that miniſtry, which began the American war without neceſſity, conducted it without ſpirit or prudence, and at laſt concluded it without honour or advantage, nay with infinite diſhonour and diſadvantage, as they cut off from the empire the immenſe continent of North America, the brighteſt jewel in the crown.

The venality of the rotten boroughs, as they are very juſtly and ſignificantly called, in chooſing their members of parliament, has long been a ſubject of complaint, and is certainly well worthy the attention of the legiſlature. Of this there now occured a very ſtriking inſtance. Admiral Corniſh, one of the members for that borough, dying in the courſe of the preceding year, an election came on for another repreſentative, when the returning officer, knowing the majority of the electors to be both bribed and perjured, returned a candidate with only thirty-ſeven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-ſeven. For this abuſe of power, as it was deemed, he was called before the houſe of commons, when he made ſuch diſcoveries as overwhelmed his enemies with ſhame and confuſion. From his information it appeared, that the greater part of the freemen of Shoreham had formed themſelves into a ſociety, under the name of the Chriſtian Club, with the pretended view of encouraging acts of charity and beneficence,

but with the real deſign of making a traffic of their oaths and conſciences, and ſelling their borough to the higheſt bidder. For this crime, of which they were convicted upon the cleareſt evidence, a bill was paſſed incapacitating eighty-one of them from voting at elections for members of parliament, and for preventing bribery and corruption in the borough. It were well for the nation, if the returning officers in all the rotten boroughs were equally conſcientious with this returning officer of Shoreham.

THOUGH the ſpirit of petitioning the throne about the Middleſex election had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, yet that affair ſtill gave occaſion to ſome curious incidents that are well worthy of notice. A meſſenger of the houſe of *A. D.* 1771. commons having come into the city to ſeize a printer for publiſhing the ſpeeches of the members, this laſt ſent for a conſtable, who carried both him and the meſſenger before Mr. Croſby, the lord mayor. That gentleman, together with the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, not only diſcharged the printer, but required the meſſenger to give bail to anſwer the complaint of the printer againſt him, for daring to ſeize him in the city, without the order of a magiſtrate; and upon his refuſing to do ſo, they ſigned a warrant for his commitment to priſon, upon which he conſented to give bail, and was ſuffered to depart. The commons, fired at this contempt of their authority, as they thought it, ordered the lord mayor and the two aldermen to appear before them. Mr. Croſby and Mr. Oliver, as members of the houſe, attended in their place; but Mr. Wilkes refuſed to appear, unleſs he was permitted to take his ſeat as member for Middleſex. As they had no method of coming at the latter gentleman, they contented themſelves with puniſhing the two former. They were accordingly ſent to the Tower, where they continued in confinement till the end of the ſeſſion, when, the authority of the houſe ceaſing, they were releaſed.

THIS year a dreadful famine happened in the Eaſt Indies, which carried off, by ſome accounts, about one third of the inhabitants, that is, about ten millions of people; according to the very loweſt computation not leſs than three millions. A famine, indeed, muſt always prove more fatal in that part of the world than in any other. The Pythagorean ſyſtem, which the natives adhere to, prohibits them the uſe of animal food; and therefore, if at any time the fruits of the earth fail, they are unhappily deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence. This natural calamity, however, is ſaid to have been ſtill farther exaſperated by the villainy of man. Many of the company's ſervants were accuſed of having bought up the greateſt part of

of the rice, the chief if not the only food of the inhabitants, and to have ſold it out at ſuch an exorbitant price, as put it abſolutely beyond the reach of the poorer ſort of people. All the roads leading towards Madraſs and Bengal are ſaid to have been ſtrewed with the bodies of the dead and dying, many of whom had, as it were, their bellies glewed to their backs for want of ſomething to fill them. Thoſe that can reconcile themſelves to the thoughts of making a fortune by ſuch ſavage acts of barbarity, muſt ſurely be curſed with hearts that are harder than the nether milſtone.

It is curious to obſerve the ſlow and almoſt imperceptible ſteps, by which ſome of the moſt important points in politicks have been eſtabliſhed. It had long been taken for granted, at leaſt ſince the acceſſion of the Brunſwick family, that no prince of the blood could intermarry with a ſubject; and this opinion ſeems to have been founded upon the moſt rational principles, becauſe, were once ſuch a practice to become common, it would ally ſome families too nearly to the crown, would raiſe them to a dangerous ſuperiority over others, and would lay the foundation for ſuch acts of partiality in the ſovereign, as are altogether inconſiſtent with a limited government. But this opinion, however agreeable to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, was no more than a popular prejudice; it was not ſanctioned by any expreſs law. James the ſecond, when duke of York, had married an Engliſhwoman; and the king's two brothers, the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, had lately done the ſame, though in a private manner; the former having eſpouſed the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave, and the latter a widow lady, of the name of Horton, daughter to lord Irnham. But as his majeſty's ſons were now growing up towards man's eſtate, and it was not known how ſoon they might be diſpoſed to imitate the example of their uncles, a reſolution was taken to convert a well founded popular opinion into an expreſs ſtatute, and accordingly an act, called the royal marriage-act, was paſſed, by which it was decreed, that all the deſcendants of his late ma- *A. D.* 1772. jeſty (other than the iſſue of princeſſes who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) ſhall be incapable of contracting marriage, without the previous conſent of the king, or his ſucceſſors on the throne, ſignified under the great ſeal, and declared in council; that every ſuch marriage, without ſuch conſent, ſhall be null and void; that, nevertheleſs, ſuch deſcendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their deſign, may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage without the

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royal conſent, unleſs both houſes of parliament ſhall within that time expreſsly declare their diſapprobation of it; and that all perſons, who ſhall knowingly preſume to ſolemnize, or aſſiſt at the celebration of ſuch illicit marriage, ſhall be liable to all the pains and penalties of the ſtatute of præmunire.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a material alteration was made in the criminal law of the kingdom. Formerly, when a felon refuſed to plead, he was ſtretched out upon his back, at full length, and a heavy weight was laid upon his breaſt, which was gradually, though ſlowly, increaſed till he expired; during which operation he was fed with nothing but a cruſt of bread and ſome dirty water. This was called being preſſed to death; and the place in the old priſon of Newgate, where the puniſhment was inflicted, was from thence diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Preſs-yard. By a bill, which was now paſſed, this barbarous practice was aboliſhed; and all felons refuſing to plead are adjudged to be guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.

An act of injuſtice was committed this year by three of the firſt crowned heads in Europe, which, though not immediately connected with the hiſtory of England, ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. It was, indeed, of ſo flagrant and atrocious a nature, that, for a ſimilar one in private life, the authors would have been brought to the gallows. What I allude to, is the diſmemberment of Poland. The emperor of Germany, the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Ruſſia, entered into a confederacy, or rather a conſpiracy (for a moſt villainous conſpiracy it was) to divide among themſelves the better part of that fertile country, to which they trumped up ſome old antiquated claims; and to form the reſt into an independent kingdom, to be governed by the preſent ſovereign, with an hereditary, inſtead of an elective title; and as none of the other ſovereigns of Europe thought proper to interrupt them in the execution of their ſcheme, they were able at laſt to accompliſh their purpoſe. This year was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by a remarkable revolution in the government of Sweden, as well as in that of Denmark. The king of Sweden, notwithſtanding the oath he had taken at the time of his acceſſion to preſerve the conſtitution as then ſettled, now raiſed himſelf from being one of the moſt limited to be one of the moſt abſolute monarchs in Europe. This however, it was ſaid, was really for the good of the ſtate, as it was only deſtroying the power of a cruel ariſtocracy, which had long domineered over both king and people; and as his majeſty did not pretend to the right of impoſing taxes without the conſent of the ſubject, it was only bringing the conſtitution of Sweden ſomewhat nearer to that

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of England. In Denmark, the king was deprived of the whole ſovereign power, which was engroſſed by his mother-in-law, the queen-dowager, and his half brother, prince Frederick. His two principal favourities, the count Struenſee and Brandt, were brought to the block. Even the queen conſort, Matilda, ſiſter to his Britannic majeſty, very narrowly eſcaped with her life. She afterwards retired to Zell in Germany, where ſhe lived for a few years, at the end of which ſhe ſickened and died.

In order to check the rapacity of the Eaſt-India company's ſervants abroad, a ſupreme court of judicature was now eſtabliſhed at Bengal, conſiſting of a chief-juſtice with a ſalary of 8000 pounds, and three inferior judges with a ſalary of 6000 pounds a-piece; but ſome of theſe have not eſcaped the imputation of rapacity themſelves. Mr. Impey, in particular, the chief juſtice, has been threatened by ſome members of the houſe of commons with a proſecution for colluding with Mr. Haſtings in plundering and oppreſſing the natives.

About this time the common people in Ireland, and in the north of Scotland, were ſo cruelly harraſſed by their unfeeling landlords, who raiſed the rent of their lands upon them, without conſidering whether they could pay it, that they emigrated in great numbers to America; and of theſe, it is ſaid, was principally compoſed that army, which firſt began the war in the new world, conducted it with ſuch ſpirit and perſeverance, and did not conclude it till they had rendered themſelves and their new-adopted country independent of their old maſters. To a brave man every corner of the earth is his country; and wherever he can enjoy in ſafety his perſonal and political liberty, and the fruits of his honeſt toil and induſtry, there he thinks himſelf at home; and that ſpot he will defend with a ſpirit of heroiſm unknown to thoſe who are not bleſt with the above advantages. *A. D.* 1773.

This year captain Phipps in the Seahorſe, and captain Lutwidge in the Carcaſe, were ſent out by the government, in order to make diſcoveries towards the north pole; but after ſailing to the latitude of 81 degrees and 39 minutes, they met with ſuch mountains or rather iſlands of ice, that they were obliged to return without accompliſhing the object of their voyage.

This reign, indeed, ſeems to have been particularly diſtinguiſhed by the ſpirit of adventure. Four different voyages have been performed round the world, for the ſimilar purpoſe of making diſcoveries in the South-ſeas: the firſt by commodore Byron;

Byron; the ſecond, by captain Wallis; the third, by captain Carteret; and the fourth, by captain Cooke; and none of them have entirely failed in the object of their deſtination; each of the circumnavigators having either found out ſome new countries, or ſomething new in the manners of thoſe that were already known.

CAPTAIN Cooke, indeed, performed a ſecond voyage round the world; and was actually engaged in ſailing round it a third time, when, to the infinite regret of all lovers of real merit, he was cut off in a ſcuffle with the inhabitants of one of the new-diſcovered iſlands in the South-ſea, called O-why-hee. If theſe voyages have not tended much to the extenſion of commerce, they have certainly helped to throw new light upon the doctrine of human nature, which they have preſented to us under a much greater variety of views than we ever before beheld it. They have likewiſe ſerved to make us much better acquainted with the Pacific ocean than we were about thirty years ago; for inſtead of an immenſe ſea, with hardly any land, as we formerly conceived it, we now find it to be interſperſed with an endleſs ſucceſſion of iſlands, inhabited by people who ſpeak the ſame tongue, or at leaſt different dialects of the ſame tongue; a tongue that occupies a much larger ſpace of the terraqueous globe, than any other language, perhaps, either ancient or modern. We likewiſe find, that the manners of men depend much more upon moral, than upon natural or phyſical cauſes; for though the natives of theſe iſlands live all in the ſame, or nearly the ſame climate, yet we are told, that, with regard to the mildneſs or ferocity of their temper, ſome of them differ as widely from others, as it is poſſible for the moſt civilized nation to do from one that is moſt barbarous.

THE great ſubject of diſpute between the mother country and her American colonies, was the right of taxation. The Britiſh parliament inſiſted upon its right of taxing them by its own proper authority. The colonies, on the other hand, denied this right, and ſaid that they could not be legally taxed without their own conſent; and rather than ſubmit to any taxes otherwiſe impoſed, they ſeemed willing to encounter every riſk, and to brave every danger. In order, however, to try their temper, and ſee whether they would actually proceed to extremities, ſome tea was ſent out to America, loaded with a certain duty. This tea was not only not ſuffered to be landed, but was ſent back to England with contempt and indignation. In the harbour of Boſton it met with a ſtill worſe reception. It was taken out of the ſhips by the populace, and thrown into the ſea. To puniſh the New-Englanders for this act of violence,

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two bills were now paſſed; one for ſhutting up the port of Boſton, and the other for taking the executive power out of the hands of the people, and veſting it in the crown. *A. D.* 1774.

THOUGH the miniſter had hitherto carried every thing in parliament with a high hand, yet as that aſſembly was now drawing towards an end, he began to be apprehenſive, that it would not be eaſy to procure another houſe of commons equally obſequious, if the people were allowed to be prepared for the elections in the uſual manner. He therefore reſolved to ſteal a march upon his antagoniſts, and to take the people by ſurprize. The parliament accordingly was ſuddenly diſſolved at the end of the ſixth ſeſſion, and a new one was choſen equally courtly and complaiſant with the former.

THE acts of ſeverity, we have mentioned above, were levelled in appearance only at the town of Boſton; yet moſt of the other colonies ſoon took the alarm. They thought they foreſaw, in the fate of that devoted place, the puniſhment that might ſoon be inflicted on themſelves, as they had all been guilty of nearly the ſame crime, if not in deſtroying, at leaſt in refuſing the tea. They therefore reſolved to make one common cauſe with the people of New-England; and accordingly all the old Britiſh colonies (Nova Scotia and Georgia excepted), viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, ſent delegates or commiſſioners to a general aſſembly, which met at Philadelphia, and aſſuming the name of the Congreſs, preſented a bold and ſpirited petition to his majeſty, ſoliciting a redreſs of grievances. At the ſame time they publiſhed an addreſs to the people of Great Britain, appealing to their juſtice and humanity; and another to the inhabitants of Canada, beſeeching theſe laſt to join their confederacy, and aſſiſt in vindicating their violated liberties. Georgia, the year following, acceded to the union, and thus completed the number of the thirteen united provinces, which ſoon after revolted from the mother-country, and at laſt rendered themſelves ſovereign and independent ſtates. The congreſs, not ſatisfied with their remonſtrance to the king, exhorted the New-Englanders to oppoſe the execution of the Boſton-port bill, and of the other ſevere acts, which had been lately paſſed againſt them, and they even promiſed to aſſiſt them in caſe of neceſſity.

A noble legacy was left this year by a clergyman of the name of Hetherington, which is well worthy of notice. This worthy gentleman transferred 20,000 pounds South-ſea annuities,

nuities, into the hands of certain truſtees, with orders for them to pay always to fifty blind people, objects of charity, not being beggars, nor receiving alms from the pariſh, ten pounds annually each during their lives.

THE New-Englanders apprehending that matters muſt ſoon come to extremity between them and the garriſon of Boſton, were determined not to be taken by ſurprize, and they therefore collected a quantity of military ſtores at a place called Concord. General Gage, governor of Maſſachuſet's-bay, being informed of this circumſtance, ſent out a detachment of the army in order to deſtroy theſe ſtores. At Lexington, about ſix miles from Concord, the detachment fell in with a company of militia; and between this party and the king's troops a few ſhot were exchanged, by which eight provincials were killed, and ſeveral wounded. The detachment then went on, without any farther interruption, to Concord, where they deſtroyed the ſtores; but in their return from thence they were ſuddenly attacked by a large body of provincials, who harraſſed them moſt terribly until they reached Boſton. In this action the king's troops loſt, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, two hundred and ſeventy-three men, of which ſixty-five were killed. The loſs of the provincials amounted to about forty killed, and twenty wounded. This was the firſt blood ſhed in that unhappy civil war, the flames of which continued every day to ſpread wider and wider, until at laſt they involved the whole of North America.

THE news of this engagement were no ſooner carried into the different parts of the country, than the whole province was at once in arms, and Boſton was, in a few days, inveſted by a body of militia, amounting, it is ſaid, to twenty thouſand men. The congreſs too, upon hearing of the affair of Lexington, and the blockade of Boſton, heartily approved of all the ſteps which the New-Englanders had taken; and they paſſed a reſolution, declaring, that the compact between the crown and the New-Englanders was diſſolved. They ſtrictly prohibited the people from ſupplying the army, the navy, or tranſport ſhips, with any kind of proviſions. The more effectually to mark their contempt for the Britiſh government, they erected a poſt-office, at the head of which they placed Dr. Franklin, who had been diſgracefully diſmiſſed from that poſt in England; and upon general Gage's publiſhing a proclamation, offering a pardon to all ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms, and return to their duty, but excepting from it Meſſrs. Hancock and Adams, they immediately choſe Mr. Hancock preſident of the congreſs.

THE provincials, not ſatisfied with inveſting the town of Boſton

Boſton at a diſtance, and thereby reducing it to a ſtarving condition, reſolved to make a nearer approach to it, and, if poſſible, ſubdue it by force of arms. There is an eminence, called Bunker's-hill, in the neighbourhood of Boſton. Upon this hill the provincials threw up, in one of the ſhort nights of June, a ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable entrenchments, and a breaſt-work almoſt cannon proof. In order to diſlodge them from this poſt, which might have given great annoyance, as well to the town as to the ſhipping in the harbour, a detachment of ſomewhat more than two thouſand men was ſent out, under the command of generals Howe and Pigot. The atack was begun by a heavy cannonade, not only from the aſſailants, but from the ſhips and floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-hill, in Boſton. This ſevere and inceſſant fire the provincials are ſaid to have borne with a firmneſs and reſolution that would have done honour even to the moſt veteran troops. They did not return a ſhot, till the king's forces had advanced almoſt to the works, when they began, and kept up for ſome time, ſuch a dreadful and continued fire upon them, as threw our troops into confuſion, and killed many of our braveſt men and officers. The troops, however, were inſtantly rallied, and returning to the charge with fixed bayonets, and irreſiſtible fury, they forced the works in every quarter, and compelled the provincials to abandon the poſt, and retreat to the continent. This advantage, however, was very dearly purchaſed. Almoſt one half of the detachment were either killed or wounded, the numbers of which together amounted to one thouſand and fifty-four. *A. D.* 1775.

The ſpirit diſplayed by the New-Englanders on this occaſion, no doubt, encouraged the congreſs to proceed with great alacrity in their military preparations. They had, ſome time before, given orders, for raiſing and paying an army; and they now publiſhed a declaration of the motives that compelled them to take up arms, and their determined reſolution not to lay them down, till all their grievances were redreſſed, that is, till all the obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed. They likewiſe appointed Mr. Waſhington, one of the delegates for Virginia, to be commander in chief of the American forces. But to ſhew, at the ſame time, that they had no intention of ſeparating themſelves from the mother-country, they preſented an addreſs to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, another to the people of Ireland, and a petition to the king, in which they diſclaim all thoughts of independence, and declare, that they wiſh for nothing more than a reconciliation with the parent ſtate, upon what they call

juſt

juſt and reaſonable terms. And, in the opinion of many people, ſuch terms might have been granted them at this time, as would at once have gratified their ambition, and would neither have hurt the honour nor the intereſt of England. For this purpoſe ſeveral plans were propoſed by the minority; but they were all of them rejected.

It is a ſhrewd obſervation of a celebrated writer, that the public conduct of miniſters is ſometimes marked with ſuch traits of inſanity, that were any individual to be guilty of ſimilar ones in private life, the next heir at law would take out a ſtatute of lunacy againſt him, and clap him into a mad-houſe. Perhaps, there never was a more ſtriking exemplification of this maxim than in the conduct of the Britiſh miniſters both in the beginning and the proſecution of the American war. They ſeemed now determined to ruſh into hoſtilities with their American brethren, without underſtanding either the ſpirit of the people, or even the geopraphy of the country, from their ignorance of both which they ſuffered ſeverely in the ſequel. They would liſten to no terms of accommodation; nothing ſhort of an abſolute and unconditional ſubmiſſion would ſatisfy them. They were even incapable of having their eyes opened by the intereſting intelligence they received at this time from Mr. Penn, one of the moſt wealthy and beſt informed gentlemen in America. He was a deſcendant of the great Penn, who had founded the colony of Penſylvania; he was himſelf one of the chief proprietors of that province; and he had brought over the laſt petition to the king from the American congreſs. He was now examined in the houſe of lords, and the ſum of his evidence tended to prove, that the colonies had not yet formed any deſign of erecting themſelves into independent ſtates; that, on the contrary, they were extremely deſirous of compromiſing all differences with the mother country upon equitable terms; but that, if their preſent application for this purpoſe (meaning the petition) was rejected, there was great reaſon to fear that they would enter into alliances with foreign powers; and that if once ſuch alliances were made, it would be no eaſy matter to diſſolve them. No regard, however, was paid to his information; and as to the petition itſelf, he was told by the miniſtry, that no anſwer would be returned to it.

It was not long, however, before the Americans gave proofs, that they were neither ſo deficient in ſpirit or ability as the Britiſh miniſters fondly imagined. They were ſo far from being ſatisfied with acting on the defenſive, or within the limits of the aſſociated colonies, that they began, in a little

little time, to extend their views into the neighbouring provinces; and they actually made an incurſion into Canada, under the generals Montgomery and Arnold. They reduced the forts of Chamblee and St. John, and the town of Montreal. They even attempted to take the city of Quebec by ſtorm; but Montgomery being killed, and Arnold wounded in the aſſault, they were obliged to deſiſt from the enterprize; and a large body of troops arriving ſoon after from England, they were finally compelled to evacuate the province.

THE army, however, in Boſton was now reduced to a moſt miſerable condition. General Howe, who had ſucceeded general Gage in the command of it, though an officer of ſpirit, and of great military ſkill, and even fruitful in reſources and expedients, found himſelf totally unequal to the difficulties of his ſituation. He was effectually cut off from all communication with the continent of America, from which he could not expect the leaſt ſupply of proviſions. The ſtore-ſhips from England not only arrived ſlowly; but ſeveral of them were even intercepted by the enemy. In a word, the army, as well as the inhabitants of Boſton, were in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing with hunger. To add to their diſtreſs, the Americans had erected ſome ſtrong batteries upon the adjacent hills, from whence in the ſpring they began to play with incredible fury; and *A. D.* 1776. now aſſailed at once with the horrors of war and of famine, neither of which it was in their power to repel, they found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to evacuate the place. The army accordingly, and ſuch of the inhabitants as choſe to follow its fortunes, being put on board ſome tranſports, they ſet ſail from Boſton; and the wind being fair, and the weather uncommonly mild for that ſeaſon and latitude, they arrived, after a quick paſſage, at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Immediately upon the evacuation of Boſton by the king's forces, general Waſhington took poſſeſſion of it, and being aſſiſted by ſome foreign engineers he ſoon fortified it in ſuch a manner as to render it almoſt impregnable.

ABOUT the ſame time an expedition was undertaken againſt Charles-Town, the capital of South-Carolina, which ſhewed us to be as little acquainted with the creeks and harbours on the coaſt of America, as we ſoon after appeared to be with the interior geography of the country. Sir Peter Parker commanded the fleet; general Clinton, the land forces. The troops were diſembarked upon a place called Long Iſland, ſeparated from another named Sullivan's Iſland, the ſtrait between which was repreſented as eaſily paſſable, being no more, it was ſaid, than eighteen inches at low water.

Upon

Upon this vague report our commanders planned the expedition, and the ſucceſs was ſuch as might have been expected. The enemy had erected ſome ſtrong batteries upon Sullivan's Iſland, in order to obſtruct the paſſage of the ſhips to the town, which lay ſomewhat higher up the country. This poſt the admiral attacked with great bravery; but when the troops attempted to paſs from one iſland to the other in order to ſecond his efforts, they found the ſtrait, inſtead of eighteen inches, to be no leſs than ſeven feet deep. The conſequence was, that the admiral, after continuing the action for the ſpace of ten hours, and after having loſt ſome of his braveſt men and officers, and even a ſhip of war, which he was obliged to burn to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, was at laſt forced to give up the enterprize as altogether impracticable.

THE Americans now began to think, that matters had been carried to too great an extremity between them and the mother country, ever to admit of any ſincere or laſting reconciliation. They likewiſe reflected, that while they continued to acknowledge themſelves ſubjects of the Britiſh empire, they were naturally regarded by the reſt of the world as rebels fighting againſt their lawful ſovereign; and that foreign nations might be thereby prevented from entering into any public treaty or alliance with them. Moved, therefore, by theſe conſiderations, they publiſhed, about this time, their famous declaration of independence, by which they renounced all allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain, and erected themſelves into free and ſovereign ſtates. Some oppoſition was made to this meaſure by the provinces of Philadelphia and Maryland; but they too were at laſt perſuaded to get over their prejudices, and to yield to the general voice. Thus, in one day, and by one act, was Great-Britain ſtript of thirteen of the moſt flouriſhing, moſt populous, and moſt powerful colonies, that ever appeared in the world.

THIS, however, did not prevent general Howe from proſecuting his military operations, and endeavouring to reduce the revolted colonies to their former ſubjection to the Britiſh crown. With this view he ſet ſail from Halifax, and arriving off New-York, was there joined by his brother, lord Howe, with a large fleet, and conſiderable reinforcements. Thus ſtrengthened, he fell upon the enemy; and driving them, firſt from Long Iſland, then from the city of New-York, he at laſt compelled them to abandon Kingſbridge at the extremity of New-York iſland, where they had thrown up ſome very ſtrong works. He even purſued them to a place called White Plains, where he had a ſlight ſkirmiſh with them;

them; but not being able to bring them to a general engagement, he returned to New-York, where he fixed his head quarters.

The affairs of the congreſs were now ſaid to be in a very deſperate ſituation. The term, for which their troops had enliſted, was already expired, and moſt of them, diſheartened by the bad ſucceſs of the campaign, had returned home; ſo that their army, which at one time amounted to twenty-five thouſand men, was now dwindled down to three thouſand. To add to their diſtreſs, general Lee, one of their braveſt and moſt experienced officers, was taken priſoner by a ſmall party of the king's forces, headed by colonel Harcourt. As Mr. Lee had formerly ſerved in the Britiſh army, from which he had retired in diſguſt, and joined the Americans, it was generally ſuppoſed, and even very roundly aſſerted, that he would be tried and puniſhed as a deſerter. But in order to ſave him from ſuch an ignominious fate, the congreſs declared, that, if any violence were offered to his perſon, they would immediately retaliate upon ſuch Britiſh officers as were in their power; and general Preſcot, belonging to the Engliſh army, being afterwards captured by a very maſterly manœuvre of the Americans, was given in exchange for general Lee, who thus recovered his liberty.

The congreſs likewiſe came to a reſolution of levying an army of eighty battalions; and though it was probably a long time before they could complete that number, yet in a few weeks they aſſembled ſuch a force as enabled general Waſhington to ſtrike a blow, that contributed at once to raiſe the ſpirit of his own men, and even to damp thoſe of the Britiſh troops. On the night of Chriſtmas-day, he ſilently croſſed the Delaware, and attacking a body of Heſſians that were quartered in Trenton, he made nine hundred and eighteen of them priſoners, whom he fairly carried off. In a few days after he croſſed the river a ſecond time, and falling upon a body of Britiſh troops, under the command of colonel Mawhood, he either killed or captured the greateſt part of them.

France and Spain had hitherto pretended to obſerve the moſt exact neutrality in the war between Great-Britain and her American colonies. A ſtep, however, which they now took, was ſufficient to render their ſincerity ſuſpected. They opened their ports to the American privateers, and ſuffered them publickly to diſpoſe of the rich prizes they had taken from the Britiſh merchants. They likewiſe ſupplied the Americans privately with artillery and other military ſtores; and ſuch numbers of French officers and engineers went over

over to the weſtern world, and joined the American army, as added greatly to the ſkill, and conſequently to the ſtrength of the enemy. At the ſame time both theſe powers continued to encreaſe their marine with ſuch unwearied diligence, that it was plainly foreſeen, and even foretold by every perſon of common ſenſe, that they would ſoon throw off the maſk they had hitherto worn, and openly declare in favour of the Americans. But theſe predictions were diſregarded by the miniſtry, or rather were treated with the moſt ſupreme contempt: they affected to laugh at them as the viſionary conceit of wrong-headed politicians. Whether the love of power, or the deſire of continuing in place, be not apt to blind the minds of men, and render them leſs capable of judging impartially of the ſituation of public affairs, than thoſe that are not actuated by ſuch a motive, we will not take upon us to determine; but were we to form our opinion from the conduct of the miniſtry in this inſtance, and indeed during the whole courſe of the American war, we ſhould naturally be led to draw ſuch a concluſion.

We have already obſerved, that, on his majeſty's acceſſion, 800,000 pounds a year had been ſettled upon him for his civil liſt. But this ſum had hitherto been found unequal to the expences of the civil government. Above half a million of money, therefore, was now granted for defraying the arrears of the civil liſt, and an addition of 100,000 pounds a year was made to this branch of the revenue; ſo that his majeſty has at preſent 900,000 pounds a year for ſupporting the charges of his civil government. What opinion even ſome of the miniſters themſelves had of this meaſure, may be eaſily learned from the ſpeech which ſir Fletcher Norton, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, made to the king, when he preſented to him the bill for this purpoſe. He told him, that his faithful commons had given him this mark of their affection, at a time when their conſtituents were labouring under burdens almoſt too heavy to be borne.—"They have," continued he, "not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue; great beyond example, great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence.—But all this, ſir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wiſely, what they have granted liberally." This ſpeech, however diſagreeable to the more zealous courtiers, was ſo agreeable to the minority, that they procured the ſpeaker the thanks of the houſe, for having dared for once, as they ſaid, to convey truth to the royal ear.

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In the month of June general Howe opened the campaign in the province of New-York, and again exerted his utmoſt endeavours to bring the enemy to a deciſive action; but this, as formerly, was avoided by general Waſhington with ſo much ability and ſucceſs, as ſoon procured that gentleman the appellation, which he ſeems indeed to have juſtly deſerved, of the American Fabius. General Howe, finding it impoſſible either to provoke or entice the enemy to a pitched battle in the northern colonies, reſolved to try his fortune in the more ſouthern provinces. Accordingly, embarking his army on board of about two hundred tranſports, he ſet ſail for Philadelphia; but when he arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, which leads directly to that city, he found the channel of the river filled with ſuch a quantity of chevaux de frize, as rendered it abſolutely impaſſable. He therefore directed his courſe to the bay of Cheſapeak, and ſailing up that arm of the ſea, he landed his troops at Elk-Ferry in the province of Maryland. In his march from this laſt place, he met general Waſhington on the banks of the Brandywine river. Waſhington, being extremely deſirous of protecting Philadelphia, reſolved, contrary to his uſual maxim, to hazard a battle. The two armies, in conſequence, immediately came to an engagement, and after a ſevere and bloody conflict, which continued through the whole day, the enemy were at laſt obliged to yield to the ſuperior diſcipline of the Britiſh troops. By this means the king's forces were enabled to continue their march to Philadelphia, of which they took poſſeſſion, though the greateſt part of them were encamped at a village called German Town, about ſix miles from the city. *A. D.* 1777.

General Waſhington, though defeated in the battle of the Brandywine, was neither ſo much weakened nor ſo much diſpirited by that event, as to prevent his undertaking, in a ſhort time after, a very bold enterprize, which was as little expected by his friends as his enemies. He had retired to a ſtrong poſt, called Skippach Creek, about ſixteen miles from German Town, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement. From this place, on the third of October, he ſet out ſilently by night, and arriving at German Town about three in the morning, he fell upon the king's forces with ſuch impetuoſity, as to throw them into confuſion; but theſe laſt being rallied, and brought to the charge, the enemy, in their turn, were obliged to retreat, though this they did in ſo regular and deliberate a manner as to be able to carry off their cannon with them. The loſs of the royal army in this action

amounted to above five hundred men; that of the enemy was probably more conſiderable.

GENERAL Howe ſuſtained a ſtill greater loſs in clearing the banks of the river of thoſe forts which the enemy had erected upon them, and which prevented the approach of the ſhips to the town with the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions. A ſtrong body of Heſſians, which he ſent upon this ſervice, were almoſt all of them either killed or wounded, and were obliged to relinquiſh the enterprize. But as there was an indiſpenſable neceſſity for deſtroying theſe forts, without which it would be impoſſible to ſubſiſt the army in Philadelphia during the winter, ſome ſhips of war were warped up the river, which ſoon ſilenced the batteries; and preparations being made for ſtorming the forts on the land ſide, the enemy at laſt thought proper to abandon them. The chevaux de frize, however, ſtill continued in the bed of the river, and prevented the paſſage of any ſhips of war, or indeed of any ſhips of heavy burden.

THE king's forces were not ſo ſucceſsful in the northern as they had been in the more ſouthern provinces. General Burgoyne, who commanded an army in Canada, of about ten thouſand men, including ſome Indians, reſolved with this body to make an impreſſion upon the province of New-England. He croſſed the lakes George and Champlain without oppoſition. He even reduced the fort of Ticonderago. But, upon his arrival at Saratoga, he was ſuddenly ſurrounded and attacked by a ſuperior body of New-Englanders under the generals Gates and Arnold; and, after fighting them two different times with great bravery, though with great loſs, his camp was at laſt ſtormed, and he and his men were obliged to ſubmit to a capitulation, importing, that they ſhould lay down their arms, and be conducted to Boſton, from whence they ſhould be allowed to embark for Great-Britain, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America during the preſent war. But as this convention was never ratified by the Engliſh miniſters, theſe unhappy men were ſuffered, for a long time, to languiſh in captivity in the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay.

ABOUT this time the news arrived in England of a very extraordinary revolution that had lately happened in the Eaſt-Indies. Lord Pigot, governor of Madraſs, was, merely for executing the orders of the directors in reſtoring the rajah of Tanjore to his dominions, ſeized and impriſoned by the leading members of the council; and even his life was at firſt thought to be in danger from the violence of his enemies. His own feelings, however, in a little time, compleated

pleated what his adverſaries had either the prudence or humanity to forbear. His high ſpirit could not brook the indignity that had been offered him; he ſoon after ſickened and died; and his death was the more ſincerely lamented, as, without making invidious compariſons, it may be ſafely affirmed, that his lordſhip was a man of the moſt unblemiſhed character of any that ever made a fortune in the eaſt.

Towards the cloſe of laſt, and the beginning of this year, a deſperate incendiary, commonly known by the appellation of *John the Painter*, but whoſe real name was James Aitken, excited great terror through the whole kingdom, and even did great miſchief in two different places; and it is certain, that he would have done much greater, had the ſucceſs of his ſchemes been equal to the malignity of his heart; for it appeared in the ſequel, that he had formed a deſign of burning all the principal trading towns in the iſland, together with their docks and ſhipping. He actually ſucceeded in ſetting fire to the rope-houſe at Portſmouth, and to a ſtreet called Quay-lane in Briſtol; but at laſt he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, and being executed on a gallows ſixty feet high, was afterwards hung in chains.

What had long been foreſeen by almoſt every ſenſible and unprejudiced man in the kingdom, and repeatedly foretold by the oppoſition in parliament, now came to paſs. The French threw off the maſk they had hitherto worn, and openly declared in favour of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as ſovereign and independent ſtates. *A. D.* 1778.

General Clinton, who had ſucceeded general Howe in the command of the army, now evacuated Philadelphia, and retreated to New-York, in his way to which he was attacked by general Waſhington; but no great loſs was ſuſtained on either ſide. In this action, general Lee was accuſed of not having acted with his uſual courage in attacking the Britiſh troops, and being found guilty, was ſuſpended for a twelvemonth. The behaviour of the congreſs towards this gentleman is a plain proof how much they already began to act with the ſpirit as well as impartiality of a regular and eſtabliſhed government; they neither refuſed their protection to him while in the hands of his enemies; nor would they ſuffer any real, or ſuppoſed breach of duty in him to paſs unpuniſhed.

Though war had not been formally declared between Great-Britain and France, yet there could be no doubt but that theſe rival nations were in a ſtate of actual hoſtility. Fleets were accordingly fitted out on both ſides. D'Orvilliers com-

commanded the French ſquadron; admiral Keppel conducted the Engliſh: the fleets met on the twenty-ſeventh of July, when a running fight took place between them, but no deciſive action. Admiral Keppel was afterwards accuſed of not having done his duty, by admiral Palliſer, the ſecond in command. He was therefore tried, but was honourably acquitted; and ſo great was his popularity in the nation, that his acquittal was celebrated with greater rejoicings than had ever taken place on any former occaſion. The city of London, from one extremity to the other, was illuminated for two ſucceſſive nights, in a grander ſtile than ever it had been in the memory of the oldeſt man living. Palliſer was likewiſe tried for not having obeyed Mr. Keppel's orders in coming into his wake in order to renew the action; and though, upon the whole, he was acquitted, yet was he, in ſome meaſure, cenſured: though he was commended for his ſpirited conduct during the engagement, yet was he blamed for not acquainting Mr. Keppel with his utter inability to obey the ſignal, which was owing, it was ſaid, to his ſails and rigging having been ſo torn, as to render his ſhip altogether unmanageable.

THIS year died the celebrated earl of Chatham, one of the greateſt orators, as well as one of the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful miniſters that this country ever produced. As ſome mark of national gratitude for the many eminent ſervices he had performed to his country, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was now granted by parliament for diſcharging his debts; an annuity of four thouſand was ſettled upon his ſon and ſucceſſor, and upon all the heirs of his body that ſhall inherit the earldom of Chatham; his remains were interred with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey; and a monument was ordered to be erected to his memory at the public expence.

ABOUT this time a bold adventurer, of the name of Paul Jones, kept all the weſtern coaſt of the iſland in alarm. He landed at Whitehaven, where he burned a ſhip in the harbour, and even attempted to burn the town. He afterwards landed in Scotland, and plundered the houſe of the earl of Selkirk. He ſome time after fought a bloody battle with captain Pearſon of the Serapis, whom he compelled to ſurrender; and ſo ſhattered was his own ſhip in the engagement, that he had no ſooner quitted her, in order to take poſſeſſion of his prize, than ſhe went to the bottom. Captain Farmer too, of the Quebec, fought a no leſs deſperate battle with a French ſhip of greatly ſuperior force. He continued the engagement with unremittad fury, till his own ſhip, accidentally taking fire, was

A. D. 1779.

was blown into the air, together with himſelf and moſt of his crew.

Even after France had declared in favour of the Americans, the miniſtry would not ſuffer themſelves to believe, and had it been in their power, they would willingly have prevented the reſt of the nation from believing, that ever it was poſſible for Spain to adopt the ſame conduct. They had now, however, the mortification to have their eyes opened, whether they would or not; for Spain actually followed the example of her Gallic neighbour in acknowledging the independence of the American colonies; and the fleets of theſe two great powers being joined together, rendered them more than a match for that of Great-Britain.

The chief ſcene of action between England and her enemies was the Weſt-Indies, where we reduced the iſland of St. Lucia. But this advantage was more than counter-balanced by the loſs of Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Grenada, which the enemy took from us. Nothing of importance happened this year in America, except the reduction of Georgia by commodore Parker and colonel Campbell; and an attempt, which the French admiral D'Eſtaign, and the American general Lincoln, made to recover it, but in which they were bravely repulſed by major-general Prevoſt. As to general Waſhington, he ſtill kept upon the defenſive; nor could ſir Henry Clinton, with all his military ſkill and addreſs, bring him to a pitched battle.

A petty expedition was undertaken in October, which we mention only for the ſake of a very ſingular adventure, to which it gave occaſion. It was againſt a Spaniſh fort, named St. Fernando de Omoa, in the province of Honduras. The land-forces were conducted by captain Dalrymple; the fleet, by commodore Luttrel. The place was taken by ſcalade. But the enemy being apprized of the approach of the Engliſh, had conveyed, into the interior part of the country, the treaſure which was lodged in the fort; ſo that the captors found in it no more than 8000 dollars. The commodore, however, made prize of two regiſter ſhips, containing about three millions of dollars.

In the taking of this place an Engliſh ſailor behaved with a magnanimity, that perhaps was never equalled, and could not well be exceeded. Having clambered over the walls ſingly, he had, for the better annoyance of the enemy, armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus accoutred, he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouzed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion of the aſſault, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the ſeaman;

who, disdaining to attack an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquish so happy an opportunity of displaying his courage in single combat, presented one of the cutlasses to the officer, saying at the same time,—"I scorn to take any advantage of you; you are now upon a footing with me." The consequence may easily be imagined. The officer, overcome by the generosity, more than by the bravery of his assailant, immediately surrendered himself a prisoner of war.

This year a fresh attempt was made to compromise all differences with the American colonies in an amicable manner; and for this purpose three commissioners were sent out to that part of the world, viz. the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnston; but it was plain to every man of common sense, that, after the sword had been used so long, it was in vain to think of settling the dispute with a few strokes of the pen. The congress, however, in compliment to the commissioners, some of whom were supposed to be not very ill affected to their cause, consented to enter into a negociation on the subject; but the treaty was suddenly and abruptly broke off by the imprudent conduct of governor Johnston, who, finding it impossible to succeed in an open and direct manner, is said to have had recourse to the indirect method of bribery, and to have offered Mr. Reed, one of the American generals, the sum of ten thousand pounds, and any office in the colonies his majesty had to bestow, provided he would use his influence in bringing about an accommodation. This offer Mr. Reed rejected with that high and independent spirit, which is more commonly to be found in a free state, than under any other government—"I am not," said he, worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it:" an answer that would have done honour to an old Roman, even in the most virtuous times of the republic.

It is an observation of Milton's, that the trappings of royalty are sufficient to set up a republic. This maxim seems at this time to have been strongly verified in the conduct of our own ministers, who are said to have squandered away the public money with the utmost prodigality and profusion. Heavy complaints were made on this subject by the opposition in both houses. Petitions, too, to the same purpose, were presented to parliament by the counties of York and Middlesex, and by almost every county and corporation in the kingdom. In consequence of these, a bill was introduced by the minister himself, for appointing commissioners to enquire into the public accounts; and the discoveries which the gentlemen intrusted

A. D. 1780.

intruſted with this charge made in the courſe of their examination, threw great light upon the collection, as well as expenditure, of ſeveral branches of the revenue. By a plan too, which was formed by Mr. Burke, conſiderable retrenchments were made in the expences of the civil liſt; and the board of trade, and ſome other uſeleſs and ſuperfluous offices, were entirely aboliſhed.

The Engliſh ſeem never to have heartily approved of the war with America: they ſtill conſidered it as a civil war, in which, whichever party ſucceeded, the empire muſt ultimately ſuffer. Hence it was, that they were neither much elated with the victories we obtained, nor dejected with the loſſes we met with in that part of the world. The caſe was very different with the war by ſea; for as that was carried on, not ſo much againſt the Americans (who having no navy, were unable to maintain a general ſea-engagement) as againſt our old enemies, or rivals, the French and Spaniards, it intereſted the nation much more nearly; and every advantage we obtained upon the watry element, filled us with the moſt ſincere and exquiſite joy, as evidently appeared in the triumph we expreſſed at the ſucceſs of admiral Rodney, the moſt fortunate, if not the braveſt ſea-officer we employed during the whole courſe of this unhappy quarrel. Being now entruſted with the command of a ſquadron, that gentleman ſet ſail for Gibraltar, and in his way thither, he firſt took a rich convoy of Spaniſh merchantmen, and afterwards defeated a fleet of Spaniſh men of war, taking the admiral Don Langara's ſhip, and three other ſhips of the line: a few months after he fought three ſucceſſive battles, with a ſuperior French fleet, in the Weſt-Indies; and to mention all his gallant actions at once, in 1782, he obtained a moſt glorious victory, in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, over another French fleet, commanded by the count de Graſſe, taking the admiral's own ſhip, the Ville de Paris, of 110 guns, and ſeveral others.

The ſucceſs of this battle, which laſted a whole day, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the undaunted bravery of admiral Rodney himſelf, who, with his own ſhip the Formidable, and his two ſeconds, the Namur and Duke, broke through the enemy's line, and thereby threw them into inextricable confuſion. But though from this time the French could have no rational hope of being able to gain the battle, yet did they not yield till after a long, an obſtinate, and, on their ſide at leaſt, a moſt bloody conteſt. The Canada, of 74 guns, captain Cornwallis, took the French ſhip Hector, of the ſame force. Captain Ingleſield, in the Centaur, of 74 guns, came up from the rear, to the attack of the Cæſar, of 74 likewiſe. Both

ſhips were yet freſh and unhurt, and a moſt gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently much the worſt of the combat, he ſtill diſdained to ſubmit. Three other ſhips came up ſucceſſively, and he bore to be torn almoſt to pieces by their fire. His courage was invincible: he is ſaid to have nailed his colours to the maſt, and his death alone could put an end to the conteſt. When ſhe ſtruck, her maſt went overboard, and ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot-hole.

As to M. de Graſſe himſelf, he was nobly ſupported, even after the line was broken, and until the diſorder and confuſion became irremediable, by the ſhips that were near him. His two ſeconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly diſtinguiſhed; and the former narrowly eſcaped being taken, in her laſt effort to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being already much battered, was cloſely laid along ſide by the Canada; and in a deſperate action of near two hours, was reduced almoſt to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was ſo eager to engage the French admiral, that, without taking poſſeſſion of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he puſhed on to the Ville de Paris. It ſeemed as if M. de Graſſe was determined to ſink, rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag; but he likewiſe undoubtedly conſidered the fatal effects which the ſtriking of his flag might produce on the reſt of the fleet. Other ſhips came up towards the cloſe of the action with the Canada; but he ſtill held out. At length ſir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, juſt almoſt at ſun-ſet, and poured in a moſt tremendous and deſtructive fire, which is ſaid to have killed ſixty men outright; but M. de Graſſe, willing to ſignalize, as much as poſſible, the loſs of ſo fine and ſo favourite a ſhip, endured the repetition of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then ſtruck his flag to the Barfleur, and ſurrendered himſelf to ſir Samuel Hood. It is ſaid, that, at the time the Ville de Paris ſtruck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck; and that the count de Graſſe was one of the three. Four hundred men were killed on board of this ſingle ſhip, whereas the loſs of the Engliſh, in the whole, did not exceed 253 men killed, and 1050 wounded. It is hard to ſay, whether this victory was productive of moſt honour to the admiral or advantage to his country; for it defeated a moſt formidable invaſion that was going to have been made upon Jamaica, and which would probably have deprived us of that iſland, and conſequently have annihilated our power in the Weſt-Indies. For theſe and his other ſervices admiral Rodney was, in a little time after,

after, raiſed to the peerage. Sir Samuel Hood too was created an Iriſh peer.

THE principal events that happened this year in America were the reduction of Charles-Town, South-Carolina, by ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot; the defeat of general Gates by lord Cornwallis; the execution of major Andrée, adjutant-general to the Britiſh forces, who was taken in diſguiſe within the American lines, and condemned as a ſpy; and the deſertion of general Arnold from the American cauſe, and his joining the Britiſh army.

ONE of the unhappy conſequences of the American war was, that even our old and moſt natural ally, the empreſs of Ruſſia, took advantage of it, in order to ſtrip us of that ſovereignty of the ſea, which we had always conſidered as our peculiar right, and our greateſt glory. In a manifeſto which ſhe publiſhed, inviting all the maritime ſtates to join in an aſſociation, under the name of the armed neutrality, ſhe declared, that every power has a right to carry on a free and unlimited trade without check or controul, notwithſtanding a war may prevail between any two or more nations. And it was in ſupport of this new principle (new at leaſt to the people of England) that the Dutch now declared war againſt Great-Britain. For ſome of their veſſels, that were carrying naval ſtores to the French ports, being ſtopped by our cruizers, this was either conſidered as a cauſe, or was made a pretext, for their joining in the confederacy already formed againſt us.

EVEN the Iriſh were ſo ungenerous, or, as ſome perhaps will ſay, they were ſo prudent, as to avail themſelves of our preſent difficulties, and to render their own parliament completely independent of that of Great-Britain. For Ireland being now threatened with an invaſion from France, and the army upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment being conſiderably weakened by the draughts that had been made from it for the American war, the people thought proper, of their own accord, and by their own proper authority, to take up arms for the defence of their country; and this they did with ſo much zeal and activity, that, in a little time, they are ſaid to have formed an army of not leſs than fifty or ſixty thouſand men, called the Iriſh Volunteers, and who were thoroughly trained and diſciplined. Having thus effectually ſecured themſelves againſt all danger from foreign foes, they were determined likewiſe, they ſaid, to free themſelves from domeſtic uſurpation; and they accordingly preſented ſo many and ſuch ſpirited petitions to the Britiſh legiſlature, that they at laſt obtained the entire independence of their own parliament. From this time forward Ireland can hardly be ſaid to have any other political connec-

tion with Great-Britain, than that it is governed by the ſame king, which is exactly the ſame kind of connection that exiſts between this country and Hanover.

OUR more immediate domeſtic occurrences this year were of a moſt ſhocking and diſgraceful nature. In conſequence of ſome indulgences now granted by the parliament to Roman Chatholics, a riotous and licentious mob aſſembled in St. George's-fields, in order to petition the two houſes againſt theſe marks of lenity; ſoon after which they proceeded to commit the moſt terrible devaſtations. They deſtroyed all the Romiſh chapels in and about town; they burned the priſons of Newgate, the Fleet, and King's-bench, together with the houſes of many private perſons; and they were even going to make an attack upon the Bank, when they were happily oppoſed by a body of citizens, who had learned the military diſcipline, and called themſelves the London aſſociation, as well as by the regular troops, who were now called in; and theſe two together ſoon ſuppreſſed the riot, though not till they had killed, or mortally wounded about two hundred and twenty of the ringleaders. Several of the rioters were likewiſe apprehended, and were afterwards tried, condemned, and executed near the place where they had committed their outrages. Lord George Gordon, too, was tried for having collected this aſſembly; but as it appeared, that he was actuated ſolely by religious prejudices, and had never encouraged the mob to commit, nor even expected they would commit any violence, he was acquitted.

WAR being now formally declared againſt Holland, admiral Rodney made an attack upon the iſland of St. Euſtatius, which he reduced, and where he found an immenſe booty; but it was ſoon after retaken by the French.

A. D. 1781. About the ſame time a deſperate engagement happened off the Dogger-bank, on the coaſt of Holland, between a ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips under admiral Hyde Parker, and a like ſquadron of Dutch ſhips under admiral Zoutman. The action was maintained for three hours and forty minutes, with equal gallantry on both ſides, and at laſt ended in a drawn battle.

IN America, ſome petty ſkirmiſhes happened, and ſome trifling encounters by ſea, in ſome of which we failed, and in others ſucceeded. But at laſt earl Cornwallis, our commander in chief, got himſelf into a ſituation in Virginia, from which no military ſkill or addreſs could poſſibly deliver him; and he was therefore obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his whole army priſoners of war, to the united armies of America and France, under the command of general Waſhington. This

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was the ſecond Britiſh army that had been captured in America, and might have ſerved to convince our miniſters, if any thing could have convinced them, of the extreme difficulty, if not the utter impoſſibility, of carrying on a ſucceſsful war in ſo remote and extenſive a continent, where the enemy, as natives, were ſo much better acquainted with the face of the country, and conſequently poſſeſſed ſuch advantages over us.

THE great object of the Spaniards in declaring war againſt England, ſeems not ſo much to have been the eſtabliſhing the independency of America, as the recovering of thoſe places which we had formerly wreſted from them. This was particularly the caſe with regard to the fortreſs of Gibraltar, which they had kept cloſely inveſted for ſome time both by ſea and land.

THE ſiege of this place is one of the moſt memorable to be found in hiſtory, whether we conſider the greatneſs of the force with which it was attacked, the confidence of ſucceſs entertained by the aſſailants, or the complete diſcomfiture of all their hopes by the admirable ſkill and gallantry of the governor, general Elliot. The whole power of the French and Spaniſh monarchies was exerted on this occaſion. The preparations both by ſea and land were immenſe, and ſuch as exceeded every thing of the kind that had ever been known before. No leſs than 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance were collected for the various purpoſes of the ſiege. The quantities of powder, ſhot, ſhells, and of every kind of military ſtores and proviſion, were almoſt incredible. The quantity of gun-powder alone is ſaid to have exceeded 83,000 barrels. Forty gun-boats with heavy artillery, as many bomb-veſſels with twelve inch mortars, beſides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches on the uſual conſtruction, were likewiſe prepared. But that which was expected to produce the chief effect, and to decide the fate of Gibraltar, was a number of large battering ſhips, of which there were ten formed upon ſuch a peculiar principle, that they could neither be ſunk, nor ſet on fire. Almoſt all the frigates and ſmaller veſſels of the kingdom were aſſembled, to afford ſuch aid as they might be found capable of, and 300 large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which, with the very great number already in the neighbourhood, were to miniſter to the fighting veſſels during the action, and to land troops in the place, as ſoon as they had diſmantled the fortreſs. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about fifty ſail of the line, were to cover and ſupport the attack; and could not but greatly heighten the terrors, as well

as the magnificence of the ſcene. Still farther to animate the troops, and inſpire them with that enthuſiaſtic valour, which the preſence of any of the branches of the royal family is always known to excite, particularly among the French (and there were twelve thouſand French ſoldiers in the beſieging army), the count d'Artois, the king of France's brother, and his couſin the duke of Bourbon, arrived in the camp; and from that time forward the men became ſo impatient for action, that every day ſeemed an age, until they ſhould have an opportunity of diſplaying their courage before ſuch illuſtrious ſpectators.

THE great and important day at laſt arrived, that was to determine the fate of Gibraltar; and ſuch were the ſurpriſing effects which the enemy expected from their numerous batteries both by ſea and land, that twenty-four hours was a longer time than was generally thought neceſſary for completing the reduction, if not the entire deſtruction of the place; for if the garriſon ſhould be ſo obſtinate, or rather, indeed, deſperate, as to refuſe to ſurrender, they made no doubt but they ſhould be able to level the works with the ground.

ACCORDINGLY on the 13th of September the batteries were opened, and the cannonade and bombardment on all ſides, and in all directions, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious ſhowers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcaſſes, which filled the air, and without intermiſſion were thrown from the garriſon, to every part of the various attacks both by ſea and land, aſtoniſhed the commanders of the allied forces, who could not conceive the poſſibility of general Elliot's being able to conſtruct or to manage ſuch a multitude of furnaces as they deemed neceſſary to the heating the infinite quantity of ſhot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ſhips alone received in the courſe of the day, was eſtimated in their own accounts at not leſs than four thouſand. Nor were the mortar batteries in the fortreſs worſe ſupported; and while the battering ſhips appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehenſion to the garriſon, the whole extent of the peninſula ſeemed, at the ſame time, to be overwhelmed with the torrents of fire which were inceſſantly poured upon it. As the violence of the attacks correſponded with the fury of the defence, and as the means and powers of annoyance and deſtruction were prodigious on both ſides, no imagination could conceive a ſcene more terrible, than this day and the ſucceeding night exhibited. All deſcription would fail in attempting to convey adequate ideas of ſuch a ſcene; and the very actors in it could not have

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any clear conception of what was paſſing, amidſt the ſurrounding tumult and uproar.

THE fire for ſome time was ſo nearly equal on both ſides, that it was difficult to determine which had the ſuperiority; but at laſt that of the garriſon evidently gained the advantage, by ſetting fire, firſt to the admiral's battering ſhip, then to that of the prince of Naſſau, and in the courſe of the enſuing night to all the other battering ſhips without exception. The light of the morning no ſooner appeared, than a moſt dreadful ſpectacle was preſented to view. Numbers of men were ſeen in the midſt of the flames, crying out for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, expoſed to an equal, though leſs dreadful danger, from the oppoſite element. Even thoſe in the ſhips, where the fire had yet made a leſs progreſs, expreſſed in their looks, geſtures, and words, the deepeſt diſtreſs and deſpair; and were no leſs urgent in imploring aſſiſtance.

THE humanity of the victors was now as conſpicuous as had formerly been their courage, and did them infinitely more honour. The fire from the garriſon immediately ceaſed, and every poſſible endeavour was uſed to reſcue the enemy from the ſurrounding deſtruction. This generous office fell entirely to the ſhare of the marine brigade, commanded by captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate; and though all the men and officers of that corps exerted themſelves with uncommon intrepidity, yet was the captain particularly diſtinguiſhed. With his own hands he dragged out the terrified victims from the midſt of the flames, and frequently to the moſt imminent danger of his own life; for his pinnace being cloſe to one of the burning ſhips when ſhe blew up, not only ſeveral of his men were killed, but a large hole was ſtruck, by the falling timber, through the bottom of the boat, which was only prevented for the inſtant from ſinking by the ſailors ſtuffing the hole with their jackets, until other boats arrived to their aſſiſtance. By theſe generous efforts, about 400 men were ſaved from inevitable deſtruction; though the loſs of the enemy, during the whole attack by ſea, is ſuppoſed to have amounted to above 1500.

THEIR loſs by land muſt likewiſe have been conſiderable, not only during the grand attack, but in the ſeveral petty attacks that were made previous to it. This we may eaſily collect from the following paſſage of a letter, written by a French officer in the beſieging army, and giving an account of the havoc committed in the attack made on the 8th of September—"The eye," ſays he, "is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the ſighs and groans of the dying and wounded.

wounded, whom the ſoldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man ſhudder; and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my poſt, the numbers are ſtill greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this inſtant, leiſure to reflect much on the ſtate and condition of mankind." Our loſs, on the other hand, was comparatively ſmall. It conſiſted only of ſixty-five private men and non-commiſſioned officers killed; but the wounded, including twelve commiſſioned officers, were no leſs than 400; and of theſe, a captain and a lieutenant died. Nor was the damage done to the works ſo conſiderable as to afford any room for future apprehenſions; or at all to bear any proportion to the violence of the attacks, or the exceſſive weight of fire they ſuſtained.

SUCH was the ſignal and complete defenſive victory obtained by a comparatively ſmall body of men over the combined efforts and united powers, by ſea and land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who, ſparing no expence, labour, or exertion of art, for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparations: a victory, which has ſhed a ſignal blaze of glory over the whole garriſon, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of general Elliot, and to hand down to poſterity, with diſtinguiſhed honour, thoſe of lieutenant-general Boyd, and the other principal officers. To anticipate a little, it may not be improper to obſerve, that general Elliot, upon his return home a few years after, was raiſed to the peerage by the title of lord Heathfield, an honour, which he ſeems as juſtly to have merited as any one that ever was advanced to the ſame dignity. Captain Curtis too, for his gallant exertions, as well in annoying the enemy during the action, as in ſaving their lives after it was over, received the honour of knighthood.

THOUGH the capture of lord Cornwallis did not put an actual, yet it may be ſaid to have put a virtual end to the war in America. All hopes of conquering it were from that time abandoned as vain and chimerical; and every military operation, that we afterwards carried on, was not ſo much with a view of ſubjugating the colonies, as to maintain the honour of the Britiſh arms. The object of the war, therefore, being now fairly given up as altogether unattainable, the minds of men in general were ſet upon a peace; but as peace could not be decently concluded by that miniſtry, which had ſo long and ſo obſtinately carried on the war, there was an abſolute neceſſity for a new miniſtry. The old miniſtry, there-

therefore, was diſmiſſed, and a new one appointed. The marquis of Rockingham was made firſt lord of the treaſury; lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox and lord Shelburne, ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance; and general Conway, commander in chief of the army. In a word, there was hardly a ſingle member of the late miniſtry that retained his place in the preſent, except the chancellor, lord Thurlow; and he is ſaid to have had a capital hand in bringing about the change.

THE miniſtry had no ſooner entered into office, than they ſet about the accompliſhment of the great work for which they had been appointed, namely, the concluſion of a peace, negociations for which were opened at Paris; but before they had proceeded far in this popular, but arduous undertaking, they ſuddenly, and unhappily for the nation, fell in pieces by the death of their leader the marquis of Rockingham. He was ſucceeded by the earl of Shelburne; and this gave ſo much diſguſt to ſome of the principal members of adminiſtration, that Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendiſh, Mr. Burke, paymaſter of the forces, and ſeveral other gentlemen reſigned their places. Mr. Fox was ſucceeded by lord Grantham, lord John Cavendiſh by Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Burke by Iſaac Barrè, eſq.

THE parliament meeting on the fifth of December, his majeſty made one of the longeſt ſpeeches, which is ſaid to have been compoſed by lord Shelburne, that ever was delivered from the throne ſince the time of James I. Lord Shelburne is ſaid to be a man of taſte and learning; yet is it remarkable, that this ſpeech contains ſeveral tautologies, and even ſome grammatical errors.

SOME things happened about this time in the Eaſt-Indies that are worthy of notice. The province of Benares, which, on account of its happy ſituation on the banks of the Ganges, and the high degree of cultivation to which it was brought, had long been eſteemed the paradiſe of India, was, after a ſucceſſion of treaties, intrigues, petty ſkirmiſhes, and conſiderable bloodſhed, at laſt rendered entirely dependent on the Eaſt-India company, being obliged to pay them a clear revenue of 500,000 pounds a year. Towards the more ſouthern parts of Indoſtan, indeed, our poſſeſſions were expoſed to conſiderable danger, from a combination formed between the French and Hyder Ally, not only for diſpoſſeſſing us of Madraſs, but even for expelling us entirely from the Carnatic; but all their attempts were rendered ineffectual by the bravery and good conduct of ſir Edward Hughes and ſir Eyre Coote, who commanded

commanded our ſea and land forces in that part of the world. The French, however, though they failed in their grand project, ſucceeded in another of leſs importance: they took from us the fort of Trincomale, in the iſland of Ceylon, which we had lately conquered from the Dutch.

TOWARDS the interior parts of the country, and on the coaſt of Malabar, we met with a variety of fortune, ſometimes good, and ſometimes bad, though the former ſeems, upon the whole, to have greatly preponderated. The moſt remarkable incident was the capture of general Mathews, with his whole army, by Tippoo Saib, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Hyder Ally; the long and ſevere impriſonment which the common men were made to ſuffer; and the cruel death inflicted upon the general himſelf and ſome of his principal officers. The manner of the general's death is variouſly related. Some ſay, that melted lead was poured down his throat; others, that ſcalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third ſet affirm, that he was compelled to ſwallow the poiſonous milk or juice of a ſhrub, by which he died in great agonies. The reaſon aſſigned for theſe acts of cruelty was, that neither the general nor his men had acted honourably in the capitulation they had made when they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners; that they had promiſed to deliver up all the money they had about them, inſtead of which they had artfully endeavoured to conceal the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it; and that ſome of them had even ſecreted it in the hair of their head.

IT was in the courſe of this ſummer that we *A. D.* 1783. received the firſt certain account of the fate of the Ville de Paris; and the intelligence was obtained in a very ſingular and extraordinary manner. A man of the name of Wilſon, who had been a ſailor on board of that ſhip, was taken up, floating upon a piece of a wreck, in the midſt of the Atlantic ocean, by a Daniſh merchantman; and being afterwards brought to England, ſaid, that when the ſhip was going to pieces, he clung to the wreck, but had been ſo overcome by terror, that he could remember nothing farther, and was in a ſtate of total inſenſibility during the greateſt part of the time that he lay in the water. He, however, perfectly recollected, that the Glorieux (another French prize, of 74 guns) had foundered, and that he had ſeen her go down, on the day preceding that in which the Ville de Paris periſhed. The ſame was the fate of the Hector (another French prize); as alſo of the Ramillies and Centaur; and though the crews of the two firſt were happily ſaved, that of the laſt, except eleven that eſcaped, were buried in the ocean.

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ALTHOUGH the preſent miniſtry were ſuperior in parliamentary, and perhaps even in national intereſt, either to the party of lord North, or to that of Mr. Fox ſeparately, yet were they inferior, in both theſe reſpects, to the other two united; and as both his lordſhip and Mr. Fox were equally deſirous of returning into power, they now thought proper to join their intereſts together, and formed what was afterwards called the Coalition, by which they out-voted the miniſters, not only in the lower houſe, but even in the upper. There was, therefore, a neceſſity for another change of miniſtry, without which it was impoſſible to conduct the public buſineſs. Accordingly, the poſt of firſt lord of the treaſury was beſtowed upon the duke of Portland, who was looked upon as the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed the marquis of Rockingham; lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; lord John Cavendiſh, Mr. Burke, and the other members of the late adminiſtration, reſumed their employments; and the great ſeal was put in commiſſion, and intruſted to the care of lord Loughborough, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, and of the judges Aſhurſt and Hotham. The new ſervants of the crown, or, as they probably likewiſe thought themſelves, of the nation, loſt no time in reſuming the negociation for a peace, which had all along been carrying on, and which they now at length brought to a happy concluſion. By this treaty, which was ſigned at Paris on the third of September, Great-Britain acknowledged the thirteen united provinces of North America to be free, ſovereign, and independent ſtates. In the Weſt-Indies, ſhe reſtored to France the iſland of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the iſland of Tobago; in exchange for which ſhe received the reſtitution of Grenada and the Grenadines, together with the iſlands of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat. In the Eaſt-Indies, ſhe reſtored to France all the places ſhe had taken from her during the war, and at the ſame time put her in poſſeſſion of many new advantages. She allowed Spain to retain Minorca and Weſt Florida, and ſhe even ceded to her the province of Eaſt Florida, in exchange for which ſhe only received the reſtitution of the comparatively inſignificant iſlands of Bahama. With regard to the Dutch, matters were reſtored to nearly the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood at the commencement of hoſtilities, except that the Engliſh were allowed to retain the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies.

THE miniſtry, however, of lord North and Mr. Fox, or, as it is uſually called, the coalition miniſtry, though compoſed of men of the greateſt abilities, and ſupported by a large majority

jority in both houſes, was never ſuppoſed to be very acceptable to his majeſty, as, inſtead of being voluntarily appointed by him, they were ſaid to have forced their way into the cabinet by the mere ſtrength of their parliamentary intereſt. It is therefore natural to think, that during the whole time they were in power, ſecret cabals would be forming againſt them, by their political enemies, for turning them out of place, as ſoon as it could be done with ſafety; and for this, it muſt be owned, the miniſtry themſelves furniſhed their opponents with but too fair an handle.

THE affairs of the Eaſt-India company had long been involved in the greateſt confuſion, partly by the rapacity of their ſervants abroad, and partly by the miſmanagement of the directors at home. To remedy, therefore, this growing evil, which was now arrived at ſuch a height, that the company is ſaid to have been upon the very brink of bankruptcy, Mr. Fox introduced into the houſe of commons his two famous Eaſt-India bills; one for taking the affairs of the company out of the hands of the directors, and placing them in thoſe of commiſſioners to be appointed by parliament; and the other for the better government of the territorial poſſeſſions and dependences in India. Theſe meaſures, however bold, were yet, in the opinion of many people, not more bold than neceſſary. The diſeaſe, it was ſaid, was deſperate, and required a deſperate remedy. The oppoſition themſelves ſeemed almoſt to acknowledge as much. They ſaid, that palliatives would not do, that the wound muſt be probed to the bottom, and a radical cure effected; and they loudly and repeatedly called upon the miniſtry to bring forward their plan for this purpoſe. But when that plan was actually brought forward, ſo loud and ſo general an outcry was raiſed againſt it, both by the oppoſition in parliament, and by the Eaſt-India company, as, after engaging, or rather indeed engroſſing the public attention for ſome time, terminated at laſt in the removal of the miniſtry.

THE firſt bill, however, in the mean time, was
A. D. 1784. carried triumphantly through the houſe of commons, being ſupported by no leſs than 229 members, and oppoſed only by 120. But it met in the upper houſe with a very different fate; it was there rejected by a majority of 19; and its rejection is ſuppoſed to have been owing to a circumſtance of a very ſingular, and indeed of a very unconſtitutional nature, as it is certainly unconſtitutional, in the higheſt degree, for the ſovereign to take notice of any bill while it is depending in either houſe of parliament. Earl Temple, however, is ſaid to have declared to ſeveral peers, that the king diſapproved of the preſent bill, and would conſider

ſider all thoſe not as his friends, but his enemies, who ſhould vote for it; a declaration, which, if it was made, could not fail to have a conſiderable influence on the conduct of the houſe. Be this as it may, certain it is, that, from the time of the bill's being rejected by the lords, the miniſtry were conſidered as having loſt the confidence of their ſovereign, and conſequently as being virtually, if not actually diſmiſſed. Nor was it long before they were ſo in reality; for on the very night that ſucceeded the rejection of the bill, a meſſenger carried to the two ſecretaries of ſtate his majeſty's orders, "that they ſhould deliver up the ſeals of their office, and ſend them by the under-ſecretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a perſonal interview on the occaſion would be diſagreeable to him." The ſeals were accordingly brought to the king, who immediately gave them to earl Temple; and he the next day ſent letters of diſmiſſion to the reſt of the cabinet council; at the ſame time Mr. William Pitt was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer, and earl Gower preſident of the council. In a few days after, lord Temple reſigned the ſeals of his office, and they were delivered to lord Sydney, as ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and to the marquis of Carmarthen, for the foreign. Lord Thurlow was appointed high chancellor of Great-Britain, the duke of Rutland lord privy ſeal, lord viſcount Howe firſt lord of the admiralty, and the duke of Richmond maſter-general of the ordnance; Mr. William Grenville and lord Mulgrave ſucceeded Mr. Burke in the pay-office of the army; and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed treaſurer of the navy. This was the fifth miniſtry the nation had ſeen in the ſpace of leſs than two years; an inſtance of rapidity, or rather precipitation, in the change of the public ſervants, that is certainly unexampled in the hiſtory of this, and perhaps in that of any other country.

THE new miniſtry, however, though poſſeſſing the favour of their ſovereign, and a majority in the houſe of lords, were yet in a very critical and perilous ſituation. They had a ſtrong majority againſt them in the lower houſe, and how to overcome that difficulty was the queſtion. All men of ſenſe foreſaw, that it could not be done any other way than by a diſſolution of the preſent, and the election of a new parliament; but this was a meaſure ſo violent, that the miniſtry, for a long time, were extremely unwilling to avow their intention of adopting it, and the commons, on their ſide, were no leſs eager to put it out of their power, as far as they could, ever to adopt it. With this view, they repeatedly called upon the miniſter to declare, whether he had formed

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any ſuch deſign; but met with nothing but evaſive anſwers. They then addreſſed the king on the ſubject; and even his anſwers, it was thought, were not altogether conſiſtent with that ſacred regard to truth, which ought ever to diſtinguiſh the character of a ſovereign. As their laſt reſource, they began to talk of refuſing the ſupplies; but reflecting that, in this caſe, the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe, and that refuſing the ſupplies, and thereby ſtopping the wheels of government, would be a greater national calamity, than even the diſſolution of parliament, they were at length perſuaded to grant them, though, at the ſame time, they laid the miniſters under the moſt ſevere reſtrictions with regard to the expenditure of the money.

MEAN while endeavours were uſed by ſome of the moſt independent and diſintereſted members of the houſe to bring about an accommodation between the parties, and to form a miniſtry upon ſo broad and comprehenſive a plan, as to take in the leading men on both ſides. But this, after repeated experiments, was found to be abſolutely impracticable; their views were ſo different, their mutual jealouſies ſo ſtrong, and perhaps even their ambition ſo inordinate, as to preclude any well-grounded hope of ever effecting an union between them. The miniſtry, therefore, having obtained the ſupplies, which was the chief point they aimed at, thought it now no longer neceſſary to diſſemble their intentions, and the parliament, accordingly, was diſſolved on the 25th day of March, and writs were iſſued for electing a new one.

THE moſt eminent perſons that died this year, were prince Octavius, their majeſties' young ſon, in the fifth year of his age; Dr. Cornwallis, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr. William Hunter, the celebrated anatomiſt; Dr. Benjamin Kennicot, the learned editor of an Hebrew Bible; lord viſcount Hereford, premier viſcount of England; lord viſcount Hampdon; the earl of Suffolk; earl Spencer; lord Aſhburton, formerly counſellor Dunning; James Wallace, eſq. attorney-general; the celebrated Euler, one of the greateſt mathematicians of the age; and monſieur d'Alembert, member of the French academies.

DURING the laſt ſeſſion of parliament two committees (one called a ſelect, the other a ſecret committee) were appointed for the purpoſe of enquiring into the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, and particularly into the conduct of their ſervants abroad; and theſe enquiries produced diſcoveries, that laid the foundation of a proſecution, firſt againſt ſir Thomas Rumbold, governor of Madraſs, and afterwards againſt Mr. Haſtings, governor-general of Bengal. But the firſt of

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theſe proſecutions, after being carried on for a long time, and to a conſiderable extent, and at one period having ſo ominous an appearance as to threaten ſir Thomas with the loſs, if not of the whole, at leaſt of a large part of his fortune, was ſuddenly and unexpectedly dropped, for reaſons that were never explained to the public. The other proſecution is not yet concluded.

Some of the diſcoveries made by theſe committees were of ſo ſingular and alarming a nature, that they ought not entirely to be paſt over in ſilence. One was, that the company's ſervants in the Eaſt-Indies were in the habit of lending money to the country powers, at the exorbitant intereſt of 24, nay even ſometimes of 36 per cent. and then aſſiſting theſe powers to plunder and pillage their ſubjects, in order to enable them to diſcharge the intereſt as well as the capital. Another was, that the ſon of a gentleman, who had formerly been chairman of the court of directors in England, obtained a contract in leſs than two months after his arrival in India, and immediately ſold it for 40,000 pounds. A third was, that the nabob of Arcot, by the advice of ſome of the company's ſervants, had actually formed a plan for ſending over to England the ſum of 700,000 pounds with a view of bribing a majority of the parliament into an approbation of his conduct in wreſting and detaining the kingdom of Tanjore from its lawful prince. Upon theſe facts every reader is left to make his own remarks; but ſurely they cannot be ſuch as will redound to the honour of thoſe of our countrymen who go out to ſeek their fortune in the eaſt.

The new parliament met on the 18th of May, when it plainly appeared, that the miniſter had as great a majority for him in this houſe of commons as he had had againſt him in the laſt. The firſt buſineſs that engaged their attention, during the firſt ſhort ſeſſion, was Mr. Pitt's famous commutation-act, by which the duty on tea was conſiderably lowered, in order to give a check to ſmuggling; and to ſupply the deficiency that would thereby be occaſioned in the revenue, an additional tax was laid upon windows. But this meaſure was loudly exclaimed againſt by the oppoſition, who ſaid, that it was a groſs deception, and no commutation at all; for that tea, though pretty generally uſed, was ſtill a luxury, which a man might refrain from the uſe of if he pleaſed, whereas the admiſſion of light into a houſe was indiſpenſably neceſſary; ſo that the act compelled a man to pay a tax for tea whether he uſed it or not. The miniſter, however, had a majority on his ſide; and that ſerved inſtead of a thouſand arguments: the act, therefore, was paſ- *A. D.* 1784.

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ſed into a law. The next bill, which the miniſter introduced, was that for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, nearly upon the ſame principle with one he had propoſed towards the concluſion of the laſt parliament. The moſt exceptionable clauſes of it were, that which compels the ſervants of the company, upon their return to England, to give in, upon oath, to the court of exchequer, an inventory of their real and perſonal eſtates; and that by which all perſons, charged with having committed crimes in India, are, upon their return, to be tried, not by a jury, like other ſubjects, but by a particular court erected for the purpoſe, and compoſed of three judges, four peers, and ſix members of the houſe of commons. The bill, however, notwithſtanding theſe and many other objections that were made to it, was carried triumphantly through both houſes, and paſſed into a law.

THE laſt act of this firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament was the reſtoration of the eſtates forfeited in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745. This meaſure, indeed, was ſtrongly oppoſed in the upper houſe by the lord chancellor; but notwithſtanding the great influence he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, the bill paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

THOUGH the miniſter had ſucceeded in his endeavours to exclude moſt of his moſt powerful opponents from a ſeat in the lower houſe, he had yet had the misfortune to fail in two or three inſtances. This was particularly the caſe with regard to Mr. Fox, the moſt formidable of all his antagoniſts. That gentleman had formerly repreſented the city of Weſtminſter. He again offered himſelf a candidate for the ſame place at the general election; and though he was oppoſed by ſir Cecil Wray, who had the whole court intereſt on his ſide, he was yet able, at the cloſe of the poll, to obtain an inconteſtable majority of votes. Mr. Corbet, indeed, the high bailiff, and as ſuch the returning officer, who appears to have been ſtrongly attached to the miniſterial party, refuſed to make a return, alledging that many of the votes were illegal. He, therefore, began a ſcrutiny into them; but after having carried it on for ſome time, he was at laſt obliged to give it up, and to return Mr. Fox as one of the members for Weſtminſter. Lord Hood was the other member. Mr. Fox afterwards proſecuted the high bailiff for refuſing to make a return, and obtained a verdict againſt him, in the court of common pleas.

WE have purpoſely delayed mentioning this fact till the preſent period, becauſe the affair of the Weſtminſter election engaged the chief attention of parliament during the whole of the firſt ſeſſion; and the various arts which the miniſtry employed,

employed, first to prevent the election of Mr. Fox, and afterwards to preclude him from taking his seat for Westminster, shew the high opinion they entertained of that gentleman's abilities; or, to speak more properly, they shewed the extreme mortification which they themselves suffered in seeing they could not hinder their most powerful political enemy from being chosen for a city, which was at once the residence of the sovereign, and the seat of the legislature. For it was of very little consequence to Mr. Fox or his friends, in an abstract sense, whether he represented Westminster, or any other place; and every body knew, that it was not in the power of the whole court interest to prevent his being chosen for some place or other. The fact is, that he was likewise chosen at this time for some Scotch boroughs, and he continued to represent them till the high bailiff of Westminster made his final return.

A new plan, projected by one Mr. Palmer, was established this year at the general post-office in London, the mails from which, instead of setting oft at one or two in the morning, as formerly, now set out about eight in the evening; and as the mail-coaches are attended by a guard, and carry passengers, who pay for their conveyance, the transmitting of letters from one place to another, is at once rendered more secure, more expeditious, and much less expensive.

We have already observed, that commissioners had been appointed to enquire into the receipt and expenditure of the public money; and from their final report, which was now given in, it appeared, that the national debt amounted to above 230,000,000, and the interest upon it 8,700,000 pounds.

The first affair that came before the parliament, when it reassembled in the beginning of the year, was the payment of the nabob of Arcot's debts, amounting to 4,400,000 pounds; and this sum was owing, not to the East-India company (for they were poor and unable to lend), but to the servants of the company, who, while their masters were almost tottering on the brink of bankruptcy, were amassing immense fortunes. What opinion the nabob himself had of these money-lenders, will appear from the following passage of a letter, which he wrote to the court of directors—"Your servants," says he, "have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages; yet in a few years they return to England with many lacks of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes, acquired in so short a time, without any visible means of getting them?" Even in the opinion of sir Thomas Rumbold, and of Mr. Smith, *A. D.* 1785.

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chairman of the court of directors, many of these debts were of a very suspicious, not to say of a downrightly fraudulent nature.

THE minister's popularity was not so much founded upon what he had done—for as he was but young, and had never before been intrusted with the chief direction of public affairs, he had never had it in his power to do any thing either highly pleasing or highly beneficial to the nation—as upon the promises he had made of what he would do, if ever he should have the power; and the propensity which the people in general had to give credit to the promises of the son of a man, who had formerly possessed so large and so deserved a share of the public good opinion. One of the most popular and patriotic actions, which the minister, when formerly chancellor of the exchequer, had promised to perform, was effecting a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament. This promise he now undertook to fulfil; and he accordingly moved for leave to bring in a bill for correcting the abuses that prevailed in electing members of parliament. The chief heads of it were, to transfer the right of chusing representatives from 36 of such boroughs, as had already fallen, or were fast falling into decay, to the counties, and to such large and populous towns as were at present unrepresented; that a fund should be provided for the purpose of giving to the owners and holders of such boroughs disfranchised, an appreciated compensation for their property; that the taking of this compensation should be a voluntary act of the proprietor; and, if not taken at present, should be placed out at compound interest, until it became an irresistible bait to such proprietors; and, finally, that the right of voting for knights of the shire should be extended to copyholders as well as freeholders. The only clauses of this bill, that are worthy of commendation, are the first and last; for as to the intermediate articles, it may truly be said, that they are only calculated to provide a compensation for a species of property, which a member of a free state should be ashamed to possess; which no free state should allow any of its members to possess; and which, if they do possess it, the public have a right to take from them without any compensation at all. It was never the intention of the English laws, or the English constitution, to allow any man to possess a right of sending members to parliament by his own sole and absolute authority. Members of parliament are intended to represent men, that is, their fellow subjects, not a few old uninhabited houses, or a few acres of untenanted land. And he that first purchased a rotten borough (as such boroughs are commonly

commonly and very juſtly called) for the ſole purpoſe of ſending members to parliament, ought to be puniſhed for his folly or preſumption by being deprived of a property, which, in conſiſtence with the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, he could never poſſeſs, and in the very act of endeavouring to poſſeſs which he ſhewed himſelf to be altogether unworthy of being a member of that free ſtate to which he belonged. We have been talking, for a long time, of aboliſhing ſlavery in the Weſt-Indies; but let us firſt begin at home, and aboliſh it among ourſelves: for how the inhabitants of this iſland can be ſaid to be free, while their laws are enacted, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, by the members for rotten boroughs, who are no more repreſentatives of the people of England than they are of the people of Otaheite, we cannot, for our own part, very eaſily comprehend. And in this caſe, indeed, the miniſter has not acted with his uſual conſiſtency: for in the ſcheme, which he afterwards propoſed for aboliſhing ſlavery in the Weſt-Indies, he declared roundly, if he is not belied, againſt granting compenſation to the Weſt-India planters for the loſs of property they might ſuſtain by the emancipation of their ſlaves; but here he ſeems to be anxious for providing compenſation to the owners of rotten boroughs: but how the property of the owner of a rotten borough in England ſhould be more ſacred than that of a planter in the Weſt-Indies, it will be difficult for any man ſatisfactorily to explain. Mr. Pitt's bill however, favourable as it was to the proprietors of rotten boroughs, was rejected by a majority of 74 votes.

PREVIOUS to his opening the budget this year the miniſter took a general review of the national finances. The whole of the public expenditure he eſtimated at 14,400,000 pounds per annum; the taxes, he thought, would produce a million more, and this odd million he propoſed to convert into a ſinking fund for the purpoſe of gradually diſcharging the national debt, by purchaſing in the cheapeſt funds 250,000 pounds every quarter. The ſcheme was accordingly begun in the courſe of the enſuing year, and we believe it has already been attended with a very good effect. The moſt unpopular taxes impoſed this ſeſſion were thoſe upon female ſervants and retail ſhopkeepers. Strong petitions in particular were preſented againſt the laſt of theſe, by moſt of the towns and corporations in the kingdom; and though the bill now paſſed, and the duty continued for ſome time to be levied, yet ſo conſtant and unremitting a clamour was kept againſt it, that the miniſter was obliged to conſent to its repeal about

three years after, and to ſupply its place by another kind of impoſt.

One of the unhappy conſequences of the American war was the ſeparation of Ireland, in her political capacity, from Great-Britain, and the difficulty that thence aroſe of regulating the commercial intercourſe between the two nations; for as Ireland had now freed herſelf from all obligation of contributing to the expences of the empire at large, it was not reaſonable that ſhe ſhould enjoy the advantages in trade and commerce which ſhe had formerly poſſeſſed. To ſettle this matter, however, in the beſt and moſt friendly manner poſſible, Mr. Orde, ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, introduced into the Iriſh parliament a ſet of propoſitions, or, as they were afterwards called, reſolutions, which, after undergoing ſome ſlight animadverſion, received the approbation of both houſes. The ſame propoſitions were ſoon after opened by Mr. Pitt in the Britiſh houſe of commons; and though they met with a violent oppoſition from the anti-miniſterial ſide of the houſe, they ſeem not at firſt to have excited any great alarm among the people in general, who, in all probability, did not underſtand them. As ſoon, however, as they did ſo, and had time to reflect on their dangerous tendency, petitions were preſented againſt them by moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns in the weſtern parts of England and Scotland; in conſequence of which the miniſter was obliged to make ſo many alterations in his old propoſitions, and to introduce ſo many new ones, that when they had paſſed through both houſes, and were ſent back to Ireland in the form of a bill, they were rejected by the Iriſh parliament with the higheſt indignation.

In the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, Mr. Burke, the principal conductor of the proſecution againſt Mr. Haſtings, brought forward his charges againſt that gentleman; and many of theſe were acknowledged by the commons to contain matters of ſo criminal a nature, as fully to juſtify them in bringing him to a trial; and next year (for in the whole affair they proceeded with the utmoſt deliberation) twenty of the moſt eminent members of oppoſition were appointed as a committee to draw up the articles to be exhibited againſt him. It is remarkable, that Mr. Pitt himſelf was the only member of adminiſtration that approved of this impeachment; and if in ſo doing he was actuated by the dictates of his own conſcience, and not by the mean motive of courting popularity, and if he perſeveres in the ſame ſentiments till the end of the trial, he will inſpire the public with a much higher opinion of his integrity and

A. D. 1786.

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independence than they are yet poſſeſſed of, high and honourable for him, in both theſe reſpects, as their preſent opinion of him may be. He has even thrown out, in the courſe of his ſpeeches in parliament, that he knows the riſk he runs, perhaps not even leſs than that of loſing his place, in ſtanding thus alone, and in oppoſition to all his colleagues in office; but that he chuſes rather to be guided by the ſuggeſtions of his own heart, than by the advice or authority of any man, or body of men, let their power and authority be ever ſo great.

In the month of July of this year a convention was concluded at London between his majeſty and the king of Spain, by which the Engliſh in the country of the Muſquitos, commonly known by the name of baymen or logwood-cutters, were obliged to evacuate the territories they then poſſeſſed, but were to receive, in return, other diſtricts more conveniently ſituated, and abounding with greater quantities of wood. And in the month of September a treaty of commerce and navigation between Great-Britain and France was ſigned at Verſailles by Mr. Eden, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, and by M. Gerard de Rayneval, on that of the French king. By this treaty a commercial intercourſe is eſtabliſhed between the two kingdoms, on the baſis of reciprocal advantage and convenience; prohibitions are taken off, duties are lowered, and rights and privileges are granted to the trading and manufacturing ſubjects of both countries, which till this period they never enjoyed. This is a new experiment in politics, and perhaps will require a longer time than has elapſed ſince its commencement, in order to determine whether or not it will prove ſucceſsful; but whatever be its fate, it ſeems to be founded on a liberal principle, and upon an opinion long entertained by ſome of the moſt ſenſible political writers, viz. that even between rival ſtates, a free and unlimited trade may be carried on, and that there is more of national prejudice than of commercial wiſdom in ſuppoſing, that the ſtrength of one muſt neceſſarily prove the weakneſs of the other.

Few people could have imagined, that the life of a prince of ſo mild and humane a diſpoſition as our preſent ſovereign, and ſo little likely to excite reſentment in the breaſt of any one, could ever have been expoſed to danger from the hands of his own ſubjects. Yet, on the 2d of Auguſt, as his majeſty was alighting from his carriage at the garden gate, St. James's palace, a woman, who appeared very decently dreſſed, in the act of preſenting a petition to his majeſty, which he was receiving with great condeſcenſion, ſtruck a concealed knife at his breaſt, which his majeſty happily avoided by

drawing back. As ſhe was making a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and, at the ſame inſtant, one of the king's footmen wreſted the knife from her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude, exclaimed—"I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her." The ſame day ſhe underwent an examination before the principal officers of ſtate, when it appeared, that her name was Margaret Nicholſon, daughter of George Nicholſon, of Stockton upon Tees; that ſhe had lived as a ſervant in ſeveral reputable families; but for three years paſt had ſupported herſelf as a ſempſtreſs; and though ſhe had never diſcovered any certain ſigns of inſanity, yet had ſhe occaſionally betrayed ſome ſlight ſymptoms of a diſordered mind. She was therefore put under the care of Dr. Monro, and at the end of ten days was brought to a ſecond examination, when, from the evidence of the doctor, and of other perſons who attended her, the lords of the privy-council were clearly and unanimouſly of opinion that ſhe was certainly inſane, in conſequence of which ſhe was committed to a cell in Bedlam, where ſhe now remains, and no doubt will remain during life. The fate of this unhappy creature ſhews the advantage of living under a free government, where, though the life of the ſovereign be as ſacred and inviolable as in the moſt arbitrary ſtate, yet an attempt upon it by an inſane perſon is not puniſhed with the ſame infernal ſpirit of revenge as it is in the other. Damien, who made an attempt upon the life of the late king of France, was to all intents and purpoſes as inſane as Mrs. Nicholſon; yet every one remembers the cruel and inhumane manner in which he was put to death.

THIS year the prince of Wales gave a ſpecimen of that greatneſs and elevation of mind, which muſt qualify him for ſwaying with dignity the ſceptre of Great-Britain, when he comes, as, if he lives, he muſt do in time, to the poſſeſſion of it. He had contracted a debt of about 250,000 pounds, and being refuſed all aſſiſtance by his father in diſcharging it, he reſolved, with a magnanimity worthy of his high rank, to deſcend into a private ſtation, and to live upon comparatively a mere pittance, allowing the bulk of his income to go towards the ſatisfaction of his creditors. He accordingly did ſo, and continued to perſevere in the ſame courſe of ſelf-denial, till at laſt his debts being paid by the public, he reſumed his former princely ſtile of living, but not without ſomething, however, of more œconomy than he had hitherto obſerved. It is worthy of notice, that the prince was obliged for the diſcharge of his debts to the oppoſition in parliament; and that the firſt motion

motion for discharging them came from alderman Newnham, one of the representatives of the city of London.

THE chief objects that engaged the attention of parliament when it assembled next year, *A. D.* 1787. were the French commercial treaty, which, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by the leaders of opposition, received the approbation of both houses; and a plan for consolidating the duties of customs and excise, by abolishing all the old laws relative to these two branches of the revenue, and establishing certain new regulations for the collecting of them, so as to render the method of doing it at once more simple, easy, and distinct. The utility of this last measure was so generally acknowledged, as to extort the applause even of the minister's most determined enemies.

A PETTY state in the neighbourhood of two great ones, must always side openly with the one or the other. It is the only way it has of preserving its independence. This is particularly the case with the republic of Holland, which must ever be engaged in a strict alliance either with Great-Britain or with France. In the early part of the republic, the Dutch seem to have preferred the alliance of the English, who were both most able and most willing to assist them. Besides, they dreaded the ambition of the French monarchs, who were then bent upon extending their dominions, and would gladly have made a conquest of the Dutch territories, had it been in their power. Of late years, however, matters have greatly altered. The extension of commerce is now become as capital an object with sovereign states and princes as ever the extension of territory was; and as the English are the great rivals of the Dutch in trade, the Hollanders appear to have grown more jealous of the English than they are of the French, and consequently to prefer an alliance with the latter. The French were too politic a people not to avail themselves of this change of circumstances; and accordingly they had been encouraging, for several years past, the popular, or, as they were sometimes called, the patriotic party in Holland, to abridge the power of the stadtholder; well knowing that as that prince was cousin-german to the king of Great-Britain, he would be desirous of maintaining the ancient connection between the Dutch commonwealth and the people of England. But his near relation to the king of Great-Britain was not the only foreign support which the stadtholder had. He was likewise brother-in-law to the king of Prussia; and it was not to be supposed, that either of these princes would patiently suffer him to be stripped of all his prerogatives, without at least making one effort in his favour.

Accordingly, the king of Pruſſia preſented repeated memorials to the ſtates-general, expreſſing his wiſhes for the reſtoration of the internal tranquillity of the republic, and his hopes of ſeeing the ſtadtholder confirmed in all his lawful rights and prerogatives. But as theſe memorials were not productive of the deſired effect, he eagerly ſought for ſome plauſible pretence of extorting that by force of arms, which he could not obtain by more gentle means. Nor was it long before he was furniſhed with the opportunity he wiſhed for. The prince and princeſs of Orange, it ſeems, had for ſome time retired from the Hague on account of the troubles that prevailed there; but the princeſs now took a reſolution of returning to that place, with a view, as ſhe ſaid, of contributing to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, but with a deſign, as her enemies gave out, of encouraging the partizans of the Orange-faction to excite freſh diſturbances. Whatever was her motive, certain it is, that ſhe was ſtopped by ſome armed burghers belonging to the patriotic party; and inſtead of being allowed to continue her journey to the Hague, was re-conducted to Nimeguen, from which ſhe had ſet out. The king of Pruſſia conſidered this, or at leaſt affected to conſider it, as ſuch an unpardonable inſult offered to his ſiſter, and indeed, through her, to his own perſon, that not being able to obtain peaceably what he deemed a ſufficient reparation, he immediately ſent an army into Holland, under the command of the duke of Brunſwick, who ſoon made himſelf maſter of the Hague and Utrecht, and even of Amſterdam itſelf.

This ſpirited ſtep, as it was thought by ſome, or violent proceeding, as it was deemed by others, had like to have produced a general war in Europe: Great-Britain and France were upon the point of coming to a rupture on the occaſion; and if once they had been ſeriouſly engaged in hoſtilities, there is no doubt but the other powers would have been gradually drawn into the quarrel. The Dutch patriots applied to the French king for thoſe ſuccours he had encouraged them to expect; and that monarch notified to the Britiſh court his intention of complying with their requeſt. Our miniſtry, on the other hand, declared their reſolution of preventing the armed interference of France in the internal affairs of the republic; in conſequence of which both parties began to arm with great ſpirit and activity.

But after continuing their warlike preparations for a few weeks, the French king, finding himſelf unable to contend at once both with Great-Britain and Pruſſia, which he muſt have done at the very commencement of hoſtilities, thought proper, by an ambiguous and equivocal declaration, to explain away

away the meaning of his former intimation; and the Engliſh miniſtry, having thus effectually gained their point, readily allowed him to extricate himſelf from his preſent embarraſſment in the beſt manner he could. An explanation, therefore, took place between the two courts, and it was mutually agreed, by what was called a declaration and counter-declaration, to diſcontinue the armaments on both ſides, and to place the marine of the two nations upon the ſame footing on which it ſtood in the beginning of the year. Thus peace was preſerved for the preſent, and, contrary to the expectation of moſt people at the time, it has ever ſince continued.

The king of Pruſſia, being now freed from all apprehenſions of any oppoſition from the French court, proceeded to ſettle the affairs of Holland in what manner he pleaſed. He deprived the patriots, or the ariſtocratic party, of all the power, which, he ſaid, they had unjuſtly aſſumed; and he reſtored the ſtadtholder to all his former rights and prerogatives.

It may not be improper to obſerve, that, though the office of ſtadtholder was now ſaid to be an eſſential part of the Dutch conſtitution, there had been no magiſtrate of that kind from the death of our king William III. to the elevation of the preſent ſtadtholder, that is, from 1702 to 1747, comprehending a ſpace of 45 years, whereas the preſent family had, at the period we are now conſidering, only enjoyed the dignity for 40 years, which is a ſhorter time than is neceſſary to entitle a man to a private eſtate by the right of preſcription.

This winter the parliament met earlier than uſual. It aſſembled on the 27th of November, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them with the ſteps he had taken to prevent the interference of the French court in the affairs of Holland; and particularly that, for this purpoſe, he had entered into a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, by which he had engaged to take into Britiſh pay 12,000 of that prince's troops in caſe of neceſſity. The addreſs to the throne, on this occaſion, met with leſs oppoſition than any that had been preſented for ſeveral years paſt. Indeed, it cannot be ſaid to have met with any oppoſition at all; for all parties, both courtiers and anti-courtiers, concurred in ſupporting it, and highly commended the meaſures that had been taken for counteracting the deſigns of the French king with regard to the diſturbances in Holland. The miniſter's conduct in this affair was repreſented as meriting the higher praiſe, as, notwithſtanding the uncommon vigour with which the preparations had been made, the whole was conducted in ſo prudent and œconomical a manner, as not to put

the nation to any greater expence than that of 336,751 pounds.

Mr. Haſtings now gave in to the lords his anſwer to the articles formerly exhibited againſt him by the commons; and this anſwer being ſent down to the lower houſe, the members returned a replication, importing, "That Warren Haſtings, eſquire, in his anſwer to the articles of impeachment exhibited againſt him by the commons, has endeavoured to cover the crimes with which he was charged by evaſive inſinuations and miſrepreſentations of facts; that the ſaid Warren Haſtings, eſq. in his ſaid anſwer, did give a gloſs and colour to the crimes alledged againſt him; but that the ſaid Warren Haſtings, eſq. was, and is guilty of the crimes of bribery, peculation, extortion, cruelty, breach of faith, and diſobedience of orders to the lawful authority under which he acted, with which he ſtood ſeverally charged; and that the commons were ready to prove the ſame at ſuch time and place as the lords might appoint. In conſequence of this reply, the lords appointed the 13th of February for the trial of Mr. Haſtings, and orders were given to fit up Weſtminſter-hall for the purpoſe.

This being accordingly done, the trial was begun, and many eloquent ſpeeches were made upon the occaſion. But all theſe were exceeded by a ſpeech which Mr. Sheridan made in the honſe of commons previous to the commencement of the trial. It was in ſupport of the third charge urged againſt Mr. Haſtings, in which that gentlemen was accuſed of having perſuaded, or rather compelled the nabob of Oude to rob his own mother. This celebrated ſpeech, which laſted for five hours, produced a ſurpriſing effect upon the houſe; the members were not only convinced; they were even charmed and tranſported. Mr. Burke declared it to be the moſt aſtoniſhing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there was any record or tradition. Mr. Fox ſaid, all that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vaniſhed like vapour before the ſun. Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that it far ſurpaſſed all the eloquence of ancient or modern times, and poſſeſſed every thing that genius or art could furniſh to agitate or controul the human mind. In paying it theſe compliments, however, they ſeem to have forgot, that there is a great difference between reading the ſpeech of an ancient orator, and hearing one pronounced by the living author. The former is deprived of all thoſe graces of action and delivery, in which, according to Demoſthenes, the greateſt charm of eloquence lies, and which will ſometimes

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of themſelves make a deep impreſſion, even though unaccompanied with any other quality. The other charges were ſupported with equal ſpirit and ability. The trial, however, is not yet concluded, and when it will it is difficult to determine.

About the ſame time ſir Gilbert Elliot, in an eloquent ſpeech, declared his intention to impeach ſir Elijah Impey, late chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal, of high crimes and miſdemeanours. This gentleman, it ſeems, not ſatisfied with executing the duties of his office as a judge, had interfered too much in politics, and was ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted Mr. Haſtings in many of his moſt exceptionable meaſures.

The number of land-forces was now ſomewhat increaſed, the better to enable government to provide for the ſecurity of our Weſt-India iſlands, which were ſaid to be in a very weak and defenceleſs ſtate. This point, however, was not carried in parliament without a violent oppoſition. Mr. Fox, in particular, condemned the meaſure in the ſtrongeſt terms. He repreſented it as likely to be followed with the moſt fatal conſequences. He compared it with the peace eſtabliſhment of 1783, which had taken place during his adminiſtration. This eſtabliſhment, he ſaid, was nearly the ſame with that which prevailed in 1749, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and alſo with that of 1763. If the number of troops in thoſe two periods had proved ſufficient for our defence, when our foreign poſſeſſions were both more numerous, and more extenſive than they are at preſent, what good reaſon could poſſibly be aſſigned for the propoſed augmentation? None, ſurely. He then took notice of the Heſſian troops, to which, he ſaid, he had not refuſed his approbation; but as that treaty was plainly calculated to increaſe our military force, inſtead of being a plea for augmenting, it might rather be urged as a reaſon for reducing the number of our own troops.

The miniſters, not ſatisfied with this addition to our military ſtrength, were reſolved to make another. Four new regiments were ſoon after raiſed with the expreſs view of being ſent out to the Eaſt-Indies. This was done at the particular deſire of lord Cornwallis, lately appointed governor-general of Bengal, who gave it as his opinion, that the number of European troops, employed in the company's ſervice, was by far too ſmall, when compared with that of the ſeapoys.

This nobleman, during the few years he has filled his high ſtation, has given ſuch repeated proofs at once of his ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs, as to raiſe no ill-grounded hopes,

that he will in time retrieve the honour of the Britiſh name in India, where it has been brought into contempt, and even rendered an object of deteſtation, by the avarice and rapacity of moſt of his predeceſſors. He has not only prohibited the acceptance of all bribes, or (as they are there called) preſents; but he has ſet a noble example in his own perſon, by obſtinately refuſing the preſents that are uſually made, by the country powers, to perſons in his ſituation, and thereby has proved the falſity of lord Clive's aſſertion, who, in his defence of his own conduct before the houſe of commons, declared, that the temptations to bribery and corruption in the Eaſt-Indies were ſo ſtrong, that fleſh and blood could not reſiſt them.

We ſhall now mention a few tranſactions that happened during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and which we forgot then particularly to notice. Mr. Pitt preſented a bill to the houſe of commons, importing, that many groſs frauds prevailed in the collection of the duty lately impoſed upon poſt horſes, and propoſing, that for the future the tax ſhould be let out upon leaſe, and collected by perſons authorized for the purpoſe. He ſaid, that every perſon, who, by law, was liable to the tax, did in fact pay it, and that of courſe a very great ſum was levied on the public; though there was a large proportion of that ſum, which, from the collusion between the collectors and the inn-keepers, never found its way into the treaſury.

He was therefore going to propoſe a remedy; and to this, he thought, in point of revenue there could not poſſibly be any objection, ſince the ſeveral diſtricts, into which the kingdom was divided, were to be put up to public auction, and that too at the higheſt ſum they had ever produced; and as there would naturally be many candidates, there was no doubt but they would endeavour to outbid each other, till at laſt they roſe to the full amount of what the tax could ever be ſuppoſed capable of yielding. He had, he ſaid, heard it objected, that there was ſomething in the principle of this plan, repugnant to our conſtitution, and to the general ſyſtem of our revenue; but he could ſee no well-founded reaſon for ſuch an opinion. Such a principle, indeed, prevailed in ſome countries, where the government was arbitrary and deſpotic; but the oppreſſions, which there attended it, were not to be attributed to the practice of farming the revenues, but to the form of government. As the duty now ſtood, there were certain powers given for the collection of it; and the powers he propoſed to give to the farmers were no greater than thoſe enjoyed by the preſent collectors. The meaſure in contemplation

plation was not an innovation; and to prove this Mr. Pitt referred to the turnpike duty, which was uſually conducted by the mode of farm, and to the croſs-letter poſtage, which had for many years been leaſed out to Mr. Allen, the gentleman who firſt ſuggeſted it. Mr. Pitt added, that there was no reaſon to apprehend that the ſcheme might be extended further, and other branches of the revenue be ſubjected to a ſimilar regulation, as there was ſomething in this tax, which rendered it peculiarly proper to be collected in this manner, and which hardly exiſted in any other caſe.

Specious, however, as theſe arguments were, the propoſal met with a violent oppoſition. Mr. Marſham, in particular, ſaid, that he did not imagine he had at any time diſcharged his duty more properly, than in objecting to a mode of collecting the public revenue, ſo repugnant to the principles and practice of the conſtitution. He took a view of the returns of the tax for the laſt four quarters, and remarked, that from thence it appeared, that the tax was a growing tax, ſince the laſt quarter's produce exceeded the produce of the ſame quarter in the former year by the ſum of 9,000 pounds. He aſked, if the board of revenue, in whoſe hands the management of the tax was veſted, had preſented any memorial to the treaſury, ſtating, that the produce of the tax was declining, and that ſuch a regulation as the bill propoſed, appeared to them to be neceſſary. Mr. Marſham admitted, that it did not appear, that the ſuffering the poſt-horſe tax to be farmed would prove the ſource of much abuſe or oppreſſion; but it eſtabliſhed the mode of farming the public revenue, and, at ſome future period, might juſtify a wicked miniſter in the groſſeſt violation of the conſtitution. All bad practices had been founded upon precedents, moſt of them introduced upon plauſible pretences, and where the ground of objection was weak in almoſt every particular, except that of the neceſſity of guarding againſt the firſt approaches of danger.

Mr. Bastard conceived, that ſome proofs ought to have been laid before the houſe, that the frauds mentioned by the miniſter did actually exiſt, before ſuch a bill as the preſent had been introduced, and that an authentic return ſhould have been made of the number of horſes kept by the various innkeepers in the kingdom, with a computation of the number of miles they might be ſuppoſed to travel. Mr. Pitt, he obſerved, had ſaid, that the public paid the tax individually, but, when paid, it did not find its way into the treaſury. If the fact were ſo, it only proved, that the board, to whoſe management the collection of the tax was intruſted, was not ſufficiently alert, and that they ought to find means for re-

medying a defect, which lay wholly with themſelves. He obſerved upon the increaſe of the tax, and aſked whether, on that account, it would not be better to poſtpone the meaſure, and ſuffer the public, rather than the farmers, to benefit by the progreſs of that increaſe. By a clauſe in the bill he ſaw, that theſe contractors were not to be deprived of their votes in chuſing members of parliament. This was the tree, whoſe fruit the miniſter deſired to pluck; but he hoped the houſe would blaſt that fruit in its bud.

Mr. Bastard thought the bill in many reſpects unconſtitutional. Beſides the influence it tended to create, he thought the houſe could not delegate the powers of the executive government to others, who were not amenable to that houſe. The executive government, in adopting this meaſure, were getting rid of their reſponſibility, and the houſe was giving up their power of redreſs, which was the laſt thing they ſhould part with. If the ſubject were aggrieved, and complained to that houſe, what was the anſwer they would be obliged to return? They muſt ſay we have tied our hands; we have given away, for three years, the power of watching for your welfare; we can do nothing till the contract is expired. Still farther, the qualifications of the contractors made no part of the bill. No matter how bad their characters, provided they gave ſufficient bail. He recollected an oriental obſervation, which came home to this point. It was complained, that the character of one of the Indian contractors was to the laſt degree infamous; and what was the anſwer? Why the leſs humane the contractor was, the fitter was he for his office; and who knew, but Gunga Govind Sing (the perſon alluded to) might hereafter farm the impoſts of England?

Mr. Fox was determined to oppoſe the bill, on the ground of its being certain, if carried, very conſiderably to increaſe the influence of the crown. The number of collectors muſt be greatly enlarged, and the appointment of ſo many new officers would give the crown additional influence. Every man, who had lived during a war, knew what a contractor was; and did not every man know how improper was the influence that was circulated through them? The farmers of the revenue would be contractors under another name. Shameful was the idea of there being a middle man between the ſubject who paid the tax, and the exchequer that received it; a man created for the purpoſe of growing rich out of the diſtreſſes, and at the expence of the public. The precedent was in the higheſt degree alarming, and required to be warmly rejected in the outſet. Many other members ſpoke againſt

againſt the meaſure; but notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, it was carried through both houſes without a diviſion.

One of the moſt important objects, that engaged the attention of parliament during this ſeſſion, was an attempt made by the proteſtant diſſenters to obtain a repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, who introduced the ſubject, propoſed, in the firſt place, to ſhew what were the exceptionable proviſions of the law, and in the next place to deſcribe the periods in which they were made, and the circumſtances with which they were attended. The corporation-act declared, that no perſon ſhould be elected into any municipal office, who ſhould not, within one year before his election, have taken the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of England. The teſt-act required of every perſon accepting a civil office, or a commiſſion in the army or navy, to take the ſacrament within a limited time; and if, without thus qualifying himſelf, he continued to occupy any office, or hold any commiſſion, he not only incurred a large pecuniary penalty, but was diſabled from thenceforth, for ever, from bringing any action in courſe of law, from proſecuting any ſuit in the courts of equity, from being the guardian of any child, or the executor of any deceaſed perſon, and from receiving any legacy.

If then, ſaid Mr. Beaufoy, the zeal of a diſſenter for the ſervice of his country ſhould have induced him to bear arms in her defence, and to hazard his life in her cauſe, what return did ſhe make to his patriotiſm? She ſtripped him of every right that was dear to the man, or honourable to the citizen. If any diſſenter applied himſelf to the profeſſion of a merchant, what was the language in which he was addreſſed by theſe laws? The town, in which you live, may have owed to you much of its proſperity; yet in the offices of that town, the management of its revenues, and the care of its public concerns, you ſhall have no participation. The kingdom itſelf is highly your debtor; you have extended her trade; you have added to her wealth; and in return for theſe benefits ſhe excludes you from all offices and employments. Your integrity is unſuſpected; your conduct is without blemiſh; yet the teſt act has fixed upon you the ſame ſtamp of diſhonour, the ſame mark of infamy, which is annexed by law to the odious and atrocious crime of perjury.

Of the ſpirit of the corporation-act a ſufficient judgment would be formed, if the houſe recollected, that a clauſe of this act had enabled king Charles the ſecond to diſplace or remove, by commiſſioners of his appointment, all officers and perſons holding places, as they might deem it expedient.

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This clauſe, indeed, of the bill was become obſolete; but it ſufficiently marked the deſpotic and arbitrary ſpirit with which the bill was formed. Such were the circumſtances that marked the origin of the corporation-act in the year 1661, and in the following year had produced the celebrated act of uniformity, in conſequence of which two thouſand miniſters reſigned their livings, and which narrowed, while it ſtrongly diſcriminated, the incloſure of the eſtabliſhed church. The firſt effects of this diſcrimination upon the members of the church were jealouſy, ſtrong ſuſpicion, and determined ill-will. But, in proportion as experience afforded a ſurer ground for deciding on the conduct and principles of the diſſenters, in proportion as their peaceful ſubmiſſion to laws of harſhneſs and ſeverity diſcloſed their attachment to the ſtate, and as they were ſeen to reject thoſe offers of indulgence by which the court endeavoured to entice them to an alliance with the catholics; in the ſame proportion the hoſtile feelings of the members of the church diminiſhed, and the houſe of commons in particular diſcovered towards them a diſpoſition of benignity and kindneſs.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in the year 1672, when the people were alarmed with the apprehenſion of a deſign to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion. The prime miniſter, lord Clifford, and the king's brother, were avowed catholics; an army under catholic officers encamped at the gates of London. In theſe alarming circumſtances the firſt panic induced the legiſlature to paſs the law, that bore the title of an act for preventing the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants, but which was better known by the name of the teſt-act. The miniſter endeavoured to prevail on the diſſenters to oppoſe the bill, the proviſions of which were ſo worded as to extend to them. The diſſenters admitted the force of the argument, but waved their right to its benefit; and one of the members of the city of London, himſelf a diſſenter, declared on their behalf, that, in time of public danger, they would not impede the progreſs of a bill, which was thought eſſential to the ſafety of the kingdom, but would truſt to the good faith, the juſtice and humanity of parliament, that a future proviſion ſhould be made for their relief.

THE lords and commons admitted without heſitation the equity of the claim. They conſidered the debt as a debt of honour, the payment of which could not be refuſed. Accordingly, a bill for their relief was paſſed, and defeated by the ſudden prorogation of the parliament. A ſecond bill was introduced for the ſame purpoſe, and paſſed both houſes, in conſequence of this implied agreement. But while it lay

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ready for the royal aſſent, king Charles the ſecond, who always delighted to obtain the moſt unwarrantable ends by the moſt deſpicable means, prevailed upon the clerk of the crown to ſteal the bill, and over-reach the parliament.

But that relief, which neither the obvious equity of their claim, nor the countenance of the parliament could extort from Charles the ſecond, the magnanimity of William the third was impatient to beſtow; for, in one of his earlieſt ſpeeches from the throne, he expreſſed his earneſt hope, that ſuch alterations would be made in the laws as would leave room for the admiſſion of all his proteſtant ſubjects who were willing to ſerve him. But it is well known, that during that reign the ſtrongeſt party in parliament was not the party of the court. They reſented the advancement of William to the throne; they reſolved to diſturb him in the enjoyment of an honour, from which they could not exclude him, and oppoſed with violence the meaſures which he was known to patronize. Some men, however, there were, and men too of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities even in that age ſo productive of great men, who ſupported with unanſwerable arguments the opinion of their ſovereign, as appears from a proteſt of the lords upon this ſubject in the year 1688.

Upon another occaſion of a ſtill later date, in a conference between the two houſes upon the bill of occaſional conformity, the peers—not a few individuals of that aſſembly, but the whole houſe—expreſſed in language ſtill more emphatical, their abhorrence of the injuſtice of the teſt-act.

Mr. Beaufoy proceeded to enquire, whether the public good, either religious or political, rendered it neceſſary, that the diſſenters ſhould be excluded from the ſervice of the ſtate. To ſhew how very unneceſſary was this excluſion, it was ſufficent, in his opinion, to remark, that to the higher truſt of legiſlative authority the diſſenters were admitted without heſitation or reſerve. From the members of that houſe, from the members of the houſe of peers, no religious teſt was required. Was then the taking the ſacrament unneceſſary in the legiſlators of the kingdom, and could it be requiſite in a tide-waiter or an exciſeman?

He had heard an idle opinion, that there was ſomething of a republican tendency, of an antimonarchical bias in the very doctrines of the preſbyterian church. From ſo vague an aſſertion he appealed to experience. Were the Scots ſuſpected of an averſion to monarchy? He had heard them taxed with too ſtrong an attachment to it; but of republican principles, of a levelling diſpoſition he had never heard them accuſed. The Engliſh diſſenters ſince the revolution, which had firſt

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given this country a conſtitution, had uniformly acted in the moſt loyal manner, and had conſtantly proved themſelves the zealous ſupporters and the faithful adherents of that ſyſtem of monarchy which was eſtabliſhed by law.

WOULD then the repeal of the teſt act prove injurious to the eſtabliſhed church? That church, it was ſaid, ought by all means to be ſupported; and God forbid that it ſhould be deſtroyed, or that he ſhould recommend a meaſure inconſiſtent with its ſafety. If the aim of the diſſenters had been to attack the rights of others, and not to recover their own, they would not have choſen a member of the church of England for their advocate, nor could he have accepted the truſt. The repeal now ſolicited was not the commencement of a new plan, but the completion of that wiſe ſyſtem of toleration, which in part had long ſince been adopted.

THE eſtabliſhment of the church of England conſiſted in her tithes, her prebends, her deanries, and her biſhoprics. Theſe conſtituted her eſtabliſhment before the teſt-act had an exiſtence; and they would equally conſtitute it if it were repealed. In Scotland no ſuch law ever had a being; and had Scotland no eſtabliſhed church? In Ireland the relief, which was now ſolicited for the proteſtant diſſenters, was granted ſeven years ago; and was the church of Ireland deſtroyed? In Holland, in Ruſſia, in Pruſſia, in Hanover, no traces of ſuch a teſt were to be found. In the dominions of the emperor, all civil diſqualifications on account of religious opinions were aboliſhed. In France a ſimilar relief was granted by the edict of Nantz, and that edict, it was reported, was about to be revived. Mr. Beaufoy added, that the repeal of the teſt-act, ſo far from being injurious to the eſtabliſhed church, would be beneficial. The different claſſes of diſſenters had no general intereſt, no bond of union, but that diſgraceful excluſion from public employments, which was common to them all.

IF he were aſked, in caſe of aboliſhing the teſt of the ſacrament, what new teſt he would wiſh to eſtabliſh in its room? He would anſwer, that of the abjuration-oath, and of the declaration, which condemned an eſſential part of the Romiſh creed. The firſt could not be taken by the deiſt, the Jew, or the profeſſor of any religion but the Chriſtian; the laſt could not be taken by the catholic. Should he be further aſked, if juſtice be the principle upon which you decide, ſhall not the catholics enjoy thoſe common privileges of citizenſhip, which you deſcribe as the unqueſtionable right of all? He would anſwer without heſitation, if the catholics could prove, that though they were of the church of Rome, they were

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not of the court of Rome, if they could give a ſufficient pledge of loyalty to the ſovereign and attachment to the laws (queſtions which they were not now called upon to decide, and which therefore he did not mean to diſcuſs), he ſhould think they ought to be admitted to the civil and military ſervice of the ſtate.

Mr. Beaufoy ſtrengthened his argument by an alluſion to the ſituation and character of Mr. Howard. He, upon whom every kingdom in Europe, England excepted, would gladly confer, at leaſt, the common privileges of a citizen, and whom the proudeſt nation might be happy to call her own, was incapable of legal admiſſion into any office in this country. The conſequence was, that his public ſpirit having led him a few years ſince to brave the penalties of the law, and ſerve in a troubleſome and expenſive civil employment, the denunciations of the teſt-act were ſtill hanging over him; and Mr. Beaufoy feared, that even now, on his return to his native country, amidſt the plaudits of an admiring world, it was in the power of any deſperate informer, who was willing to take that road to wealth and damnation, which the legiſlature had pointed out and recommended to his choice, to proſecute him to conviction, and to bring upon him thoſe dreadful penalties which conſtituted the puniſhment of an outlaw.

Mr. Beaufoy proceeded to obſerve, that there were two other bodies of men, who were injured by thoſe proviſions of the law, of which he propoſed the repeal. The firſt of theſe was compoſed of all the adherents of the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland. By the teſt and corporation acts, no native of Scotland, who was of the eſtabliſhed church in that country, could be admitted to any office in England, or could be employed in the army or the navy in any part of Great-Britain, unleſs he would publicly profeſs a religion different from his own. Engliſhmen, reſiding in Scotland, were entitled to all the privileges of Scots, and had poſſeſſed, without this diſgraceful ſtipulation, the higheſt offices in that country. Why then ſhould the naval or military ſervice of the united kingdoms be fettered with Engliſh reſtraints? or why ſhould Engliſh conditions be annexed to the poſſeſſion of a Britiſh office?

He had heard it ſaid, from a confuſion of ideas that was ſcarcely credible, that to grant a remiſſion in favour of Scotland of the teſt and corporation acts, would be a breach of the union; an opinion which ſuppoſed that, becauſe by the articles of the union nothing could be taken from the union, but what was then ſtipulated, therefore nothing could be given

given to her. He had proved, that the government and diſcipline of the church of England derived no additional ſecurity from theſe acts, whereas the act, which related to the patronage of the church of Scotland, affected its diſcipline; and yet had not been conſidered as any breach of the articles of the union. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſubſequent act, which gave a complete toleration to epiſcopal diſſenters in that country.

ANOTHER body of men, who were aggrieved by the laws in queſtion, were the conſcientious miniſters of the church of England. By the duties of their function, by the poſitive precepts of their religion, they were enjoined to warn from the ſacred table all blaſphemers of God, all ſlanderers of his word, and perſons of a profligate life; yet to thoſe very perſons, if they demanded it as a qualification, they were compelled by the teſt-act to adminiſter the ſacrament. If there were any thing ſerious in religion, if the doctrines of the church of England were not a mere mockery of the human underſtanding, if to talk of peace of mind here, and of eternal conſequences hereafter, were not the idle babbling of a weak and childiſh ſuperſtition, then muſt it follow, that no pretexts of ſtate policy could juſtify this enormous profanation, this monſtrous attempt, as irrational as it was impious, to ſtrengthen the church of England by the debaſement of the church of Chriſt. Mr. Beaufoy would have thought it not unbecoming the biſhops to have ſolicited the removal of this ſcandal from the church. But let the requiſition come from what quarter it might, ſure he was that a compliance with it belonged to that houſe as a duty; for whatever tended to the debaſement of religion, diminiſhed political authority, and weakened the ſanctions of civil government. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Lord Beauchamp, and ſeveral other members, but it was oppoſed by Lord North and Mr. Pitt, who, however differing in other reſpects, agreed perfectly in this particular: and, after a long and tedious debate, it was rejected by a majority of 78 members, the numbers for it being 178, thoſe againſt only 100.

WHILE the commons were engaged in the diſcuſſion of this and ſome other points of no leſs importance, the attention of the houſe of lords was called, by the viſcount Stormont, to a queſtion in which the conſtitution of that branch of the legiſlature, together with the rights of the Scottiſh peerage, were eſſentially concerned. It aroſe out of a circumſtance that took place about this time, namely, the creation of two of the ſixteen peers of Scotland, (the earl of Abercorn and the duke of Queenſberry) to be peers of Great Britain; and it was

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ſimply this, whether or not, after ſuch creation, they could continue to ſit as repreſentatives of the peerage of Scotland? The act of union was ſilent upon the ſubject; and the only precedent that exiſted, that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the ſixteen peers, the Engliſh barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the ſame ſide of the queſtion. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont ſo ſtrongly ſupported by every principle of equity, analogy, and fair conſtruction, as to induce him to bring the queſtion, in the face of all thoſe difficulties, to a public deciſion.

ACCORDINGLY, the lords having been previouſly ſummoned, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of privileges, for the purpoſe of taking it into conſideration. The motion made by lord Stormont was as follows: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the earl of Abercorn, who was choſen to be of the number of the ſixteen peers, who by the treaty of union are to repreſent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, having been created viſcount Hamilton by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great Britain, doth thereby ceaſe to ſit in the houſe as a repreſentative of the peerage of Scotland."

IN ſupport of this motion he obſerved, that the queſtion appeared to him to lie within a narrow compaſs, and to be capable of being ſolved by attending to a few plain principles, which he would take the liberty of ſtating to the committee.

IT is provided by the act of union, that the peers of Scotland, who were thought too numerous to be admitted to hereditary ſeats in parliament, ſhould be repreſented by ſixteen, to be choſen out of their own number. By this act the peerage is made to conſiſt of two diſtinct orders of men, having different rights, and ſtanding in very different ſituations. The one, together with all the other privileges of peerage, have individually a right to a ſeat in parliament, whoſe authority now extends over the whole united kingdom. The other has the inferior rights of the peerage throughout the whole kingdom alſo; but is abridged of the moſt valuable right of all, an hereditary ſeat in parliament. They are therefore, in fact, two diſtinct orders of men, the one having individually a ſhare in the legiſlature, the other only a virtual ſhare by repreſentation. No line of diſtinction can be more ſtrongly drawn.

THE queſtion then, fairly ſtated, is this, what, according to the true meaning and intent of the union, is to be the condition of him who paſſes from the one order to the other, from the repreſentative to the individual claſs? Why clearly this;

—he

—he acquires all the rights of an hereditary ſeat as an individual, and of courſe the rights of repreſentation ceaſe, as appertaining excluſively to that condition in which he no longer remains. No one can appear in perſon, and at the ſame time be repreſented by his proxy. The one right being in lieu of the other, they cannot be coexiſtent.

THE committee, he ſaid, well knew, that the right of repreſentation is ſo far from being inherent in peers, that it was ſtrongly aſſerted at the union, that it is inconſiſtent with and repugnant to the nature of peerage. It certainly is a right incidental to the change of ſituation made by that act. From the ſituation in which the union placed them, the two noble lords had emerged by the favour of the crown, and were raiſed to thoſe rights, to that condition in the Britiſh parliament, which in the parliament of Scotland they had before enjoyed.

IT was upon theſe principles, that the houſe, in 1709, in the caſe of the duke of Dover's vote, reſolved, "that a peer of Scotland, claiming to ſit in the houſe of peers by virtue of a patent paſſed under the great ſeal of Great-Britain, has no right to vote in the election of the ſixteen peers." This determination was as ſolemn, as deliberate, as any that ſtands on the records of parliament. It rejected the vote of a perſon intimately connected with the lord treaſurer (Godolphin). The reſolution paſſed at a time when all that related to the union was freſh in every man's memory, and the true meaning and intention of that treaty were generally known. It paſſed in the preſence of many of thoſe who had been commiſſioners on both ſides, actors in that great ſcene; and the journals ſhew, that there was not a ſingle proteſt. It has ſince been conſidered as a rule to go by, and has ſtood unqueſtioned and unſhaken for near fourſcore years.

IT evidently follows, from this reſolution, that as a peer of Scotland, under the circumſtances deſcribed in it, cannot vote in the election, ſo neither can he be elected one of the ſixteen. For the act expreſsly directs, that he ſhall be choſen out of their number, that is clearly out of the number of thoſe who chuſe; and to this principle their uniform practice has been conſonant.

BUT another queſtion ſtill remained behind. For though they could neither vote in the election, nor be elected, yet it may be urged, that having been elected previous to this diſqualification, they might retain their ſeats till the diſſolution of parliament. The act of union provides for no caſes except thoſe of death and legal diſqualification. That the circumſtances, upon which the preſent queſtion is founded, do

not

not amount to a legal diſqualification, ſtrictly ſpeaking, cannot be denied; but they may come within the real intent and meaning of the act, which is to be collected from its general principles applied to the particular caſe.

A virtual repreſentation in the Britiſh parliament was the compenſation given to the Scottiſh peers, for the ſurrender they made of their individual rights in the parliament of Scotland. But the chance of being actually choſen, and of ſitting as a repreſentative, is doubtleſs to be conſidered as a very material part of this compenſation; and of the chance of enjoying this part of his compenſation every peer is evidently deprived, ſo long as another perſon, who has no claim to any ſhare at all, is in poſſeſſion of it.

Again, an hereditary ſeat, and a temporary ſeat by election, are incompatible, for this obvious reaſon—The hereditary ſeat takes away the whole effect of the relation that ſubſiſts between the repreſentative and thoſe who chuſe him. This connection is ſtronger in ſome governments than in others; but it obtains in ſome degree in all, and is of the very eſſence of repreſentation. But ſuppoſe, for a moment, that the repreſentative is bound to obey the inſtructions of his conſtituents, what would be the condition of an hereditary peer, who was alſo a repreſentative? Claſhing duties might ariſe. His own judgment marks out to him one line of conduct; the orders of his conſtituents, another: which is he to follow? There is but one mode of obviating this difficulty, that of allowing him two voices; a mode which the form of our conſtitution does not admit.

Again, the ſame prerogative, that has raiſed two of the ſixteen to an hereditary ſeat, may extend the ſame favour to the whole number. What then would become of the Scotch repreſentation? This way of putting the queſtion makes the abſurdity more glaring; but there is no real difference between the one caſe and the other: the violation of the principle of repreſentation would be the ſame in both.

He then ſtated particularly the caſe of the duke of Athol, upon whom an Engliſh honour devolved in 1736, and who continued to ſit in parliament as duke of Athol and baron Strange. He obſerved, that there never had been any deciſion, any queſtion, not even the ſmalleſt diſcuſſion upon the ſubject; the whole had paſſed *ſub ſilentio*. Why it did ſo is, perhaps, at this diſtant period, rather to be conjectured than known. It probably was thought a thing of little conſequence, as there was very little chance that a ſimilar caſe, that of an old Engliſh honour devolving upon a Scotch peer, ſhould ever happen again. The caſe now in queſtion could not happen

happen under the then circumſtances. The Scotch peerage were then ſmarting under the wound which the raſh and violent hand of party gave it in the caſe of the duke of Brandon, in 1711. In that ſituation of things, the peerage of Scotland might think it a point of little moment; but the caſe is very different now. The Scotch peers are reſtored to their rights; the right of prerogative is reſtored. The royal favour may now flow in that channel as freely as in any other.

I have purpoſely waved, ſaid he, all conſiderations of policy, as the caſe ſtands in need of no ſuch collateral aid. But this much I may ſay, the beſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt dignified policy will chuſe to do that which is attended with no poſſible inconvenience, rather than hurt the rights and wound the feelings of a conſiderable and reſpectable body of men: and if there were any doubt in this buſineſs, which, for his own part, he could not perceive, yet ſurely, even in that caſe, every impartial man would incline towards that ſide which was favourable to the intereſt of many, prejudicial to the real intereſts of none.

He concluded with ſaying, that he was perſuaded their lordſhips would upon all occaſions be diſpoſed to interpret every article of the union in the faireſt and moſt liberal manner, and eſpecially that which reſpects the peerage of Scotland. The change the union made in their condition is known to you all. I hope, ſaid he, you will keep in conſtant remembrance this day, that, before an event ſo beneficial to both countries could take place, the peers of Scotland had great difficulties to conquer; to the attainment of that deſirable end they made as large a ſacrifice as ever was made by men. Had they retained their hereditary ſeat in parliament, at the expence of half their property, they had made a happy and a noble exchange. No man can deſerve an hereditary ſeat in the great council of a free nation, who does not conſider it as the firſt of all rights, as the moſt valuable of all poſſeſſions. That right, that ineſtimable poſſeſſion, for reaſons of public utility, our anceſtors were contented to forego. In a word, they did that which has ever been counted a mark of exalted virtue; they choſe rather to be little in a great ſtate, than great in a little one. Deciding on the rights of the deſcendants of men ſo circumſtanced, you will be diſpoſed rather to extend than diminiſh thoſe rights. We aſk no extenſion; we demand nothing but what the union gave. All we deſire is, that you will not, in contradiction to the clear and obvious meaning of that agreement, to the ſenſe entertained and declared of it by thoſe, by whom it was framed, and in contradiction

tradiction to the cleareſt principles of repreſentation, abridge our rights, by curtailing the ſlender compenſation allotted us for the greateſt loſs, which men, who have any dignity, can ſuſtain.

With reſpect to the new-created peers, added he, when we choſe them, they were in the ſame ſituation with ourſelves; they were fellow-ſufferers. Being no longer in that ſituation, they can no longer be entitled to a ſhare of that compenſation, which was given to the aggregate body for the loſs it ſuſtained. They now ſit here in their own right; they cannot ſit in ours. We are proud of every connection with them, but what is incompatible with their condition and ours. We hope theſe two noble lords, and all, who were formerly of our number, retain their former zeal for the maintenance of our rights. We hope they, who have reached the ſhore, will not be indifferent to the condition of thoſe, whom they have left behind.

The motion was oppoſed by the earl of Morton and the lord chancellor. The latter in particular ſaid, that the preſent was of the nature of a judicial proceeding, and that they were bound not to liſten to arguments grounded on ſuppoſed or real inconvenience to this or that ſet of men; nor were they entitled to conſider what an act of parliament ſhould have been, but were bound to take it as it was, and comply with the letter of it. By the act of union nothing ſhort of legal incapacity could put any of the ſixteen peers out of the ſituation of repreſentatives till the ſitting of parliament ſhould expire; and it ſeemed agreed on all ſides, that letters patent creating a Scotch lord an Engliſh peer induced no legal incapacity.

Lord Loughborough, in anſwer to the chancellor, obſerved, that though he had no objection to arguing the point judicially, yet the preſent was clearly not a judicial, but a political proceeding; it had not one circumſtance of a judicial proceeding attending it. With reſpect to their being bound by the letter of the act of union, the preſent was a caſe not directly provided for by it; and he would ever maintain, that the ſpirit and intention of every ſtatute (penal ſtatutes alone excepted) were to be looked to in the conſtruction of it. Notwithſtanding the authority of the chancellor, which was certainly very great, the motion of lord Stormont was carried by a majority of 52 to 38, and was followed by a ſimilar motion reſpecting the duke of Queenſberry, created baron Douglas. Soon after another reſolution was paſſed by the upper houſe, diſqualifying ſuch Scotch lords as have been created Britiſh peers from voting in the election of the ſix-

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teen lords who repreſent the Scottiſh peerage in parliament; ſo that theſe lords, in point of legiſlation, have now no farther connection with the Scotch peerage than if they have never belonged to it.

In the courſe of this year appeared the firſt ſymptoms of that great revolution, which has ſince taken place in the political ſtate of France; and alſo in that of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Theſe revolutions are ſtill carrying on, and where they will end time only can diſcover.

The parliamentary tranſactions of next year were neither numerous nor important. One of the moſt
A. D. 1788. conſiderable was a bill introduced into the lower houſe by Mr. Pitt for granting a compenſation to ſuch loyaliſts as had ſuffered in conſequence of the late war in America.

The better to adjuſt the claims of theſe ſufferers he divided them into ſeveral claſſes. In the firſt claſs he ranked all thoſe, who had reſided in America at the commencement of the war, and whoſe eſtates, in conſequence of their retreat from the diſaffected provinces, had been ſeized upon and confiſcated. To theſe loyaliſts he meant to repay the full amount of their loſſes, if they did not exceed 10,000 pounds; and where the loſs of any perſon exceeded that ſum, to deduct ſo much per cent. upon the exceſs, for inſtance, ten, fifteen or twenty pounds reſpectively, in proportion to the greatneſs of their loſſes.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of perſons, who, having reſided in England during the war, had exhibited claims on the ſcore of property in America. To theſe perſons he alſo propoſed to repay the full amount of their loſſes, if they did not exceed 10,000 pounds; and where their loſs exceeded that ſum, to deduct ſo much per cent. upon the exceſs, for inſtance, from twenty to ſeventy pounds reſpectively, in proportion to the greatneſs of their loſſes.

The next claſs were perſons, who having enjoyed places, or exerciſed profeſſions in America, had, in conſequence of their loyalty to this country, been obliged to withdraw themſelves, and had loſt their incomes. To theſe perſons he meant to aſſign a proviſion in the way of penſion, of fifty per cent. upon every income not exceeding 400 pounds, and of forty and thirty per cent. reſpectively upon the exceſs above 400 pounds.

There was ſtill a further diviſion of claimants, the proprietors of Weſt Florida, who ſtood in a very different predicament from the American claimants; ſince they had quitted their country in conſequence of a treaty agreed on by

by the legiſlature, by which Florida had been ceded to a different power. Their loſſes amounted to 114,000 pounds; and the liquidation of the claims of the American loyaliſts upon the plan he had ſuggeſted, would require the ſum of 1,228,000 pounds; the whole amounting to 1,342,000 pounds. This propoſal of Mr. Pitt was received with general applauſe, though Mr. Fox differed from him in ſome particulars; and Mr. Burke contended, that the propoſed compenſation was not a matter of ſtrict juſtice, and that the claims of the American loyaliſts reſted upon the generoſity and compaſſion of parliament.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a demand was made upon government for the ſum of 25,000 pounds, towards carrying on the buildings at Somerſet-houſe. Upon this occaſion ſir John Miller propoſed a committee of enquiry, to examine into the propriety of the expenditure. He ſaid, that ſir William Chambers, the architect, received a profit of five per cent. upon all the money laid out; and charged to the government the long credit price of the old board of works, at the ſame time that, having always an advance of the public money in his hands, he was enabled to pay for every thing with ready caſh.

The original eſtimate of the building was 250,000 pounds; and at this moment, though 316,000 pounds had been actually advanced, the plan was far from being compleated. The five per cent. profit upon the capital expended was a ſtrong temptation to lengthen the undertaking, and to increaſe the coſt of it; and ſir William had actually invited applications from various public offices for accommodation in the new buildings. The late board of works had been directed to examine and report ſir William Chambers's accounts; and they actually audited one or two of thoſe of the earlieſt years, but had refuſed to paſs any more, expreſſing much diſſatisfaction with the looſe and general manner in which they were ſtated, and complaining that ſir William refuſed to produce the proper vouchers and acknowledgments accompanied with dates. Mr. Keene, late ſurveyor-general to the board of works, enforced the remarks of ſir John Miller; and ſaid, that lord North, towards the cloſe of his adminiſtration, had determined to make a full inveſtigation into the proceedings of the architect. The motion, however, for a committee of enquiry, though ſtill farther ſupported by Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Huſſey, and others, was, upon a diviſion, negatived by a majority of 76 to 21.

About this time Mr. Gilbert introduced a bill for the better regulation of the poor in every part of the kingdom. He

obſerved, that this ſubject had engroſſed much of his attention for upwards of twenty years; that he had uſed many endeavours to relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor, and to prevent the miſapplication of the money received for their ſupport; and had brought in ſeveral bills for that purpoſe, but without ſucceſs. His preſent plan was to divide the different counties into diſtricts, and to erect a houſe of induſtry in each, in the manner that had been adopted with ſucceſs in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and other places. The bill was oppoſed by Mr. Young. He obſerved, that the extenſive incorporation now propoſed was full of confuſion and perplexity. The bill, he ſaid, created a board of commiſſioners, paramount to the preſent juſtices of peace, and by that means changed a great part of our juriſprudence. The houſe divided upon the ſecond reading of the bill, when it was rejected by a majority of 44 to 10.

ANOTHER ſubject, that fell under the conſideration of parliament at this time, was the permiſſion of public theatrical repreſentations. The queſtion had been brought forward in conſequence of a new theatre, built within the diſtrict of the Tower of London, which the proprietors of the patent theatres conſidered as interfering with their intereſt, and determined to ſuppreſs. Petitions were preſented to parliament from four different theatres, which hitherto had been opened only upon connivance, praying for the introduction of an act of parliament to enable the king to grant them licences reſpectively. A bill was brought in in favour of one of theſe eſtabliſhments, which was of the oldeſt date; and was oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, who was himſelf a principal proprietor of one of the patent theatres. He ſaid, that he ſhould have had no objection to ſuch an indulgence as the preſent, though he was a declared enemy to the theatre attempted to be ſet up in the neighbourhood of the Tower. But the apprehenſions of other perſons intereſted in that ſpecies of property exceeded his own; and for himſelf, who had long ſince intruſted his theatrical intereſt to the management of others, he felt it his duty to protect the proprietors at large, according to their idea of the injury they might ſuſtain, and not according to any more indulgent way of conſidering the ſubject, which he might have entertained. The bill in favour of this theatre underwent ſeveral delays, and at length was totally loſt.

AN attempt was made this ſeſſion to aboliſh the ſlave-trade, one of the moſt inhuman and diſgraceful trades, that ever was carried on by this or any other nation; and ſeveral petitions were preſented to parliament in favour of a ſcheme

ſcheme for this purpoſe. That of the univerſity of Cambridge was conceived nearly in the following terms. "We deſire," ſay they, "to expreſs our approbation of ſo benevolent a deſign; and we truſt, that in reprobating, with juſt indignation, a traffic carried on in violation of every principle of humanity, as well as of the precepts of the Chriſtian religion, we act in perfect conſiſtency with our duty as members of an eſtabliſhment dedicated to the ſupport of learning and religion."

We hope that the legiſlature will take this ſubject into its moſt ſerious conſideration, and adopt ſuch meaſures as to its wiſdom ſhall appear moſt effectual for aboliſhing a commerce ſupported only by violence and rapine, and by encouraging treachery, by exciting war, as well as by forcing into ſlavery multitudes of the inhabitants, deſolating a moſt extenſive and fertile country. Commercial intereſt can never juſtify a crime, nor atone for the guilt incurred by an action, which reaſon and revelation forbid. But we are far from apprehending that the abolition of this traffic will be attended with conſequences detrimental to the ſtate, inaſmuch as a firm belief in the providence of a benevolent Creator aſſures us, that no ſyſtem founded upon the oppreſſion of one part of mankind can be beneficial to another.

As our excellent conſtitution carefully provides for the happineſs, by ſecuring the freedom, of the meaneſt ſubject, we are perſuaded, that the legiſlature will ceaſe to ſupport a traffic with miſery and oppreſſion, and that it will readily extend its protection to the Africans, the moſt injured and defenceleſs of our fellow creatures. Thus ſhall this continued outrage againſt humanity be no longer the diſgrace of our national character, and the reproach of our Chriſtian profeſſion.—Thus ſhall peace be reſtored to that afflicted and deſolate country, and a friendly commercial intercourſe enable us to introduce into it the comforts of ſocial life, and the advantages of true religion.

The bill, however, for the total abolition of the ſlave-trade did not at this time ſucceed, though ſeveral regulations were made for the better tranſportation of the Africans from their native country to the Weſt-Indies, and for their more gentle treatment when they arrived there.

An attempt was made this ſeſſion to reform the government of Canada, which was nearly the ſame now as it had been while the province was ſubject to the French, and conſequently partook more of a deſpotic than a democratic ſpirit. The ſubject was introduced by Mr. Powys. He propoſed to grant the inhabitants the privilege of habeas cor-

pus, to render their judges independent, and to veſt certain powers of taxation and legiſlation in a houſe of aſſembly. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others; but the miniſter pleading for longer delay, till farther advice ſhould arrive from Canada, the ſcheme was put off till the next ſeſſion.

In the ſummer of 1788, his majeſty having been for ſome time affected with a flying gout, their majeſties, with the three princeſſes, repaired to Cheltenham in Glouceſterſhire; the waters of which are reckoned the beſt in the kingdom to keep off the gout; as, by bringing on a fixed gout, he would be deprived of his uſual exerciſe, to which he had a ſtrong propenſity, and therefore could not willingly ſubmit to the alternative.

On this occaſion he viſited the cities of Glouceſter, Worceſter, and other places. It appeared in the ſequel, that the conſequences were very ſerious; as his majeſty's malady, which ſeized him towards the latter end of the year, has frequently been imputed, and perhaps with ſome truth, to an exceſſive uſe of the waters there, which occaſioned a general relaxation of the ſyſtem.

Besides what has been already mentioned, the moſt material public acts of this ſeſſion of parliament were; to regulate the Newfoundland Fiſhery; to appoint commiſſioners for enquiring into the loſſes occaſioned by ceding Eaſt Florida to Spain; to appoint commiſſioners to enquire farther into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts, and for granting them relief; to enable juſtices occaſionally to licenſe theatrical repreſentations; and to regulate the ſlave-trade.

In the year 1788, there died the following remarkable perſons:—Prince Lewis Erneſt, duke of Brunſwick, late field-marſhal of the Dutch forces, &c.—Charles III. king of Spain.—Sir Aſhton Lever, knt. founder of the Muſeum in Albion-Place.—The Hon. and right Rev. Dr. John Harley, biſhop of Hereford.—Dr. Jonathan Shipley, biſhop of St. Aſaph.—Dr. Iſaac Mann, biſhop of Cork and Roſs.—Admirals ſir John Lindſay, K. B. and ſir Edmund Affleck, bart. in England; and, at Paris, the admiral count De Graſſe, who was taken by admiral ſir G. B. Rodney, (afterwards lord Rodney) on the memorable 12th of April, 1782, in the Weſt Indies.—At Rome, (Jan. 31) prince Charles Edward Lewis Caſimir Stewart, grandſon of James II. and count of Albany, who, from his father's death in 1765, aſſumed the title of king of England. In England he was known by the name of the Young Pretender; on the continent, by that of the Chevalier de St. George. He was 67 years and two months old.

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—This year alſo died, (March 2) at Zurich, the celebrated Solomon Geſner, aged 62, well known for his being the author of the Death of Abel, and other works of literature.

THIS year afforded ſome variety of events. *A. D.* 1789.
The moſt remarkable was the indiſpoſition of the ſovereign, who, being ſeized with a malady that impaired at once the health of his body and the faculties of his mind, was thereby rendered incapable, at leaſt for ſome time, of diſcharging the duties of his high ſtation. To ſupply the preſent want of royal authority, a regency was propoſed, and it was intended, as was natural, to beſtow this dignity upon the prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the crown. But the miniſtry, or, which is nearly the ſame thing, the parliament, which was entirely at the devotion of the miniſtry, thought proper to lay the power, they thus meant to delegate, under ſo many reſtrictions, that the prince rejected the offer, when it was made to him; and it was therefore in agitation to form another kind of regency, compoſed chiefly of the miniſters themſelves, with the queen at their head: but all theſe expedients, for making up a ſubſtitute for the firſt power of the ſtate, were happily rendered unneceſſary by the recovery of the ſovereign, who, in a little time, was in a condition to reſume the reins of government.

A FRESH attempt was made this ſeſſion to procure an act for repealing the corporation and teſt laws. Mr. Beaufoy, who had formerly introduced the ſubject into the houſe of commons, was the perſon that made the motion upon this occaſion. He obſerved, that the unalterable confidence, which the diſſenters repoſed in the diſpoſition of the houſe to do juſtice to the injured, and afford relief to the oppreſſed, had induced them to renew their application to parliament. They were perfectly convinced how difficult it was even for the beſt and wiſeſt men to relinquiſh, upon the evidence of a ſingle debate, the prejudice which miſinformation had led them to adopt; and they could not forget how frequently the legiſlature had granted requeſts, which cauſeleſs alarms had at firſt induced them to refuſe.

THE motion of Mr. Beaufoy was ſupported by Mr. Fox with great force of argument. He was perſuaded, he ſaid, that no human government had a right to inquire into private opinions, or to draw inferences with regard to the future conduct of its citizens from the ſentiments they entertained. If a man ſhould publiſh his political principles, and argue in direct oppoſition to our happy conſtitution, he ought not, on that account, to be diſabled from filling any office civil or military, and it was not till he carried his deteſtable opinions

into practice, that the law was juſtified in ſeeking a remedy, and puniſhing his conduct. The Roman catholics had been ſuppoſed by our anceſtors to entertain opinions dangerous to the ſtate: they acknowledged a foreign authority paramount to the legiſlature, and a title to the crown ſuperior to that conferred by the voice of the people. No opinions could certainly be more obnoxious than theſe; and yet, he ſaid, he was fully perſuaded, that government was not entitled to interfere with them, till they expreſsly acted upon the dangerous doctrines they were thought to entertain.

He ſpoke of the inference that was drawn from the ſuppoſed alliance between church and ſtate, and declared, that it was an irreverent and impious opinion to maintain, that the church muſt depend for its exiſtence upon the ſupport of the political government, and not upon the evidence of its doctrines and the moral effects it produced. He concluded with obſerving, that he was a friend to an eſtabliſhed religion in every country, and that he wiſhed it might always be that which coincided with the opinion of the majority of the people. Notwithſtanding theſe powerful arguments, the motion was oppoſed by lord North and Mr. Pitt, who, however differing in other reſpects, agreed in this particular; and, upon a diviſion, the queſtion was loſt by a majority of 122 againſt 102.

The ſubject of the ſlave trade, which had been pretty fully handled in the preceding ſeſſion, was now reſumed by Mr. Wilberforce in a ſpeech, which has been highly commended for the ſtrength of its arguments and the perſuaſiveneſs of its eloquence. He obſerved, that he did not mean to appeal to the paſſions of the houſe, but to their cool and impartial reaſon. He did not mean to accuſe any one, but to take ſhame to himſelf, in common indeed with the whole parliament of Great-Britain, for having ſuffered ſo odious a trade to be carried on under their authority. He hoped no one would ſuſpect he intended to reflect upon any of the claſſes of men who were involved in the guilt of this wicked commerce. He divided his ſubject into three parts, the nature of the trade as it affected Africa itſelf, the appearance it aſſumed in the tranſportation of the ſlaves, and the conſiderations that were ſuggeſted by their actual ſtate in the Weſt-Indies.

With reſpect to the firſt, it was found by experience to be ſuch as every man who uſed his reaſon would unavoidably have concluded it to be. What muſt be the natural conſequence of a ſlave trade with Africa, with a country vaſt in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very ſmall degree? Was it not plain, that ſhe muſt ſuffer from it; that

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her ſavage manners muſt be rendered ſtill more ferocious, and that a ſlave trade, carried on round her coaſts, muſt extend violence and deſolation to her very centre.

Some had endeavoured to palliate this circumſtance; but there was not one that did not more or leſs admit it to be true. By one it was called the concurrent cauſe; by the majority it was acknowledged to be the principal motive of the African wars.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to deſcribe the mode in which the ſlaves were tranſported from Africa to the Weſt-Indies. This, he confeſſed, was the moſt ſhocking part of the whole buſineſs. So much miſery condenſed in ſo little room was more than the human imagination had ever before conceived.

He expatiated on this ſubject, and, with much energy called the attention of the houſe to one ſpecies of evidence, which was infallible. Death was a witneſs that could not deceive them; and the proportion of deaths would not only confirm, but, if poſſible, even aggravate our ſuſpicion of the miſery ſuffered by the ſlaves in their voyage from Africa to the Weſt-Indies. It would be found, upon an average of all the ſhips upon which evidence had been given, that, excluſive of ſuch as periſhed before they ſailed, not leſs than twelve and a half per cent. died in the paſſage. Beſide theſe, it appeared from the Jamaica report, that four and a half per cent. expired upon ſhore, before the day of ſale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one third more died in ſeaſoning, and this in a climate exactly ſimilar to their own, and where, as ſome of the witneſſes pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diſeaſes, however, that they contracted on ſhipboard, the aſtringents and waſhes that were employed to hide their wounds, and make them up for ſale, were a principal cauſe of this mortality. The negroes, it ſhould be remembered, were not purchaſed at firſt except in perfect health, and the ſum of the different caſualties, taken together, produced a mortality of above fifty in the hundred.

He then proceeded to enumerate the various ſources of the preſent mortality. The firſt was the diſproportion of the ſexes; an evil, which, when the ſlave trade was aboliſhed, muſt in the courſe of nature cure itſelf. The ſecond was the diſorders contracted in the tranſportation, and the conſequences of the waſhes and mercurial ointments, by which they were made up for ſale. A third was exceſſive labour, joined with improper food; and a fourth the extreme diſſoluteneſs of their manners. Theſe laſt would both of them be counteracted by the impoſſibility of procuring further ſupplies.

It was the intereſt, they were told, of the maſters to treat their ſlaves with kindneſs and humanity; but it was immediate and preſent, not diſtant and future intereſt that was the great ſpring of action in the affairs of mankind. Why did we make laws to puniſh men? It was their intereſt to be upright and virtuous. But there was a preſent impulſe continually breaking in upon their better judgment; an impulſe, which was known to be contrary to their permanent welfare.

He next proceeded to anſwer other objections that might be made againſt the meaſure. In the firſt place he aſſerted, that the African trade, inſtead of being, as it was ſaid to be, the nurſery of our ſailors, had been found in reality to be their grave. A compariſon had been carefully made between the muſter-rolls of the ſlave-ſhips and thoſe of the other branches of our commerce; and it had been found, that more ſailors had died in one year in the ſlave trade, than in two years in all the other branches of trade put together. Three thouſand one hundred and ſeventy ſeamen had ſailed from Liverpool in 1787, and of theſe only fourteen hundred and twenty-eight had returned.

After many other weighty and important obſervations, he moved twelve propoſitions, upon which however he obſerved, that he did not mean to urge them to an immediate vote. Theſe propoſitions ſtated the number of ſlaves annually carried from Africa, imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, and entered in the cuſtom-houſe accounts; the number, according to the firſt of the computations, amounting to thirty-eight thouſand. They entered into the probable demerits of the perſons ſold to ſlavery, the effects produced hereby upon the inhabitants of Africa, and the valuable and important commerce to that country that might be ſubſtituted in the room of the ſlave trade. They repreſented the fatal circumſtances that attended the tranſportation, not only to the ſlaves, but even to the Britiſh ſeamen. They enumerated the cauſes of the mortality of the negroes, and mentioned the different calculations that had been made of the increaſe of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes; and they concluded with declaring it to be ſufficiently evident, that no conſiderable or permanent inconvenience would reſult from diſcontinuing the farther importation.

These propoſitions were oppoſed by Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Newnham, on the part of the city of London. Mr. Newnham, in particular, ſaid it was his firm perſuaſion, that, if the meaſure were adopted, it would render the metropolis one ſcene of bankruptcy and ruin. Mr. Dempſter obſerved, that the firſt propoſition he had expected Mr. Wilberforce to ſuggeſt

geſt was an engagement to make good, out of the public purſe, all the loſſes which individuals would ſuſtain from the abolition of the ſlave trade. He was willing to be generous, but he did not like to be generous at other people's expence.

Lord Penrhyn aſſerted, that there were mortgages in the Weſt-India iſlands to the amount of ſeventy millions ſterling, and that therefore the firſt conſequence of Mr. Wilberforce's project was to engage the country, in equity and juſtice, to the repayment of this ſum. He added, that the African merchants were, to his knowledge, willing to ſubmit to any regulations of the trade ſhort of its abolition. The propoſitions were further oppoſed by lord Maitland, Mr. Marſham, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Rolle, Mr. Drake, and Mr. Alderman Watſon.

Mr. Burke, at the ſame time that he complimented, in the higheſt terms, the merits and eloquence of Mr. Wilberforce, expreſſed his ſorrow, that the queſtion could not be brought to a concluſion at once, without voting the propoſitions they had heard. He recommended it to parliament to look beyond the preſent moment, and aſk themſelves whether they had fortified their minds to bear the conſequences of the meaſure they were about to adopt.

When they had abandoned the ſlave trade, the Spaniards or ſome other foreign power might poſſibly take it up, and clandeſtinely ſupply our Weſt-India iſlands. Had they virtue enough, in that caſe, to abſtain from the envy habitual to competitors in trade, ſteadily to purſue their purpoſe, and firmly adhere to their determination? If they ſhould repent of their virtue, and he had ſeen miſerable inſtances of ſuch repentance, all hopes of future reformation would be loſt; they would go back to the trade they had abandoned, with redoubled ardour, and adhere to it with the moſt ſhameleſs perſeverance.

Mr. Burke remarked upon the aſſertion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the Weſt-India planters would receive a compenſation adequate to the loſs they incurred by the abolition of the ſlave trade. He believed they would; but he could not conceive that that compenſation could be immediate. We were called upon to do an act of virtuous energy and heroiſm, and in this ſituation it was right we ſhould underſtand exactly what it was that was required of us; and that we muſt ſubmit to a temporary loſs for the ſake of juſtice, equity, and the general happineſs of the human kind.

Mr. Pitt upon this occaſion, for the firſt time, explicitly delivered his ſentiments upon the ſubject; and particularly thanked Mr. Wilberforce for having choſen the only way in

which it could be demonſtrated, that they were warranted, in every point of fact and of reaſon, in adopting the meaſure that was now recommended to them. He was ſatisfied that no argument, compatible with any idea of juſtice, could be aſſigned for the continuation of the ſlave trade; and, at the ſame time that he was willing to liſten, with candour and impartiality, to every thing that could be urged, he was ſure, that the principles, from which his opinion was deduced, were totally unalterable. He had, he ſaid, examined the ſubject with conſiderable anxiety; but he differed from Mr. Burke with reſpect to the propriety of adopting theſe individual propoſitions. Let them be once entered upon the journals of the houſe, and it was almoſt impoſſible for them to fail of producing every beneficial conſequence that could be deſired.

MR. Pitt added, that he felt it his duty to declare, that he could not in any ſort accede to the opinion of thoſe who thought, that the legiſlature was bound to make a compenſation for the loſſes which might be ſuſtained by the people of Liverpool, or of any other part of the kingdom, in the execution of the preſent undertaking.

MR. Fox obſerved, that where he agreed as to the ſubſtance of a meaſure, as he certainly did in the preſent caſe, he did not think it prudent to differ as to its form. He conceived, however, that all the propoſitions of Mr. Wilberforce were not neceſſary to be voted previouſly to the ultimate deciſion, though ſome of them undoubtedly were. He conſidered them as of two kinds; the one explaining the grounds upon which it was proper to proceed to the abolition, ſuch as that it was diſgraceful and inhuman, that it produced the worſt conſequences to the natives of Africa, and was attended with the loſs of lives to our ſeamen; the other merely anſwering the objections that might be ſtarted, and being ſuch as might poſſibly be attended with difference of opinion. He was however glad, that the propoſitions were likely to be entered upon the journals, ſince in that caſe, if from any misfortune the buſineſs ſhould be deferred, it could ſcarcely fail, ſooner or later, to be crowned with ſucceſs.

WITH regard to a regulation of the ſlave trade, his deteſtation of its exiſtence muſt naturally lead him to remark, that he knew of no ſuch thing as a regulation of robbery and reſtriction of murder. There was no medium: the legiſlature muſt either aboliſh the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended.

THE ſubject was reſumed about ten days after, for the purpoſe, it was thought, of voting the propoſitions. Mr. Sawbridge

bridge and lord Maitland opened the buſineſs by enquiring whether it was Mr. Wilberforce's intention to call any further evidence; adding, at the ſame time, that the merchants and others intereſted in the queſtion were anxious for an opportunity of refuting the aſperſions that had been caſt upon them in the progreſs of this meaſure.

With reſpect to the evidence to be adduced by the parties concerned, it was not for him either to admit or refuſe it. The ſubject was now fully before the houſe, and they would of courſe, in all reſpects, judge and decide for themſelves.

Mr. Powys and Mr. Vyner declared, that they had not yet formed an opinion upon the general queſtion, though they ſaw enough to induce them to conſent to the introduction of ſuch a bill as Mr. Wilberforce propoſed. They could however upon no account agree, that the report of the privy council was a proper ground for theſe proceedings.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that in his opinion all further enquiry was needleſs, and would tend only to waſte the time of the houſe.

The report of the privy council conſiſted, firſt of calculations and accounts from the public offices, and next of written documents upon the ſubject; both of which were juſt as authentic, as if they had been laid ſeparately upon the table of that houſe. The remainder conſiſted of the teſtimony of witneſſes; and if any one doubted their veracity, he might, if he choſed, go into a re-examination of the evidence, either in whole, or of any particular witneſs; but it was ſingular that though the report had been five weeks upon the table, no argument againſt its ſufficiency had been heard of, till the moment arrived that the houſe was expected to come to an ultimate vote upon the ſubject.

Mr. Fox perfectly coincided with the ſentiments of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Burke declared, that he was clearly of opinion that no farther evidence could be neceſſary, to induce the houſe to aboliſh what, he would be bold to ſay, was a ſyſtem of robbery. He proceeded to obſerve, that the idea of reimburſing the Weſt-India merchants what they might loſe by the abolition, was totally contrary to every principle of legiſlation. Government gave encouragement to any ſpecies of commerce, while it was regarded as conducive to the welfare of the community, or compatible with the ideas of humanity and juſtice; but they were entitled to withdraw their countenance, when this commerce was found to be an injury and a diſgrace to the ſtate.

The ſentiments of the leading characters in the nation, upon this very intereſting and important ſubject, were manifeſtly

diſplayed on this occaſion; and the temper of the times is from thence deducible without any difficulty. Before the concluſion of the ſeſſion, however, an act was paſſed to continue the ſlave-trade regulating bill for a further limited time. In this ſeſſion alſo paſſed an act for appointing commiſſioners to enquire farther into the loſſes of the American loyaliſts; and, to encourage our fiſheries, a corporation, under the name of the Northumberland Fiſhery, was alſo inſtituted by act of parliament. Through the ſpirited exertions of Mr. Elliott, the Engliſh envoy at Copenhagen, the riſing differences between the courts of Denmark and Sweden were ſuſpended, and at laſt adjuſted.

DURING the ſummer, their Majeſties, by the advice of the king's phyſicians, who recommended ſea-bathing, paſſed a conſiderable time at Weymouth; in which they made an excurſion to the town and port of Plymouth, and were there moſt joyfully received by more than 100,000 of their happy ſubjects, including thoſe collected from the counties of Devon and Cornwall, as well as more diſtant parts of the kingdom, on that occaſion. Ten days, the time of their continuance in that neighbourhood, in which they viewed every thing remarkable, terminated this ſeaſon of jubilee; for as no monarch, ſince the days of king Charles II. had viſited this weſtern part of the kingdom, and the ſecond royal port in the nation, it is no wonder that the public ſatisfaction and curioſity ſhould ſurpaſs deſcription.

IN this year the following perſons died:—Lord Grantley, ſome time an eminent counſellor, afterwards ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; alſo the ſpeaker of the preſent houſe of lords. Admirals James Young and John Vaughan, vice-admiral James Gambier, and rear-admirals Matthew Whitwell, younger brother to lord Howard de Walden, and ſir Francis Drake, bart. Alſo the dutcheſs of Albany, natural daughter of the late Pretender.

A. D. 1790. IN the next ſeſſion of parliament, which met on the 21ſt of January, Mr. Flood made a motion for effecting a reform in the conſtitution of the houſe of commons. He ſaid, that the houſe, as it now ſtood, was the legal, but not the adequate repreſentative of the people. On the true principle of repreſentation, every man of full age ought to be an elector. But granting that property had been the original ground of repreſentation, property had undergone many changes; barons ſat in parliament by patent, without reſpect to property, and many non-electors poſſeſſed a larger ſhare of it than thoſe who were electors; it was therefore become neceſſary to introduce a new body of conſtituents.

conſtituents. Mr. Flood then propoſed to add a hundred members to the preſent number, to be choſen by the reſident houſe-keepers throughout the kingdom. The people deſerved well of the crown, for they had ſhewn themſelves at all times, and particularly during his late illneſs, to be firmly attached to the ſovereign. Every privilege, therefore, which could in reaſon be granted them, ought certainly to be given. He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill for the purpoſe ſtated in his ſpeech.

Mr. Wyndham ſaid, there was one preliminary queſtion which ought to be anſwered before the motion was complied with. The honourable gentleman had not proved enough to encourage them to ſupport him in the meaſure he recommended. He ought firſt to make out his grievance, and then propoſe a remedy. The hon. gentleman ſeemed to have miſtaken the end for the means. Experience had convinced them, that they were not an inadequate repreſentation; but that the houſe of commons anſwered all the purpoſes that a houſe of commons ought to anſwer; and that the people lived happily and freely, and enjoyed every luxury of life ſecurely, under it. He would avoid the repetition of the hackneyed arguments relative to innovation and reformation. No change could with propriety be adopted, unleſs it carried with it deciſive evidence of improvement and amendment; but nothing of this ſort could poſſibly be the reſult of the preſent meaſure, and he was therefore clear for rejecting the motion.

Mr. Pitt paid a handſome compliment to Mr. Flood on the abilities he had diſplayed in ſupporting his propoſition, but had ſtrong objections to its being brought forward at this particular period. The people at large were now trembling under the panic of innovations; and it would certainly be injudicious to add this difficulty to the reception of the meaſure to thoſe which it had already been found were too great for it to ſurmount. To the plan of the hon. gentleman he entertained no objection. The number of electors was to be increaſed; but the preciſe qualifications of thoſe electors had not been aſcertained. He then moved an adjournment of the houſe.

Sir James Johnſtone ſaid, he thought all ſchemes for amending the houſe of commons were impracticable; and wiſhed thoſe who propoſed reforms would try the conſtitution as it was for another century. Mr. Powys was decidedly againſt the motion for a reform. He had heard the queſtion twice debated before; but the houſe had hitherto been, and he hoped would always remain, unconvinced of its neceſſity or propriety.

priety. Mr. W. Grenville profeſſed himſelf an enemy to the motion at all times, and in all ſtages.

Mr. Fox ſaid, he agreed with Mr. Wyndham, that the anxiety of the people for reforming the repreſentation was now greatly abated. Experience, he ſaid, was appealed to on this occaſion; but experience did not appear in the ſame light to all men. With regard to the propoſition, he thought it would admit of amendment, and was indifferent how it was faſhioned, if the ſum and ſubſtance of it were adopted; but he could not ſee the impropriety of bringing it on at this time. He ſhould therefore vote againſt the adjournment, becauſe approving, as he did, of the original motion, he could not conſiſtently turn his back upon it. The motion, however, was ſo violently oppoſed, that Mr. Flood was at laſt perſuaded to withdraw it.

This ſeſſion an attempt was made by ſir John Miller to eſtabliſh a fixed and uniform ſtandard of weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom. It is ſtrange to obſerve the great diverſity, in both theſe particulars, that has hitherto prevailed, and ſtill continues; ſcarce any two counties agreeing either in the ſame weight or the ſame meaſure. This muſt ſometimes expoſe even the fair trader to ſuſpicions; and furniſhes the unfair one with but too good an opportunity, and too ſtrong a temptation, to impoſe upon his unwary cuſtomers.

In the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion, the ſalary of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, which had hitherto not amounted to three thouſand pounds a year, and even that partly made up of perquiſites, was raiſed to the neat annual ſum of ſix thouſand pounds.

The duke d'Orleans, who had made, on former occaſions, repeated viſits to England, by the advice of the marquis de la Fayette, had withdrawn from the public commotions at Paris, in Oct. the preceding year; and, to give his departure a colour of reaſon, ſome public commiſſion, rather nominal than real, was the ground of his ſoliciting from the national aſſembly of France a paſſport for England. He returned in July of the preſent year, after completing the object of his miſſion, having firſt obtained leave to return and aſſiſt at the auguſt ceremony of the general confederation of the French nation, to be held in the *Champ de Mars* on the 14th of that month.

Early in the month of May this year, his majeſty communicated to his parliament the account of certain depredations committed by the ſubjects and ſhips of Spain, and inſults offered to merchants trading, in Engliſh bottoms, on the north weſt coaſt of America; calling upon his faithful commons to

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ſupport him in ſuch meaſures as ſhould put him in a condition to demand reſtitution with effect, or to puniſh that nation, by the ſcourge of war, which ſhould avow or countenance the depredators. Both houſes of parliament voted an addreſs of thanks for his majeſty's information, and engaged to make good the expences of the armament, which was to give effect to the negociation for an amicable adjuſtment.

It has been ſaid, that Spain, from the beginning, declared that ſhe was willing to ſubmit the right of trading to that part of America to be determined entirely by the exiſting treaties. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, it is certain, had communicated to our miniſtry ſome imperfect intelligence relating to that event about three months before; and oppoſition did not loſe the advantage of reminding the miniſter, of the declaration made in a certain ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, which held out to us the proſpect of peace with all the world, when, as the ambaſſador with aſtoniſhment obſerved, the miniſter knew that a ſerious affair had taken place, that might involve both nations in war.

Notwithstanding this pointed remark, which the miniſter parried with ſome ingenuity and addreſs, the vote for the armament was paſſed; and preparations for war immediately commenced in every quarter. In a very ſhort time, the moſt tremendous fleet which Great-Britain had ever poſſeſſed, or our enemies ever ſeen, as well in number of ſhips, rate, and weight of metal, as in tried and approved commanders, was ſent out to ſea; to give conſequence to the negociation for peace, which was carrying on at the court of Madrid, where Mr. Fitzherbert had arrived the latter end of May. Nothing could exceed the ſpirit and activity which were diſplayed in fitting out this armament, in every department of the public ſervice; to which the ſhort armament of 1787 had not a little contributed, from the amazing quantity of ſtores then laid in for the ſervice of the nation.

Speculation, and probably not without ſome reaſons, has advanced a poſition, which, if true, may ſerve as a key to unravel this ſyſtem of politics in the Spaniſh court, and account for the early communication of this act of hoſtility by their ambaſſador. It has been ſaid, that a ſecret confederacy had been formed between the courts of France and Spain, in conjunction with the tyrant of the Myſore country in the Eaſt-Indies, to diminiſh our growing power and ſtrength; and that whilſt Tippoo was to provoke a war in India, Spain was to attack our trade in a diſtant quarter of the globe, where alone ſhe could find a pretence for doing it. The circumſtances of theſe operations, in ſuch very diſtant quarters of the globe,

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give ſtrong grounds for ſuppoſing it to be the reſult of an European ſyſtem. But the French revolution of the preceding year had entirely ſubverted the plan; and Spain, doubtful of aſſiſtance from France, might wiſh to manifeſt a diſpoſition for an amicable ſettlement of all differences. Tippoo, on the contrary, proceeded in the war; and the number of French officers in his ſervice, with other concurring circumſtances, leave little room to doubt, that it had their moſt cordial approbation.

When Mr. Fitzherbert arrived at Madrid, with powers plenipotentiary for adjuſting the diſpute, it is not therefore ſurpriſing that the Spaniſh miniſtry ſhould ſhew a deſire, if poſſible, to avoid a rupture with Great-Britain. But the Britiſh miniſtry held a firm tone, and inſiſted on full ſatisfaction to the Britiſh traders previous to any diſcuſſion of right; whilſt Spain pleaded the neceſſity of firſt determining the right, becauſe the indemnification which was demanded by the traders ought to depend on the legality of their proceedings. It was not till the latter end of July that Spain would conſent to this. Finding herſelf unable to reſiſt the requiſition by force of arms, ſhe conſented to the indemnification claimed as a preliminary for determining the queſtion.

Great-Britain ſtill continued its armaments, notwithſtanding this conceſſion on the part of Spain. The latter, it was well known, had been tampering with the courts of France and Ruſſia, to procure aſſiſtance; but the former, through her domeſtic troubles, was unable, and the latter muſt have abandoned her expeditions againſt the Turks, and patched up a peace with Sweden, to join the Spaniards, and thereby have ſacrificed certain ſucceſs to a precarious object. It was not till the latter end of October, then, that the diſpute was terminated; in all which interval, the Britiſh armaments were continued with inceſſant vigour, and in a manner unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory.

By this convention, the reſtoration of the buildings and veſſels, and the reparation of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects, were ſecured; and the right of navigation and fiſhery was equally conceded to both nations. But illicit commerce with the Spaniſh ſettlements was prohibited; and Britiſh fiſhing veſſels, or others, were reſtricted to ten leagues diſtance from the Spaniſh coaſt. On the north weſt coaſts of America, the parts north of thoſe then occupied by Spain were left free; and thoſe to the ſouth of the preſent Spaniſh ſettlements were declared to be the excluſive property of that ſtate.

Great-Britain, towards the concluſion of this year, being thus happily reſcued from the horrors of war in Europe;

rope; certain circumſtances, the character of which it is not, perhaps, eaſy to give, involved our Indian poſſeſſions in conteſt and in blood. As nearly, however, as we can collect particulars of an authentic nature, the following appears to be a fair ſtatement of the leading facts.

The uſurpation of Hyder Ally, and the military proweſs of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Tippoo Sultaun, are facts too recent and too well known to require any repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the moſt formidable to the Britiſh government, and the moſt hoſtile to its authority. The peace of Mangalore in 1784, had, it was ſuppoſed, ſecured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the ſplendid embaſſy which in the year 1788 he diſpatched to France, afforded much reaſon to apprehend that ſome plan was concerted between the old government of that country and the tyrant of Myſore, for the annoyance, at leaſt, of Great-Britain in its Indian poſſeſſions, if not the total extirpation of its power in the Carnatic.

The remiſſion of a balance due to Tippoo in the late war, acknowledged to be nineteen lacks of rupees; the preſent of a crown, valued at twelve lacks; a ſtar and ornaments for the ribband, at twelve lacks; a ſword, at half a lack; pearls to the queen of France, valued at twelve lacks, with a bed of ſolid gold; amounting in the whole to more than half a crore of rupees, or above half a million ſterling; evidently ſuppoſe, what the ſubſequent proceedings fully prove, that ſome deep-laid ſcheme of policy directed this embaſſy. After a ſtay of more than four months, they returned at the end of that year to India.

But this preconcerted plan, whatever it was, happily for England, was defeated by the French revolution; a plan, which was the more alarming, as it ſeemed to be connected with the ſyſtem adopted by the court of Spain, for making depredations on the Britiſh commerce, and committing inſults on the Britiſh flag.

Tippoo's increaſing power was equally formidable to the Dutch. Their moſt flouriſhing ſettlement of Cochin was in the vicinity of his territories. They had alſo two forts within the territory of an acknowledged tributary to the Myſore, or the rajah of Cochin, which Tippoo was extremely deſirous of poſſeſſing. The Dutch could not themſelves retain theſe forts, and therefore ſold them to the rajah of Travancore, the ally of Great-Britain. As they knew that the Engliſh were, by treaty, obliged to aſſiſt him againſt Tippoo, they politicly engaged, by this ſtep, the whole force of this country againſt

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the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour upon their ſettlement at Cochin.

NOTWITHSTANDING the cautions given by the Madras government againſt the purchaſe, on account of ſome claims which Tippoo had thereto, from their being taken and garriſoned by his father in 1780, and other cauſes, and from his connivance at their being poſſeſſed by the Dutch, when they leagued with Hyder and the French againſt England, the rajah concluded the bargain in July, 1789. At theſe proceedings Tippoo was offended, and, having aſſembled a conſiderable force, he made a direct attack, near the end of that year, on the lines of Travancore; but at that time deſiſted, on receiving a remonſtrance from the Britiſh government of Fort St. George, and continued quiet for two months, yet ſtill aſſerting his claims to the feudal ſovereignty of the forts.

ON the 1ſt of March, 1790, the rajah's troops attacked Tippoo, alledging that he had been erecting batteries, and making other hoſtile preparations for the purpoſe of annoying his neighbours. Thus commenced a war, in which the Britiſh government, though the rajah's conduct had not altogether met their approbation, conceived themſeves bound to take an active part. At this time Great-Britain was in alliance with two of the moſt powerful ſtates in India, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and at peace with all the other native powers. The ambition of the tyrants of Myſore was already riſen to ſuch a height, as to render their neighbourhood very unpleaſant; and to theſe two ſtates, in alliance with the Britiſh, the opportunity ſeemed favourable for diminiſhing the power and dominion of Tippoo, of which each of them had ſufficient reaſon to be jealous.

THIS ſubject was brought before the new parliament, which had aſſembled on the 25th of November, by Mr. Hippiſley, on the 22d of December, who made a preliminary motion, merely, as he obſerved, to deſire that copies of the correſpondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultaun on the lines of Travancore, ſhould be laid before the houſe. He ſupported his motion by ſtating the particulars, ſo far as he had been able to inform himſelf, and inſiſting principally on the ancient feudal claim of the ſultans of Myſore to the forts in queſtion. Admitting, amongſt other things, that Travancore was the acknowledged ally of Great-Britain, who had guaranteed all her lawful poſſeſſions; yet certainly we were not bound to protect her in all her ambitious ſchemes, and his doubts reſpecting the juſtice of the war were great.

BUT he had ſtill greater objections to its policy; as little dependence could be placed, either on the Nizam or the Mahrattas,

Mahrattas, both of them notorious for their perfidy. It might be ſaid, that we had a flouriſhing force in India; but it could not be doubted that Tippoo, eſpecially with the advantage of the French officers, had kept equal pace with our improvements. He had a force, he obſerved, of 150,000 men, with a large corps of Europeans well officered, and an admirable artillery as admirably ſerved. He had a revenue of five millions ſterling, and a treaſury of eight or nine millions. What had we to oppoſe to theſe reſources, but an exhauſted treaſury, and a tottering credit? The difficulties and miſeries of an Indian war were alarming; and "any peace which was conſiſtent with the honour of the nation, was better than the moſt ſucceſsful war."

He was followed by Mr. Francis, who remarked, that all good ſtateſmen had conſidered, and even the Britiſh legiſlature had declared, the deſtructive policy to this country of increaſing our Indian territories; that alliances with the native powers of India only tended to lead us into dangerous and expenſive connections. The mutual jealouſy of the Nizam and Tippoo would operate to prevent their employing their power to the prejudice of our ſettlements; and the power of the Mahrattas, at preſent the moſt formidable in India, rendered it extremely impolitic to extirpate Tippoo, as he now ſerved particularly to maintain the balance of India. His character, too, might be exaggerated; but ſuppoſing it true, was it conſiſtent with humanity or reaſon to expoſe the Britiſh ſubjects and their allies to the conſequences of a tyranny which had been painted in ſuch horrid colours?

Mr. Fox, on the ſame ſide, alſo conceived, that we were the dupes of the Dutch on this occaſion; and that the war was at leaſt unneceſſary, if not unjuſt. The wiſdom of goverment ought to have prevented our ally from making a purchaſe, which was ſure to excite the jealouſy of a watchful and ſuſpicious neighbour; for the ſame conduct would inceſſantly involve us with the country powers. He alſo alluded to the impolicy of extirpating Tippoo; that we ought to be friendly with the country of Myſore, as a ſtrong barrier between the moſt powerful ſtates of India and our ſettlements.

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr. Dundas, that if the rajah of Travancore, on whoſe account we had commenced hoſtilities with Tippoo, had juſtice on his ſide, we were obviouſly bound to aſſiſt our ally. His claim to the feudal ſovereignty of the forts was of recent date, and ſolely founded on this baſis, that the country in which they were ſituated had been overrun and conquered by the Myſorean power about twenty years before; whereas the Dutch had poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed them by right of conqueſt from the Portugueſe more than a century. Neither was it as a matter of right that Tippoo had engaged in this diſpute, but from motives of ambition. Without any provocation or pretence whatever, he had in the year 1788 advanced to the frontiers of Travancore with a formidable army; and the governor of Madras, on the rajah's repreſentation, occaſioned him to withdraw, by the information that any act of hoſtility committed againſt the rajah, would be conſidered as a declaration of war againſt Great-Britain. If Travancore fell into Tippoo's hands, all our territories would be laid open; it was good policy, therefore, to ſupport the rajah, as by that means, in effect, we only defended ourſelves. It was neceſſary on that account alſo to watch his motions with a jealous eye. His conduct at Tellicherry was in like manner a full proof of his intentions; which he ſurrounded, on his advance to Travancore, and ſeized a boat loaded with proviſions. Reſtitution being demanded, he returned the letter unopened, and threatened the meſſenger with the loſs of his head, if any other letter ſhould be ſent. The juſtice of the meaſure muſt from hence be manifeſt; and our reſources were abundant, having as fine an army, and as well appointed, as ever appeared in India.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, alſo ſupported the neceſſity of the war, and repreſented Tippoo as a mercileſs tyrant; but, as Mr. Dundas had no objection to producing the papers, the original motion was carried. This ſerved as a ground for reſuming the ſubject in the courſe of the ſeſſion.

The favourers and ſupporters of the war in India were not ſatisfied with giving it their ſanction and ſupport; but ſhortly after it had been diſcuſſed moſt amply, reſolutions were moved and voted in both houſes, expreſsly approving it, and applauding the conduct of earl Cornwallis, the noble commander and governor of our poſſeſſions in that quarter of the globe.

The abolition of the ſlave-trade, which had ſo much engroſſed the time and attention of parliament in preceding years, was renewed this year, two days after the ſeſſion commenced. On this occaſion, Mr. Wilberforce, its avowed and diſtinguiſhed patron, as a means, probably, of expediting the deciſion of this intricate and important queſtion, moved for the appointment of a ſelect committee to examine evidence on the ſubject; which was agreed to. The whole of the ſeſſion, of five months, paſſed over, without producing any thing more than occaſional reports to the houſe of commons on their proceedings; but the act of laſt ſeſſion for regulating the paſſage

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of ſlaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies, was extended, as a meaſure which promiſed much utility.

A BOUNTY of 100l. to every maſter of a ſlave ſhip, in which not more than two in a hundred ſhall die before landing, and 50l. to every ſurgeon, was alſo voted; and half theſe bounties reſpectively, where not more than three ſlaves in each hundred ſhall die.

ANOTHER great queſtion, which this year, for the third time, engaged the notice of parliament, was, to decide on a motion, to repeal the corporation and teſt acts. The great ſtrength of each claſs of advocates, for and againſt the meaſure, was exerted on the ſubject. Mr. Fox, in a ſpeech of two hours and a half, diſplayed his talents and knowledge with the utmoſt ingenuity, in order to perſuade the houſe to comply with his motion, which had for its object a partial repeal of thoſe acts. He was ſeconded by ſir Harry Houghton, and ſupported by Mr. Beaufoy and others; and ably oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Powys, ſir William Dolben, and a great many eminent ſpeakers. Many of the members had ſeen the moſt alarming reaſons for voting againſt the motion, who had formerly been advocates for it; amongſt which the remarks of Mr. Burke and Mr. Wilberforce were very pointed and deciſive. Others again made no ſcruple of declaring, that they had been inſtructed by their conſtituents, to vote againſt the motion; which was loſt, on a diviſion, at a late hour, by a majority of near three to one, in a houſe of more than 400 members.

IN the further proſecution of Mr. Haſtings's trial before the lords, after four days ſitting, it was poſtponed to the end of three months from the commencement of the ſeſſion; and, on its being reſumed, inadmiſſible evidence, ſuch as had little or no relation to the original charges, was conſtantly attempted to be obtruded on the court, againſt which the judges, who were appealed to for their opinion, as conſtantly determined.

FRESH inſtructions were applied for by the managers of the trial to the commons, with a view to ſhorten the proceedings, and to bring the trial to a concluſion; which were agreed to. After a few more ſittings, the termination of the ſeſſion put a ſtop to all farther progreſs in the buſineſs.

DURING this ſeſſion of parliament, the importance of improving waſte lands came under conſideration; and a bill was brought in, and paſſed, with a view to regulate debtors in the public priſons. An act alſo paſſed for granting to Dr. Willis, the phyſician, who was principally inſtrumental in recovering his majeſty from his indiſpoſition of the preceding year,

year, an annuity of 1000l. for twenty-one years; alſo an act for granting 500,000l. to the American loyaliſts, and 49,556l. 15s. 6d. for the claims of the Georgia loyaliſts. An act was likewiſe paſſed, granting a drawback to the Eaſt India company on all tin carried beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

THE preſent year was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the death of ſome remarkable characters: among theſe were the emperor of Germany, who was ſucceeded by his brother, the grand duke of Tuſcany; the duke of Cumberland, youngeſt brother to his Britannic majeſty; the Rev. Thomas Warton, poet-laureat: Dr. Halifax biſhop of St. Aſaph; Dr. Cullen, phyſician, at Edinburgh; the celebrated Dr. Franklin; and Mr. Howard, who has rendered his name immortal by travelling over the greateſt part of Europe, for the humane purpoſe of ſuggeſting improvements in hoſpitals and priſons.

A. D. 1791. THE diſſolution of parliament during the ſummer of 1790, led to the diſcuſſion of an intereſting queſtion in the new parliament, reſpecting the trial of Mr. Haſtings, which had already been protracted to ſuch an unuſual length of time. After ſome learned obſervations, on both ſides, on various occaſions, and after different adjournments, on the argument whether the impeachment was abated by ſuch diſſolution, it was at laſt reſolved to proceed in that buſineſs.

IT was not till the 16th of May, that the houſe of commons were informed by a meſſage from the lords, that they were ready to proceed on the trial; though both the lords and commons had been extremely divided on the ſubject. In the houſe of lords, the majority was 48 for proceeding; and in the commons, that meaſure was carried, after a diviſion on Mr. Erſkine's motion to ſearch for precedents had been negatived, 143 againſt 30, without any diviſion. And though this determination was prolonged to ſuch a late period of the ſeſſion, the trial, on the part of the proſecution, was cloſed on the 30th of May, with the reſervation of replying to Mr. Haſtings's defence, and of bringing evidence to diſprove any miſſtated facts which that evidence might contain.

MR. Haſtings then addreſſed the court, and prayed that judgment might be paſſed previous to any adjournment of the ſeſſion; but if that was incompatible with the public ſervice, he requeſted the favour of one ſhort day to addreſs their lordſhips, and to ſettle the future mode of proceeding in his defence. In the period of his adminiſtration, it was well known that he had encountered many neceſſities; but he truſted that he had not met them in any manner which was not juſtifiable on the grounds of honour, probity, and juſtice.

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THE court having complied with the latter part of Mr. Haſtings's requeſt, he thanked their lordſhips for their indulgence in granting another day, and proceeded to read his defence, which took up two hours and a half, the ſubſtance of which was to the following purport:

AFTER expatiating on the duration and other hardſhips of his trial, he ſolemnly declared, that if he believed it poſſible for their lordſhips to find him guilty, he would prefer that ſentence in the preſent ſeſſion, to a continuance of the trial with the chance of an acquittal in another. In reply to the accuſations, which had been brought againſt him, he would firſt take notice of the general charges, that he had deſolated and ruined the provinces committed to his care, &c. &c. A few words were ſufficient to refute theſe charges; ſince it was manifeſt to their lordſhips, that he had raiſed the reſources of government from three millions ſterling annually to five, and that he had neither deſolated nor ruined the country, which had ſtill farther increaſed ſince his departure. Their lordſhips, he ſaid, would be better able to judge of his ſituation, by a compariſon with the difficulties which earl Cornwallis had now to contend againſt; there was this remarkable difference, indeed, that all India, and half of Europe, were united againſt himſelf, whereas the noble earl had only one power, unaided by a ſingle ally, to maintain war againſt, with the alliance of two great powers to act in concert with his lordſhip, the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

HIS concluſion was animated beyond any deſcription, in a comprehenſive view. In the ſtrongeſt language he ſtated the numerous ſervices he had performed, the repeated appointments conferred upon him by parliament, his correſpondence in every thing of importance with the prime miniſter here; and, after imputing the wars in which India had been engaged to the politics of this country, he very emphatically remarked, that while Great-Britain had doubled her national debt, and loſt one arm of her empire, he had not only preſerved the other, but had likewiſe added to its reſources, with the prayers and good wiſhes of all the governed.

HE now turned round, with extraordinary animation and ſolemnity, to the gallery of the houſe of commons; and proceeded, as if he had been addreſſing the ſpeaker, in this pointed ſtrain, "You have told the world," ſaid he, "that I have "brought great loſs and damage upon the Eaſt India com-"pany, and diſgrace upon the Britiſh nation. I tell you," continued he, "that I improved your reſources, and made a "numerous people happy; and that the Britiſh name and cha-"racter never ſtood higher in India than when I left Bengal.

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"Every regulation in the East originated in me. I gave you "the salt revenues, the opium, Benares, and Oude. I formed "all the official arrangements, and all the charges which have "been made are only so many modifications of the system I "had laid down, for the purpose, as my noble and virtuous "successor said (applying his remark more particularly to "Oude), of rendering the principles I established the more "permanent. I GAVE YOU ALL,—and what has been the "return?—A character degraded, as far as YOU can degrade "it; a fortune totally ruined; and a life of impeachment."

He concluded with observing, in which he turned towards the managers' box, that he disavowed the idea of a set-off (the term in fashion) of services against crimes, as might be insinuated; having only stated to their lordships the services he had performed, and the universal voice of India in his favour, to prove the impossibility of his committing those crimes, of which the commons had accused him.

As the slave trade had been so amply discussed in preceding parliaments, it was natural to suppose, it would be resumed in the present, as soon as a convenient opportunity offered. Mr. Wilberforce, as on former occasions, displayed all his oratory, to induce the house to consent to its total abolition, and strenuously contended for the beneficial effects which might result from a fair and open commerce with Africa. The usual supporters of his motion on that subject, took the same side of the question. It was very ably opposed, on various grounds, by other members, who charged their opponents, in citing facts, with fallacy and exaggeration. In such nations of barbarians, the slave trade, it was observed, prevented the loss of life; as it was habitual to put to death their prisoners of war. Other dangerous and ruinous consequences of an abolition of this trade, were pointed out; and the project of a free trade with Africa, it was remarked, was visionary, and promised no profit or advantage whatever. The question of abolition was at this time negatived by a majority of 75.

Notwithstanding the convention with Spain, towards the close of the preceding year, the war between Russia and the Porte still continued; it was deemed good policy to keep a very considerable part of our navy in commission, with their full complements, during the winter. Though it might be prudent for the minister to disclaim all reference to these powers, it must be manifest, that such a force could only be designed either as a security for the performance of the articles of the Spanish convention, or for the purpose of checking the motions of the powerful fleets of the empress. For as Sweden had been obliged to make peace with Russia, when she had

had in vain exhauſted her reſources in hopes of aſſiſtance from Great-Britain, who had kept her fleets at home to overawe the Spaniards; and as Auſtria had been induced to make a ſeparate peace with the Porte; the power of the empreſs was ſuch, and her ambition ſo well underſtood, that ſuch a check was become abſolutely neceſſary.

But whatever might be the avowed reaſons for continuing ſuch a force, his majeſty's meſſage to the two houſes of parliament on the 28th of March ſeems fully to have explained the myſtery. It went to ſhew, that the endeavous which had been exerted, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a peace between Ruſſia and the Porte, had not yet met with the ſucceſs which he hoped for; and that ſome farther augmentation of the navy was requiſite to give force and dignity to his repreſentations. An addreſs of thanks, after much debate, was carried on the following day, by a majority of 93; which farther aſſured his majeſty, that the houſe would make good the expences of the armament.

Strenuous as the oppoſition were to point out the inconſiſtency of the miniſter's conduct, and the impolicy of going to war for an inconſiderable object; yet when the queſtion came forward under a new ſhape ſhortly after, it was negatived by a conſiderable majority. On ſeveral ſubſequent occaſions, during this ſeſſion of parliament, the ſubject experienced the ſame fate in both houſes.

Little indeed was done, notwithſtanding this aſſurance of ſupport, except in the annual expence of refitting. In the different naval departments, nothing of the laſt year's zeal and enthuſiaſm was to be ſeen. The fleet, however, aſſembled at Spithead, and, as a matter of courſe, made an annual cruiſe; but it was terminated by the conſent of Ruſſia to ſuch terms of peace with the Porte, as the Britiſh and Pruſſian courts thought proper to accept, and engage to recommend to that power to ſubmit to. A very conſiderable reduction of the navy immediately took place after this convention.

Very little more than a month elapſed after the concluſion of the ſeſſion, before the nation witneſſed one of the moſt outrageous and diſgraceful ſcenes, which, except in the riots of the year 1780, had been known within the memory of any perſon living. In the city of London in particular, as well as in many of the principal towns of the kingdom, aſſociations were formed, and the public in general were invited, to celebrate the anniverſary of the French revolution, on the famous deſtruction of the Baſtile, the 14th of July, 1789. As theſe moſtly were formed of perſons inimical to the adminiſtration of the times, and ſupported by others equally unfriendly to

the conſtitution of the church (with a few exceptions); it was naturally to be expected, that theſe would be watched with a jealous eye by the ſteady friends of government. Theſe cautions happily ſucceeded in moſt places; but the large and populous town of Birmingham was an unfortunate exception to this general tranquility.

As a great and important concern, to which the eyes of all Europe were directed, the French revolution had not eſcaped the notice of ſome leading members in the national ſenate; and, as it was agitated with ſome warmth, much bad temper was thereby occaſioned, and the paſſions and prejudices of the various claſſes and deſcriptions of mankind were thoroughly inſtigated and rouſed. From the ſenate, the difference of ſentiment paſſed into the city; and from the city into the country. The fermentation had for ſome time been ſtrong and violent; and where incidental circumſtances ſerved to keep it alive, its immoderate conſequences are leſs ſurpriſing.

WITHOUT enlarging on the cauſes, which more peculiarly operated on the people of Birmingham, it muſt ſuffice to obſerve that a few ſeditious hand-bills were dropped, recommending to the people of England to free themſelves, by a ſpirited effort, from the oppreſſions of government, after the manner of the French nation. Every thing was done, by the friends of the propoſed meeting, to diſcountenance this idea, and to quench this brand of ſedition; it was propoſed to decline aſſembling on the occaſion, but, at the inſtigation of an intereſted individual the propoſition was unhappily laid aſide, under the expreſs reſolution of retiring at an early hour.

A LARGE mob was ſpeedily aſſembled, after the friends of the revolution were collected; whoſe riotous and inſolent behaviour induced the company to terminate their feſtival at five in the afternoon, as they found it impoſſible to continue there in ſafety. Though the magiſtrates appeared, every front window was demoliſhed; neither did they retire, until they had ſearched the houſe to ſee if any of the gueſts remained. Dr. Prieſtley, conſidered as the perſon who moſt publicly favoured that revolution, did not attend the meeting; though this did not prevent his meeting-houſe from total deſtruction by an infatuated mob.

IT was in the evening, when this act of violence and outrage was committed; and fire was the inſtrument of deſtruction reſolved on. The old meeting-houſe was alſo completely gutted, and the building nearly demoliſhed; but a ray of diſcretion ſeemed here to force an entrance, and fire, which might

might have communicated to the town, was avoided as dangerous.

Dr. Prieſtley's houſe, at ſome diſtance from the town, was the next object of their fury; and he and his family had but juſt time to eſcape, with nothing more than the clothes which they had on. A ſecond removal the ſame evening was found to be neceſſary, as the houſe he then had retired to was threatened; though this act of violence did not take place till the next day at noon. The profuſion of liquor which they found here, of the abuſe of which they were not ſparing, produced a dreadful ſcene of intoxication; and many were buried in the ruins.

These acts of confuſion and devaſtation continued till the Sunday evening, when the town was relieved from the depredations of this lawleſs rabble by the arrival of ſome troops of light dragoons. The next morning ſome more dragoons arrived to reinforce them; which nearly put a ſtop to the ravages of the mob, though they continued to parade about the country during this and the following days. The light horſe completely ſcoured the country on Wedneſday, and public tranquility was reſtored. At the enſuing county aſſizes, ſeveral perſons were tried, condemned, and executed, for theſe violent outrages againſt ſociety and the laws of the kingdom.

The happy conſequences of the regulations adopted in the preceding parliament, to limit the number of negroes to be conveyed in ſlave ſhips, in proportion to their tonnage, are manifeſt from this fact; that in a Liverpool ſhip, which carried the largeſt freight, but one ſlave out of 515 was loſt, from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt-Indies.

This year the duke of York, prince-biſhop of Oſnaburgh, was married to the princeſs royal of Pruſſia; they arrived in England in November, and were ſeparately addreſſed by the city of London.

In this year the following perſons have died:—Dr. Thomas Thurlow, lord biſhop of Durham.—The celebrated profeſſor Michaelis, at Gottingen.—The victorious Ruſſian general, prince Potemkin; and the celebrated Iriſh orator, the right hon. Henry Flood.—Rear-admirals John Houlton, Inglis, and John Harriſon, paid the debt of nature; and that remarkable character amongſt the methodiſts, Selina, counteſs of Huntingdon.

Early in this year, accounts of a very flattering nature arrived from India, of the ſucceſs of our forces in that quarter of the globe. For though, as a conſequence of the ſetting in of the monſoon or rainy ſeaſon, earl Cornwallis had been obliged to give up, for a *A. D.* 1792.

time, the idea of taking the capital of Myſore, the diſpoſition for renewing that buſineſs was maſterly and collected. Some other advantages were not neglected in the interval.

THE houſe was ſurpriſed by a petition from the nabob of Arcot, produced by the gentleman whoſe motions againſt the war in India have ſo frequently divided the Britiſh ſenate; it only went to prevent in future certain innovations, and to complain of ſome grievances, which, it was hoped, would be remedied, and paſſed away without farther notice.

As every ſucceſſive account from India continued to point out the proſperity of our affairs, the happieſt conſequences were naturally to be anticipated. In the following very flattering terms does a print of thoſe times expreſs the ſituation of our army, previous to the renewal of active operations: "The ſcene is the moſt glorious, the moſt magnificent, that, "perhaps, the eye ever contemplated. It is impoſſible to "deſcribe the idea it impreſſes on the mind, in contemplat-"ing its aſtoniſhing magnitude, and yet we abound in plenty "of every article of proviſions, and can count upon a va-"riety of the luxuries of life; and the ſtacks of rice for fu-"ture conſumption, are conſtantly increaſing. Our preſent "encampment, (in the month of December) is extremely "pleaſant, ſurrounded with fields of graſs, like luxuriant "meadows in England, fit for the ſcythe; a circumſtance, as "may be readily imagined, of the greateſt poſſible benefit, "the advantages of which our cattle begin to ſhew by their "improving appearance."

INTELLIGENCE arrived about the ſame time of an engagement in the Eaſt-Indies, between an Engliſh and French frigate, in conſequence of information that ſome merchant ſhips of the latter power, then under protection of the frigate, carried warlike ſtores and ammunition to the tyrant of Myſore; a ſtrong circumſtance to indicate, as we have already obſerved, that a very powerful combination had been formed againſt Great-Britain. This action terminated in the capture of the French ſhip, which had refuſed to permit the merchant ſhips to be ſearched; as the Engliſh captain ſtrenuouſly determined to execute his orders to that effect. Finding he could not prevent it, the French captain fired a broadſide, and engaged, which was ſoon returned by the Engliſh captain, and ſo effectually continued, as ſpeedily to ſilence his opponent.

BY the ſubſequent accounts from the army in India, particulars of the fate of moſt of the unfortunate priſoners which, in the laſt war, fell into the hands of Hyder Ally, have been tranſmitted; and by ſtill farther accounts, the defeat of Tippoo Saib, his overtures for peace, and the articles of that peace, under

under the ſecurity of his two ſons as hoſtages, it appears that the war, after many brilliant actions, had happily ended. In theſe articles it is ſtipulated, that he ſhould give up one half of his diminions to the united powers of England, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, amounting to about 39 lacks and a half of pagodas, or about one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annual value, of which the Engliſh are to poſſeſs one-third; beſides a ſum equal to three millions three hundred thouſand pounds in money, one half of which was to be paid immediately, and the other half within twelve months, at three payments.

But whilſt earl Cornwallis was thus glorioufly employed in the ſervice and honour of his country, the ſame oppoſition of ſentiment and opinion, on the cauſe and probable conſequences of the war, prevailed in the Britiſh ſenate. This ſubject was twice brought forward in the courſe of the ſeſſion, and reſolutions propoſed for the concurrence of the houſe, purporting, that "the authors of the preſent *unhappy* war in "India merited the cenſure of the country;" a diviſion of 159 to 42 was, however, a decided proof of the ſentiments of the houſe in favour of the war. It was, nevertheleſs, reſumed on a future day, under a different form, but to the ſame object; and after the motion had been amended, that amendment paſſed without a diviſion. An approbation of earl Cornwallis's treaty with the Nizam in 1789, his eſtabliſhment of a military poſt in Travancore, and the origin and continuance of the war againſt Tippoo, were alſo declared to be "conſiſtent with the wiſe, moderate, and political views eſta-"bliſhed by the parliament of Great-Britain, in the ſyſtem "laid down for our government in India."

On the trial of Mr. Haſtings, which re-commenced ſoon after the meeting of parliament, ſeveral days were employed barely in opening the nature of the defence againſt the different charges. On the ſubject of preſents, the undue receipt of which had been ſo ſtrongly pointed as a part of his conduct, it was obſerved, "that the preſents received were "abſolutely indiſpenſible, becauſe otherwiſe the company's "affairs would have been irretrievably ruined. The bullock "contract alſo, of which ſo much had been ſaid, was on the "ſame terms, and probably better than lord Cornwallis has "been able to make, in the conduct of the preſent war. As "to the opium contract with Mr. Sullivan, it was rather a "miraculous miſtake in the managers not to have ſtated, that "it was granted on preciſely the ſame terms that general "Clavering and his colleages had before given to Mr. "M'Kenzie, the friend and *protege* of Mr. Francis. He diſ-

"proved likewiſe the charge of perſonal hardſhips endured "by the begums of Oude; and defended the treaties which "had been entered into." The lords were employed principally in hearing evidence during the remainder of the ſeſſion, on ſtated days, without interruption; except that on one occaſion they had a ſhort converſation with Mr. Burke relative to his manner of conducting the examination of the day, and on another, reſpecting the continuance of the proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. Mr. Haſtings, who had often expreſſed, during this unexampled buſineſs, his moſt earneſt wiſhes, that the buſineſs might ſpeedily be concluded, had lately addreſſed the court to the ſame purpoſe, which gave riſe to the latter; but the ſeſſion was again cloſed without any determination on the ſubject.

THE ſlave trade was another ſubject of diſcuſſion in the preſent year; which met with a more decided fate in the lower houſe of parliament. The honourable mover of the great queſtion of abolition, introduced his ſubject by a very long and, in many reſpects, pointed relation of facts and occurrences in the proſecution of this trade, in a manner which filled the minds of the houſe with horror; and concluded a warm and animated ſpeech with ſtating, that the motion he intended to ſubmit to their conſideration was, "That the im-"portation of Negro ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa to the "Britiſh colonies in the Weſt-Indies be aboliſhed." It was ſupported by Mr. Thornton, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt; the two laſt, in particular, contended for an immediate abolition. It was likewiſe oppoſed by many members, and, among others, colonel Tarleton and Mr. Jenkinſon; the former declaring, that the meaſure would produce the greateſt miſchief to the Weſt Indies, and to our trade and commerce thither, and perhaps totally annihilate them, the latter moved for an adjournment to conſider of ſome motions he ſtated on the ſubject of a regulation of that trade. This motion was negatived by a great majority.

MR. Dundas, with a view to conciliate all parties, propoſed a middle courſe, conſiſting in the idea of abolition at ſome future determinate period; that the trade in the mean time might be rendered amenable for any unjuſt practices, and ſuch other regulations made as ſhould ſecure the regular ſucceſſion of native inhabitants for the cultivation of the iſlands. He was ſupported by the ſpeaker, and then moved, that the word *gradually* ſhould be added to the original motion, which would make the nature of the propoſed abolition ſpecific; which motion was carried, and a majority of 230 to 85 voted for the gradual abolition of the ſlave trade.

THIS

THIS ſubject was afterwards brought forward; it was diſcuſſed two days on the motion of Mr. Dundas, "that it ſhould "not be lawful to import any African negroes into any Britiſh "colonies, or plantations, in ſhips owned or navigated by "Britiſh ſubjects, at any time after the 1ſt day of Jan. 1800." The moſt able ſpeakers on each ſide of the queſtion delivered their opinions; but, by a motion of adjournment, which was carried, the original motion was left open for future diſcuſſion. When this was reſumed, the meaſure was carried for its termination on the 1ſt day of January, 1796, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for that purpoſe.

BY a conference with the upper houſe, it was alſo conceived, that the object of the reſolutions formed on this buſineſs might be accelerated; as it would put the lords in poſſeſſion of the general outline of the plan of abolition. When the reſolutions to this purpoſe agreed to by the commons were read, lord Grenville moved, that theſe papers ſhould be printed, to put their lordſhips in full poſſeſſion of the facts, which earl Stanhope thought unneceſſary. Lord Stormont, on the contrary, inſiſted that proof of all the facts, on which the commons had formed theſe reſolutions, ought to be authenticated upon oath at the bar of the houſe; he would never, he ſaid, give up their privilege and power to judge for themſelves, or give implicit confidence even to the houſe of commons.

THE duke of Clarence obſerved, there was proof ſufficient that the accounts on this trade given to the commons were erroneous. Though there might be ſome individual inſtances of cruelty to the negroes, they were much exaggerated; he ſaid that, generally ſpeaking, their condition was in fact as well as that of the peaſants of the beſt regulated ſtates in Europe. The abolition, he maintained, would be a great injury to our trade, and the proceedings upon it hitherto he declared to be the effect of deluſion; and if the noble lord perſiſted in a motion for their agreeing with the commons, or that the trade ſhould in any way be aboliſhed, he would oppoſe him. No motion was at this time made.

THIS ſubject was afterwards reſumed by lord Stormont, on the principle of his obſervations on a former day; when the duke of Clarence again declared, that unleſs full and ſubſtantial proof was adduced at the bar of their houſe, that the enormities complained of actually exiſted, he would oppoſe the abolition of the trade. He had no doubt, he ſaid, that ſuch proof, if attempted to be brought, would be repelled; but as he truſted to evidence, and not to aſſertions, he would not give his decided opinion till he ſhould have heard ſuch evidence fairly and impartially. Several other lords ſpoke, amongſt

which were the biſhops of London and St. David's, on the ſide of humanity; yet, ſays the latter, "as it is generally "underſtood that an enquiry ſhould take place, I ſhall vote "that it may be made in the moſt public manner, and there-"fore at the bar of this houſe." The original motion was carried; and it was ordered that ſeveral petitions againſt the abolition, which were then preſented, ſhould be heard by counſel at the bar, and evidence examined. The duke of Clarence, when the counſel were called to the bar, took a conſiderable part in their examination; but nothing more was done this ſeſſion, except a motion of addreſs being agreed to in the lower houſe for ordering a compenſation to thoſe proprietors, &c. who had ſuſtained loſſes from the late regulations on the ſlave carrying trade.

As an early proof of the propriety of the duke of Clarence's remarks on the accounts given in to the commons on this trade, one of the caſes mentioned by Mr. Wilberforce was ſpeedily brought before a civil court; when the commander was acquitted, and the two principal evidences committed to Newgate to be tried for perjury. It has been related that the captain has inſtituted an action againſt Mr. Wilberforce for ſuch a ſcandalous and injurious attack on his character; and in that caſe will probably a ſecond time ſhew the difference between the poſitive evidence of a civil court of law, and a declamatory harangue in a Britiſh houſe of commons.

WHEN the armament of the preceding year came under the conſideration of parliament, both houſes were much divided on the propriety of that meaſure. On the one ſide, it was contended, by lord Portcheſter and lord Rawdon, that the conduct of adminiſtration in the negociation with the court of Peterſburgh, to effect a peace with the Turks, was nugatory and reprehenſible; that it was even criminal, as it unneceſſarily concealed from the public the grounds upon which they were called on to interfere in the late war between Ruſſia and the Porte, and in continuing the armament on that account after parliament had determined to give up the object for which ſuch armament had been required. It was ſupported alſo by lord Loughborough and others; but oppoſed by the lord chancellor, lord Hardwick, lord [illegible]ſbury, and lord Grenville.

IT was obſerved, that we did not ſtand alone as mediators in this buſineſs, but acted in alliance with the king of Pruſſia, who had a conſiderable army collected on the frontiers. Our fleet could not be diſmantled, until that army was diſbanded or removed. Neither was it prudent to truſt a power, which had proved ungrateful and unfaithful to a nation, under whoſe foſtering

foſtering hand its maritime ſtrength had been nurſed and brought up; and it was the prevailing ſpirit of oppoſition in this country alone, which had induced her to hold out againſt the propoſals which miniſters had made to reſtore peace. That ſpirit had alſo been the guide of adminiſtration, which wiſhed to adopt pacific meaſures, to relax in their demands.

THE ſubject of the armament was debated at the ſame time in the lower houſe, which commenced by a motion for additional papers, not before the houſe, to "enable them to "judge fully and fairly upon the future queſtion of the con-"duct of adminiſtration."

AFTER ſome debate, in which it was contended for a due and neceſſary confidence, as advantageous to a kingdom, the motion for farther papers was negatived by a diviſion of near two to one.

WHEN the houſe was called upon at a future day to take into conſideration the papers on the table relating to that ſubject, by Mr. Whitbread, he remarked, as a ground of his motion, that miniſters had done violence to the conſtitution, the intereſt, and the honour of their country. The Britiſh name, ſays he, has been reduced, her character degraded, and her intereſt injured by their miſconduct; in commencing an armament, and in hazarding a war, contrary to the ſenſe of the public at large, and for purpoſes they were no way intereſted in. He adverted to their practice of arming upon every trivial occaſion, which not only merited cenſure for its abſurdity, as well as the expence, but for the cruelty and hardſhip it was productive of to a large body of the moſt uſeful ſubjects of this country; thoſe who were preſſed from their homes, their buſineſs, and their families. Mr. Grey, on the ſame ſide, contended, that this country had no poſſible intereſt in the ſucceſſes of Ruſſia over the Ottomans; that our interference was officious, and had contributed to our diſgrace; and that the Porte poſitively refuſed the aſſiſtance which we ſo generouſly tendered them. Mr. Sheridan alſo was very ſevere on the ſame ſide of the queſtion; as was Mr. Fox, and others who ſpoke, but with more ſtrength of argument, and [illegible]quently with a greater attention of the houſe.

ON the [illegible] hand, the hon. Mr. Jenkinſon, for the firſt time of his [illegible]eaking in parliament, oppoſed the motion of cenſure, in a ſpeech which claimed the higheſt praiſe, both in point of eloquence, information, and elegance of delivery. The motion gave miniſters an opportunity fully to defend the meaſures, ariſing from a ſyſtem calculated to advance the honour and intereſts of the kingdom. The mover had conſidered the queſtion in a very narrow point of view; for the ſyſtem, of

which this was a part, comprehended the relative ſituation of all the continental powers, and the intereſt of Great-Britain, as connected with them. Continental alliances, he ſaid, were abſolutely neceſſary to this country, and Pruſſia was the only ſtate with whom ſuch alliance ſhould be entered into.

THE Turks, it had been ſaid, were the firſt aggreſſors in the war. They had indeed made the firſt attack; but the Ruſſians, by repeated acts of hoſtility and encroachment, had driven them to it. The Britiſh court were obliged to inſiſt on the mutual reſtoration of conqueſts, becauſe they had demanded the ſame terms from Auſtria, whoſe arms had been equally ſucceſsful; and theſe terms, in all probability, would have been obtained, but for the oppoſition which had been made to the meaſures of miniſters, under the apprehenſion of a Ruſſian war.

AFTER the terms had been relaxed, the armament was neceſſary to give weight to our mediation. It was well known that Ruſſian commodities could only find a market in Great-Britain, but that we could elſewhere obtain the articles of commerce which we take from them; and they would not dare to oppoſe the naval power of this kingdom, nor would they chuſe to riſk the loſs of thoſe commercial advantages which they derive from us.

MR. Pitt, more particularly with a view to the aſſertions of Mr. Fox, contended that the balance of power was, and ought to be, the leading object of Great-Britain; and as the beſt means of obtaining that end, the alliances with Holland and Pruſſia had been made. It was the object of the latter to ſtop the progreſs of the Ruſſian arms, and the aſſiſtance of this country, which was pledged by treaty, was neceſſary. As the ambitious views of Ruſſia had manifeſtly increaſed with her conqueſts, it was good policy in this country to prevent any extraordinary acquiſition to her power; and, notwithſtanding what had been aſſerted, he declared that Oczakow alone was the original object of the armament. Miniſters afterwards changed their opinion, when they found the nation to be divided on the ſubject; and though they had armed to go to war, to enforce their demands, yet this diverſity of opinion, which alone prevented their ſucceeding in thoſe demands, when they could not get all in a peaceable way which they had originally propoſed, induced them rather to accept of leſs than to riſk a war with ſuch a variety of ſentiments in the nation. On a diviſion reſpecting the conduct of miniſters, the houſe ſanctioned their proceedings, 244 againſt, 116 for the motion.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING the repeated Engliſh armaments of the two preceding years, and the declared object of the latter of them, a preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, in which, as we have obſerved, Pruſſia was engaged in oppoſition to Ruſſia; yet that power ſuffered the Ruſſians to haraſs and overturn the new form of government, which had this year been formed by the Poles, by general conſent. The balance of power, ſo ſtrongly contended for, to prevent the poſſeſſion of Oczakow, on the Black Sea, and a barren country round it, was never heard of in the courſe of their ravaging the kingdom of Poland, and rendering that fine and fertile country a tributary ſtate to the ambition of Ruſſia. A voluntary ſubſcription was indeed begun by ſome opulent merchants and others in England, to contribute their pecuniary aſſiſtance to the Poles, and to ſtrengthen and ſupport the ſinews of the war; but, after a ſpirited ſtruggle of ſhort duration, they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as neceſſity impoſed upon them.

THIS year a bill was brought into parliament, for the better encouragement of the growth of timber in the New Foreſt, in Hampſhire; which was poſtponed, in conſequence of a petition from ſome of the parties concerned in the operation of the bill. This will doubtleſs be reſumed in the next ſeſſions.

THE preſent year may be conſidered, on account of a remarkable reform in the cuſtomary corn buſhel of many parts of the kingdom, occaſioned by ſeveral informations and conſequent convictions, and affirmed by the courts of law; by which it appears, that the ſtandard buſhel, uſually called the Wincheſter buſhel, by an act of the 22d of Charles II. is the only legal meaſure by which all corn and grain is and ought to be bought and ſold.

IN the month of May, during the ſitting of parliament, his majeſty iſſued a proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of ſeditious writings, and for the puniſhment of all authors and printers of ſuch writings; in which he called upon all officers and magiſtrates to exerciſe their functions in making diſcoveries of all perſons offending againſt the laws and the good government of this kingdom. For ſo ſeaſonable and ſalutary a meaſure, a joint addreſs from both houſes of parliament, to expreſs their grateful acknowledgments was unanimouſly voted; which was ſoon after followed by the city of London and almoſt every city, borough, and corporation in the kingdom, with many of the counties at large. Thus were the eyes of the nation opened to ſee their proper and permanent intereſt, and therein to perceive the danger of innovations in the government of Great-Britain.

EARLY in this year, viz. the 28th of February, the Spaniſh miniſter, count Florida Blanca, who ſo long held out againſt the demands of Mr. Fitzherbert on the ſubject of the armament in 1790, that Mr. F. was on the eve of leaving Madrid without effecting his purpoſe, was removed from all his employments. He lived quietly in retirement for about five months; when he was ſuddenly arreſted in the night, and conducted to one of the royal caſtles as a ſtate priſoner. His ſucceſſor refuſed his conſent to this meaſure; the heavy charges of depredations, waſting the public revenue, and unlawfully advancing his own relations and dependants, are ſaid to be attributed to him, and aſſigned as the cauſe of this ſevere treatment. Such are the effects of arbitrary governments.

THE great queſtion of a parliamentary reform, which had been diſcuſſed in preceding years, was not altogether neglected in the preſent ſeſſion. It was brought before the houſe, under the idea of a notice for making a motion on the ſubject in the next ſeſſion. Mr. Grey obſerved that he ſhould not content himſelf by a mere notice; that the neceſſity of a reform had been frequently acknowledged both in that and the other houſe; that every propoſition, hitherto made, had nevertheleſs been unſucceſsful. He was convinced that a material alteration had taken place in men's minds, and that the neceſſity of a reform had been generally acknowledged. The liberty and ſecurity of the country depended upon ſuch reform; the various abuſes which had ariſen, as well as the innovations which had been made, rendered it neceſſary. If the houſe was not the true repreſentative of the people, and if that people ſhould ſo conſider it, the evils to be apprehended were ſerious and alarming. A temperate and timely reform would have the effect of averting theſe evils; and therefore the ſubject merited the conſideration of every perſon, friendly to the conſtitution. He deſired that gentlemen in the mean time would conſider this matter ſeriouſly, that, when it came before the houſe, the ſentiments of the people might be obtained.

THIS ſubject was enlarged upon by others, and particularly Mr. Fox, on the ſame ſide; who was anſwered by Mr. Burke in a moſt maſterly manner, with ſome ſtriking alluſions to the diſcontents and alarming ſituation of a neighbouring kingdom, and pointed out in very ſtrong terms the danger of giving the leaſt countenance to ſuch innovations. Mr. Pitt alſo, in reply to Mr. Grey, ſhewed that the notice was brought forward at an improper and dangerous ſeaſon, and in a very improper manner; the minds of the public were deranged, without being directed to any certain object. He wiſhed him to reflect

on

on his character, the ſtake which he had in this kingdom, the hazard to which he might expoſe himſelf, and the great poſſeſſions he was heir to; but above all, for the honour of his ſplendid and improving talents for eloquence, and the purſuits of virtue. By an indiſcreet attempt on this ſubject, all might be loſt, and he ſincerely lamented that this notice had been given. The conſtitution of this country, he ſaid, was a monument of human wiſdom, which had hitherto been the excluſive bleſſing of the Engliſh nation.

When the ſpirit of innovation poſſeſſes a body of people, ſufficiently important either in numbers, rank, or influence, a change in public affairs is naturally to be expected. Of the danger of ſuch a ſpirit, the ſtriking inſtance which the country of France has exhibited for our inſtruction and ſerious caution, muſt fully and decidedly prove.

The numbers of unfortunate and unhappy, which have been driven from their country, to preſerve their lives, and ſeek an aſylum in this land of liberty, afford a ſtriking contraſt between our own nation and that diſtracted empire; to which diſtraction this dangerous diſpoſition had contributed. Horrible and alarming have been the accounts tranſmitted to us of butcheries and maſſacres commi:ted in the moſt wanton and ſavage manner; which became the means of recalling home the Engliſh ambaſſador from a country where he could be no longer ſerviceable in his official relation. Many of them, without any reſources whatever, muſt neceſſarily be in a ſtate of diſtreſs and wretchedneſs; and when it is conſidered that the blind furor of innovation ſpurred on the ruling party to vent their rage againſt the clergy, theſe, in particular, from their character and education, were ſtriking objects for humanity to regard and diſtinguiſh. For the honour of this nation, prejudice and bigotry were totally abſorbed in this moſt intereſting condition; and a ſpirit of benevolence was ſpeedily in motion, to extend a temporary aid and ſupport to thoſe who had eſcaped from their diſtracted country, where ſo many of their relatives, and others in ſimilar ſtations of life, had miſerably periſhed. All paſt enmity and political intereſt were forgot; and perſons of all ranks and of all denominations ſtepped forward, with the liberal ſpirit of a poliſhed and enlightened nation, with a generous ardour, and united in the amiable cauſe of humanity.

This country is alſo making rapid improvements in mechanics, and applying them to almoſt every ſpecies of manufactures. Plantations and improvements in agriculture are alſo making a rapid progreſs in this kingdom. An inſtance of the latter occurs in the Iſle of Wight, where three vineyards have

have lately been planted, one of which contains ten thouſand ſtandard vines; from the flouriſhing appearance, it is expected to produce in about two years twenty-five hogſheads of wine. Theſe were brought from Anjou, in France, with a ſuperintendant of vines from the ſame place, and no care was wanting in the removal. The other two vineyards, which conſiſt of vines of a more delicate ſpecies of wine, are expected to produce about three or four hogſheads after the ſecond year. From the ſpecimens of cultivation and produce of vines, which are frequent in ſome parts of Suſſex, there can be no doubt that theſe plantations might be encouraged to great advantage, in the warmer and more ſouthern ſituations of this kingdom, in places where the ſoil is tolerably ſuitable.

THE laſt ſeſſion of parliament produced one of the moſt important acts, which the legiſlature has for many years produced. This was decidedly in favour of the preſs; and declarative of the power of an Engliſh jury in caſes of libels. It will form an æra in the annals of a great nation, that the arbitrary dictates, which had long been directed from the bench in matters of libel, by which many individuals had greatly ſuffered, in being deprived both of liberty and property, were happily overturned, and a well-regulated liberty of the preſs thereby ſecured. It enacts that "on every trial "of indictment or information for the making or publiſhing "a libel, the jury ſworn to try the iſſue may give a general "verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter put "in iſſue; that they ſhall not be directed by the court or judge "to find the defendant guilty, merely on the proof of publi-"cation of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the ſenſe "aſcribed to the ſame in ſuch indictment or information."

MR. Fox had the honour of introducing this bill into parliament; and when it was before the lords for their conſideration, it was moved by lord Kenyon to put two queſtions to the judges, to this effect; whether, in a criminal proſecution, where no evidence was adduced for the defendant, the criminality charged went to the jury? and whether inuendoes contained in the record, and their truth or falſhood went to the jury? This would determine the grand queſtion, whether the fact and the law combined together come within the province of ſuch jury.

LORD Loughborough held it as a clear matter of law, and the true principle of the conſtitution, that "the law com-"bined with the fact ſhould go to the jury. He adduced ſome ſtrong and incontrovertible arguments in ſupport of it, and quoted the deciſive authority of lord chief juſtice Vaughan. He diſtinguiſhed the criminal from the civil law of the kingdom;

dom; there was relief, he ſaid, in the latter, if the judge erred, by arreſt of judgment and a new trial, but in a criminal proceſs for a libel, the matter was deciſive. A jury, when ſworn, were bound to decide on the matter in iſſue, and to give their verdict generally; that is, on the law and fact combined together. In his mind there could be but one opinion on the ſubject. A learned lord, who had long been an ornament to the bench, had obſerved, that a jury, by exerciſing that power, and giving their verdict accordingly, and that verdict ſtanding incontrovertibly ſound and legal, were ſtrictly legal in ſo doing. He propoſed to move ſome additional queſtions to be put to the judges; whether a jury were competent to decide on the truth or falſhood of the matter alledged in the libel? Whether in certain caſes truth was a libel, in which he included the publication of incendiary letters, treaſon, &c. &c.

It was no great difficulty, he ſuppoſed, to define what was a libel. To defame a man's character, and blacken his reputation without juſt cauſe, was, no doubt, a moſt groſs libel. To give a free opinion upon political ſubjects and the officers of government, or perſons in public truſt in their official capacity, he held to be no libel, where the charges were founded in truth. Freedom was the very conſtitution of this country, and we muſt never depart from it.

Lord Grenville obſerved that the conſtitution veſted in a jury the trial of the law and the fact in reſpect to libels; and he never wiſhed to ſee it taken out of thoſe hands, in which it had been ſo judiciouſly placed.

Lord Porcheſter inſiſted that the law of libels wanted explanation, even from the difficulties into which it had been plunged by a learned lord who ſpoke before him. He then moved ſome additional queſtions to be put to the judges; which, as well as thoſe which had been already moved, were all put and carried.

The queſtions which were thus to be put to the judges were ſeven in number, the anſwers to which were greatly detailed, and branched into many diſtinctions. When theſe were read to the lords, earl Camden roſe to obſerve, that they had left the main queſtion untouched, which, within his experience, had occaſioned many altercations, not only between judges and juries, but alſo between the bar and the bench. It would be decent in the houſe to take ſome time to conſider the anſwers, which were very abſtruſe, and to reflect before they paſſed an opinion upon it.

When the ſubject was reſumed, the venerable earl prefaced his ſentiments with a very affecting addreſs, declaring, that

that he had thought never to have troubled their lordſhips more. The hand of age was now aſſaulting him, and he might well be excuſed from taking an active part in their deliberations. But, on the preſent occaſion, he conſidered himſelf as particularly, and indeed as perſonally called upon. His opinion on the ſubject had been long known; which was upon record, and on their lordſhips table. He ſtill retained this opinion; and he truſted, that he ſhould be able to prove its being conſonant to law and the conſtitution, both from the nature of the law itſelf, and the opinions of almoſt every judge of eminence who had ever declared his ſentiments on the ſubject. He would even aſſert, that the judges, to whom the queſtions were lately ſubmitted, did not deny the fact; as indeed they could not, conſiſtent with their conſciences, refuſe to admit it. The very next jury which tried an indictment or information for a libel might, for this, among other reaſons, by their verdict in deciding upon the law and the fact, conſtitutionally and legally prove that their province extended to this.

He was very ſorry that the judges had omitted to give their opinion on the great leading point to which the object of the bill tended; which was, whether a judge had a right to direct a jury to ſeparate the law from the fact, and find a verdict on the latter, leaving at the ſame time the juriſdiction on the former to the bench? That they had ſtood aloof from this great matter, was, in his opinion, a ſilent acknowledgment, that neither law nor the conſtitution warranted any ſuch uſurpation of power; and in this view there could not be a doubt but the good ſenſe of the houſe would conſider it.

To ſeparate the law from the fact, he did not ſee poſſible; it would make the jury a cipher. If the jury ſays "We find "that the paper is publiſhed," the judge obſerves, "I will "conſtrue the meaning of that paper, and it ſhall or ſhall not "be a libel, juſt as I pleaſe." Can ſuch doctrine or ſuch practice be conſiſtent with the ſolemn oath of a juryman, "well and truly to try the cauſe between the plaintiff and the "defendant?" He would be bold to ſay, that the juryman, who did not try the merits or demerits of the inuendoes, and who did not judge of the criminality or innocence of the intention, was perjured.

The bill now before the houſe had been reſiſted on points of law; on that ground it became ſeriouſly requiſite that it ſhould paſs. But he had this to ſay to their lordſhips, whether it paſſed or not, that if he were a juryman on any libel to be tried hereafter, he would diſregard whatever was dictated by a judge, and take all the inuendoes into his conſideration, and

and what appeared to be the intention of the writer, and the conſequences likely to reſult from them. He would thus find his verdict both on the law and the fact; and God and his country warranted him in ſo doing.

How did a jury act, continued his lordſhip, in points of life and death? Did the jury only find the act of killing? Did they not alſo find the intention, and determine whether the deed was manſlaughter or murder? The charges of all judges left this to the conſciences of the jury. If, then, in caſes where the life of an individual was at ſtake, the jury were declared to be judges both of law and fact; muſt it not be prepoſterous and ridiculous to deny them a ſimilar power in matters of leſs importance?

He ſaid, that he had alſo conſulted almoſt every authority, which had any connection with the preſent caſe; and all of them coincided with the opinion, which ought to be generally and indeed univerſally known, and therefore he could not repeat it too often, "that a jury were conſtitutionally, legally, "and, according to the tenor of their oaths, judges of the "law and the fact." In ſupport of this aſſertion, he alſo produced a long liſt of the firſt law authorities in this country; even lord chief juſtice Jefferies, a man of the moſt corrupt principle and arbitrary practice, had not denied the fact, but, on the contrary, in ſome remarkable deciſions had told the jury, that "ſuch was their province, and they could not de-"part from it. And if ſuch men as Jefferies had not uſed a "language which left the defendant in the hands of the court, "it only could be for the ſtrongeſt of all reaſons, that it was "not then known."

That the power of juries was uncontrouled, was evident from all former opinions which had been given on the ſubject; but the judges, to whom the houſe had ſubmitted the queſtion, had only ſelected a partial abſtract of law authorities. He did not mean or wiſh, he ſaid, by any thing which he had aſſerted, to take from the authority or the conſequence of the bench, ſo far as it went hand in hand with the conſtitution; but that conſtitution had veſted in the people a right to be tried by their peers, conſequently thoſe peers ought to be the ſole judges, and he ſhould ever oppoſe any innovation on that right.

With that elegance of diction, in which he adduced ſuch incontrovertible arguments, and that venerable ſolemnity, for which he had ever been diſtinguiſhed; he now conjured the people of this country, at the eve of a long, popular, and ſerviceable life, to ſupport the main baſis of the conſtitution, and to exert their inherent and undoubted privilege, when ſummoned

moned on a jury, to judge both the law and the fact. Such a declaration and defence of this moſt valuable right, will hand down his lordſhip's name to poſterity, with an honour which time can never efface, ſo long as the page of hiſtory has exiſtence in this nation.

LORD Stanhope ſupported theſe arguments in a moſt animated and able manner, and introduced in his ſpeech a great variety of ſubjects, which he treated with much wit and humour, and even with ridicule, and for ſome time kept the houſe in a roar of laughter.

IT is to the honour of the marquis of Lanſdown, lord Loughborough, lord Grenville, and other lords, who took the ſame ſide of the queſtion, on the adjournment of the debate, that they were decidedly in favour of the bill; which was then read, after a diviſion of 57 for it, and 32 againſt it.

THE lord chancellor, on the third reading, attempted to ſhackle the bill with an amendment, which, as lord Loughborough obſerved, brought the queſtion to a worſe ſtate than it had ever before been; after other lords had ſpoken againſt it, the amendment was rejected. He then moved another, which was to bring the defendant to a new trial, in caſe of a verdict contrary to the directions of the judge; which was alſo rejected without a reply.

THIS year was alſo remarkable for a very great and important regulation of the police for the cities of London and Weſtminſter and Borough of Southwark; in conſequence of an act paſſed for that purpoſe, ſeven public offices were authoriſed and eſtabliſhed, at each of which three magiſtrates were appointed to carry the various objects of the act into execution.

AN act was alſo paſſed this ſeſſion, to prevent the forging certificates, and giving falſe characters of ſervants, under heavy penalties to be inflicted on perſons offending.

THIS year alſo, the farther ſum of 400,000l. in addition to the annual million appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt, was aſſigned to certain commiſſioners, as under the former act, for this great purpoſe; as a proof of the growing riches and riſing importance of the nation, notwithſtanding the armaments of the two preceding years, the expences of which had been otherwiſe provided for.

IN this year was meditated a ſplendid and magnificent embaſſy to the emperor of China, which has many very ſolid and important objects in view, Lord Macartney has been ſelected for this expedition, accompanied by ſir George Staunton, bart. in the character of ſecretary to the embaſſy; he has alſo letters patent of miniſter plenipotentiary to the emperor

peror of China, the king of Cochin China, and the other princes of Aſia. Of the benefit of ſuch embaſſy it is impoſſible to judge; and the future ſucceſs of the negociations projected is at preſent very uncertain. One end of this miſſion is ſaid to be, to reclaim the debts due to Britiſh ſubjects from different mercantile houſes in Canton, amounting to about a million ſterling. For the authenticity of this account, we will not pledge ourſelves; but the other objects of this embaſſy which have great ſhew of truth, are related to be as follows:

CANTON, the only port in China where the company's ſhips are permitted to trade, is nearly the ſouthernmoſt part of that extenſive empire. The great article of commerce, which we import from thence, it is well known, chiefly grows in the northern and mountainous parts of the country. The advanced price of tea, therefore, which muſt be occaſioned by a carriage of ſome thouſands of miles to Canton, where it is ſhipped for this kingdom, with the hazard and riſque of adulterations which it may ſuffer on the way, are impediments to commerce which it muſt be an important object to remove. Our woollen manufactures, in like manner, are ſubject to the ſame diſadvantages. Chiefly calculated, as they naturally are, for the northern parts of China, the ſame obſtacles occur, from the damage and expence of ſuch an aſtoniſhing extent of inland carriage from Canton. On many of the heavier articles, this nearly amounts to a prohibition.

HENCE it is an object of this embaſſy, to obtain permiſſion, if poſſible, from the emperor to trade directly to ſome port in the northern parts of the empire. The tea will, in that caſe, be obtained on the ſpot where it grows; and our woollen manufactures would alſo thereby procure and obtain a ready market from millions of people, at a moderate profit, and at prices greatly reduced.

SELF-INTEREST, it is hoped, will induce the emperor to accede to this part of the deſign, as it muſt greatly promote the great objects of trade and commerce, and proportionably increaſe his revenues.

ANOTHER object of this embaſſy is to endeavour to obtain leave to make a ſettlement on a ſmall iſland on the coaſt, and to eſtabliſh a factory there for the company's agents. This, if it can be effected, of which indeed, from the cautious and jealous temper of the Chineſe, there is much reaſon to doubt, would be a happy means of removing the very great inconveniences under which at preſent they are ſubject to at Canton.

AN embaſſy to obtain commercial objects of ſo much importance ſeeming to demand a ſuitable preparation, ſome Chineſe,

Chineſe, who had been brought to Europe by French miſſionaries, have been procured from Italy, whither they had gone from France; theſe have been learning Engliſh to act as interpreters to the embaſſy, from whom, in return, ſome knowledge of the Chineſe language will probably be obtained. Many curioſities alſo are prepared for China to accompany this ſplendid embaſſy; and many artiſts, in different capacities, are alſo engaged, with every aſſiſtance which they have reſpectively required.

It will alſo be graced by a military retinue, under the name of lord Macartney's legion, and compoſed of men of known talents, high connections, and unimpeachable character. The number of troops and ſeamen alone amount to ſeven hundred; and are a ſufficient proviſion for the purpoſes of protection as well as of dignity. Amongſt other preſents to the emperor are eight field pieces, accompanied by an officer and twenty artilleriſts to work them. An officer and twenty infantry ſoldiers, with ten diſmounted light horſemen; the whole to be commanded by major Benſon, form the guard for his lordſhip. The expences of this ſplendid embaſſy are eſtimated at 200,000l. of which one half is to be defrayed by the Eaſt India company.

Lord Macartney, ſir George Staunton, and captain Eraſmus Gower, appointed to command the Lion, in which the embaſſy ſailed, took leave of his majeſty to proceed for their deſtination on the firſt of Auguſt; when the captain had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and lord Macartney, alſo a knight of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, was in a few days after created viſcount Macartney of the kingdom of Ireland. They ſailed from Spithead, in company with the Hindoſtan ſtoreſhip and Jackall cutter, on the 26th of September. It is ſuppoſed that they cannot be expected home before the ſpring of the year 1795.

Having thus brought our hiſtory to a diſtinguiſhing period in the annals of time, which has left a neighbouring nation in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſtraction, anarchy, and confuſion, and reduced the repreſentative of our own kingdom to the neceſſity of retiring from ſuch dreadful ſcenes; when the trade and manufactures of the one are entirely ruined and deſtroyed, and the commerce of the other, before arrived to an extraordinary pitch of importance, is daily riſing in conſequence and greatneſs; when the finances of the former are totally deranged, and the very vitals of its exiſtence convulſed to a degree awfully ſerious and alarming, and the reſources of the latter daily augmenting, and its public debt conſiderably and progreſſively diminiſhing; and when Great Britain is engaged

engaged in ſpeculations of a far more extenſive nature, which, if ſucceſsful, muſt render her negociations the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations; we ſhall take leave of our readers, by deſiring them to conſider, upon this compariſon, the happy condition of the ſubjects of Great-Britain, and thus proving the neceſſity and eſſential advantages, which alone can be reaped by endeavouring, as much as lies in their power, according to their reſpective ſtations in life, to ſtrengthen the hands of that government, under which ſo many bleſſings are enjoyed.

We have only to obſerve one thing farther on this ſubject. From the midſt of ſuch accumulated diſtreſs and anarchy, our public prints have not ſcrupled to aſſert, that at leaſt a hundred thouſand perſons of different ranks have fled to the protection of our happy conſtitution. Many of theſe have alſo brought with them a very conſiderable property; and though others are deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence, the liberal and philanthropic hands of Britons have been opened and extended to their relief. It has been a maxim in all flouriſhing ſtates and empires, that their riches conſiſt in the numbers of their people, in concurrence with their induſtry, in contributing to the convenience of ſociety; and who is there that is ignorant of the famous edict of Nantz, of the numerous refugees which then eſcaped from perſecution to this kingdom, and of the great advantages to the manufactures and commerce of England, that partial convulſion was then and has almoſt ever ſince been productive of? Who knows what benefits may enſue to this kingdom, within a few years, from the ingenuity or induſtry of many of thoſe unfortunate perſons, who now ſeek an aſylum in this land of true liberty? Policy and humanity are therefore equally intereſted to ſupport and encourage thoſe (a few individuals, perhaps, may be excepted) who ſeek for perſonal ſafety on our happy ſhores.

Previous to the period juſt now related, we have to remark that the following eminent perſons have paid, within this year, the great debt of nature.—Dr. George Horne, biſhop of Norwich, Dr. Chriſtopher Wilſon, biſhop of Briſtol, and Dr. John Roſs, biſhop of Exeter.—The right hon. the earl of Bute, the earl of Sandwich, many years firſt lord of the admiralty, the earl of Guilford, formerly lord North, many years prime miniſter to his preſent majeſty, and the earl of Weſtmeath, a knight of St. Patrick.—Admirals, the earl of Northeſk, and ſir Richard Bickerton, bart. port commander at Plymouth.—The emperor of Germany, the king of Sweden, (who was ſhot at a maſquerade, and ſurvived twelve days) and the elector of Bavaria.—The right hon. ſir John Eardley

Eardley Wilmot, knt. formerly chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, which he reſigned in 1771.—Sir Joſhua Reynolds, knt. preſident of the Royal Academy from its inſtitution in 1761; he is ſucceeded by Benjamin Weſt, eſq.—Sir George Pocock, K. B. in the 87th year of his age; who, in the capacity of admiral, commanded the ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Havannah, but had ſometime reſigned that rank; he had been an elder brother of the Trinity Houſe from the year 1766, and was honoured with a red ribbon in 1761.—Lieutenant general John Burgoyne, of the gout.—Governor Parr, about the beginning of this year, at Halifax, in Nova Scotia.—C. Jones, the renowned Crediton poet;—and, in the month of September, the famous Mirabeau, in the army of France, whoſe brother, of the ſame name, had paid the debt of nature ſome time before.

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